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WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE

VOLUME IV

THE WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE
EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXTS
By RONALD B. MCKERROW Notes

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NOTES

VOLUME I

THE ANATOMIE OF ABSVRDITIE

I. *Date of Composition and Publication.*

The entry in the Stationers' Register on Sept. 19, 1588, shows, I think, that the *Anatomy* was written by that date, and perhaps also that the MS. was in the hands of T. Hacket, the publisher, for I see

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS edition was designed to consist of four volumes, the last to contain all the editorial matter. The explanatory Notes, however, have proved to be so extensive as to leave no room in the present volume for the Memoir and Glossarial Index; these will therefore be issued in a supplementary volume, which will be free to original subscribers. On completion of the publication, the price will be raised.

ERRATA

Note on i. 37. 16-21. Cunningham's statement (*Sh. Soc. Papers*, iii. 181) that there is in the Lowestoft Registers an entry of William Nashe's burial in 1603 is, I find, erroneous. It seems to be practically certain that he left Lowestoft in 1573 to become rector of West Harling in Norfolk, where he died in January 1587 or 1588. It is therefore quite possible that these lines have a personal application and hint at the real reason why Nashe left Cambridge without taking the M.A. degree.

Note on i. 159. 6. The letters remaining of the name of the writer of '*Vntrusse*' are 'nda,' not 'ays' as stated.



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NOTES

VOLUME I

THE ANATOMIE OF ABSVRDITIE

1. *Date of Composition and Publication.*

The entry in the Stationers' Register on Sept. 19, 1588, shows, I think, that the *Anatomy* was written by that date, and perhaps also that the MS. was in the hands of T. Hacket, the publisher, for I see no reason for supposing that he would have expended even sixpence in registering a work merely promised by an unknown and untried author. Further, the reference at 23. 24-5 to the Calabrian flood, prophesied for 1587, can hardly have been written much later than the end of that year, while that the *Anatomy* was quite an early work is suggested by the great tendency to the imitation of the style of *Euphues*, which when Nashe was at Cambridge he greatly admired (i. 319. 15-16), the parade of classical learning, and the absence of allusion to London and London life.

The dedication was perhaps written at the time of the publication of the work, but of this we cannot be certain. The expression at 5. 12-14 'the circumstaunce of my infancie, that brought forth this *Embrion*' seems indeed to suggest this, but it is not perfectly clear. See note on the passage.

An obscure reference to the *Anatomy* in the *Preface to Menaphon*, iii. 324. 31 'If you chance to meeite it in *Paules*, shaped in a new suite of similitudes', may possibly mean that it had undergone some revision before publication, but I am by no means sure that more is intended than 'in a new form', i.e. printed instead of in manuscript.

On the whole I think we may date the work between the summer of 1587 and the spring of 1588, and that thus it is, with the exception of the copy of Latin verses printed at iii. 298-9, the earliest of Nashe's writings which have come down to us. It was begun in the country during a vacation (9. 18).

The date of printing was probably February or March 1589-90. The title-pages of the two issues seem, so far as can be judged by comparing one with a photograph of the other, to be from the same setting up of type, with the single exception of the last two figures of the date. Had the printing been completed much before the end of the year (March 25), it seems unlikely that the type of the preliminary matter would have been kept standing.

2. *General Character of the Work.*

The *Anatomy* seems to have been intended as an attack upon the female sex, and with this the first quarter of the work is concerned. The remainder is, however, of a very miscellaneous nature, and the

author seems to have had no general plan in his mind. The chief subjects dealt with are:

The female sex (9–19, 36)—An attack on those who use their learning to show the faults of others (Puritans) (19. 37–23. 7)—Writers on astrology, ballad-makers, &c. (23. 8–25. 19)—A defence of good poetry (25. 20–30. 9)—Exhortation to the better use of learning and to diligence in study (30. 10–38. 14)—Against luxury (38. 14–39. 26)—Whether variety in diet is good (39. 27–41. 37)—General advice as to methods of study (42. 1—end).

3. Sources.

The whole book is evidently a patchwork of scraps from others, containing little, if any, original matter. Some of the sources drawn upon I have been able to identify, as will be seen in the notes, but there are several passages which I believe to have been appropriated, probably in the form of translation, from other writers, which up to the present I have not traced. Among these may be mentioned the account of the opinions of the philosophers and the Fathers of the Church as to women (12. 12–15. 19). I feel sure that Nashe did not gather these directly from the originals, though in spite of much search I have not succeeded in finding any general source. Attacks upon the female sex were of course numerous, and some of the opinions here cited are frequently referred to, but no book which I have seen can have been that used by the author of the *Anatomy*. Other passages which I suspect of being borrowed are 42. 11–43. 26 and most of 46.

Among the authors from whom Nashe has borrowed in the form of translation may be mentioned Macrobius (40. 1–41. 35), and Seneca (47. 12–22, &c.). The notes will also show his great indebtedness to the *Parabolae* or *Similia* of Erasmus, and, as everywhere in his works, to the *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnis Scientiarum* of Cornelius Agrippa. Much is also taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in some cases evidently by way of Golding's translation. See notes on 16. 14–19; 33. 27–9. For other sources see note at end of volume.

4. After-History.

There is little to say about the history of the *Anatomy*. It seems to have dropped out of sight immediately upon publication, and neither Nashe himself, save, as already mentioned, in the *Preface to Menaphon*, nor Gabriel Harvey ever alludes to it. I can only suppose that Harvey had never seen it—though he must have seen Nashe's own reference to it—for, had he done so, he would surely have found in it something upon which to comment.

What seems at first sight an attack upon it is to be found in Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, 1596, C 1^v, where when rebuking those who criticize others without doing better themselves the author refers to 'Rash Judgement in a cloake of Absurdities'. Other appreciative allusions to Nashe in the same pamphlet (I 1 and L 4) seem, however, to render this unlikely.¹

¹ A book was published in the same year as the *Anatomy* which might well be suspected of being a reply to it—or at least to that part of it which concerns the female sex. This is entitled *Jane Anger her Protection for Women*. To

P. 2, *Modern Editions*] Extracts from the *Anatomy* equivalent to 14½ pages of the present edition have been printed by Prof. Gregory Smith in his *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, i. 321–37, with two pages of notes.

P. 3, i. *The Anatomie of Absurditie*] The word ‘anatomy’ was generally used (1) for a skeleton, (2) in its strictly etymological sense of ‘cutting-up’ or ‘dissection,’ or (3) metaphorically for ‘investigation into’. The title means therefore little more than ‘an inquiry into absurdity (i.e. fatuity)’, and there seems little reason for attempting to find any definite origin for it. As, however, the question has been raised, it is necessary to discuss it. The form was a common one; among other examples may be mentioned the following: Anthony de Adamo, *An Anatomie, that is to say a parting in peeces of the Mass*, 1556: Thomas Rogers, *A philosophicall Discourse, entituled, The Anatomie of the Minde*, 1576: Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583: Robert Greene, *The Anatomie of Lovers Flatteries*, an appendix to *Mamillia. The second part of the triumph of Pallas*, entered S. R. Sept. 6, 1583, though the earliest edition known is dated 1593: *A maruelous Anatomie of Saturnistes*, the heading of a section of *Planetomachia*, 1585 (? written 1583); and Arbasto, *The Anatomie of Fortune*, 1584. This list, which could easily be enlarged, is enough to show that there is nothing out of the way in Nashe’s use of ‘Anatomy’. It has, however, been stated that he ‘plagiarized Stubbes’s title’ (*Anat. of Abuses*, N. S. S. 36* foot), and this view is maintained by Prof. Gregory Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, i. 428; while Grosart (Nashe, i. xlvi) considered that he took it rather from some of the above-mentioned works of Greene. There is, I think—if we must find a definite origin for the title—one still more likely, which has generally been overlooked (see, however, Mr. Bond’s note in his edition of Lyly, i. 327), namely the second title of *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wy*t. We know that when Nashe ‘was a little ape in Cambridge’, not long before the present work was composed, he read *Euphues* and ‘thought it was *Ipsa ille*’ (i. 319). Had he, writing as he clearly did under the influence of Lyly, wished to produce something of the nature of a pendant, or rather a counterpart, to his work, what title would he have been more likely to select than this very one, for by ‘Absurdity’ he evidently means the opposite of wit? ‘Stupidity’ might indeed have occurred to him, but the alliteration would naturally have led to the choice of the word actually employed.

It should be observed that the original title may possibly have been ‘The Anatomy of Absurdities’; cf. the entry in the Stationers’ Register and the reference in the *Preface to Menaphon*, iii. 324. 27. But as in the work itself Nashe always uses ‘Absurditie’ in the

defend them against the Scandalous Reportes of a late Surfeiting Louer, and all other like Venerians that complaine so to bee ouercloyed with womens kindnesse. Written by Ja: A. Gent. At London Printed by Richard Jones, and Thomas Orwin, 1589. (Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 674.) I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. E. Graves, who has examined the copy of the book now in Mrs. Christie-Miller’s Library at Britwell, for the information that it has, however, no reference to Nashe’s work. It seems that one of the many literary debates on the merits of the female sex was in progress at the time, though I have been able to discover little trace of it elsewhere.

singular (5. 9-10; 9. 6; 49. 12) it seems more probable that these are errors.

8. *No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred*] This, which, however, was a commonplace, may be compared with the title of *Euphues*, 'Very pleasant for all Gentlemen to reade, and most necessary to remember.'

12-13. *Ita diligendi sunt homines, vt eorum non diligamus errores*] See Prosper Aquitanicus, *Sententiae ex Op. S. Augustini delibatae*,², Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 51, col. 427, and 45 (August. 10), col. 1859 'Sic diligendi . . . non diligantur errores'.

P. 5, 1-2. *Charles Blunt*] i.e. Charles Blount (1563-1606), second son of James, sixth Lord Mountjoy. Knighted in 1586, he succeeded to the title of Lord Mountjoy in 1594 and was created Earl of Devonshire in 1604. During the years 1586-91 he seems to have spent most of his time in the Low Countries, taking an active part in the military operations there, and it is not easy to see what connexion Nashe can have had with him. He was, however, generally looked upon as a patron of literature, and a number of works were dedicated to him. To those mentioned in *D. N. B.* may be added Greene's *Alcida*,? 1588, S. Daniel's *Poetical Essays*, 1599, Thomas Bastard's *Chrestoleros*, 1598, T. T.'s *Moral Philosophy of the Stoicks*, 1598, and E. Topsell's *Time's Lamentation*, 1599.

Most of the works for which his patronage was solicited belong to a later date than the *Anatomy*, but from a 'Song in the praise of the English Nobilitie' appended by I[ames] L[ea] to his translation called *An Answer to the Untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, &c.*, which appeared in the same year as Nashe's book, we learn that even at this time he had the reputation of a friend of learning. The reference to him is as follows (sig. H 3^v):

From foorth the *Oxens* tract, to courtly state,
I see the treasure of all Science come:
Whose pen of yore, the Muses stile did mate,
Whose sword is now unsheathd to follow drumbe,
Parnassus knowes my Poet by his looke,
Charles Blunt, the pride of war, and friend of booke.

(In the margin is 'Oxford. Sir Charles Blunt.')

Possibly the dedication of this work to him was not fruitful in results, for Nashe nowhere else mentions his name, and we have no further evidence of any connexion with him.

5. *Persaeus*] Not Persius but Juvenal, 2. 24-7. Grosart.

8. *supplosus pedum*] more correctly *supplosio pedum* or *pedis*. Nashe seems to be using it in the sense of to stamp as a token of disapproval—not, I believe, a classical use of the expression.

12-14. *the circumstaunce . . . Embrion*] The meaning is, I think, 'the fact that I was an infant when I brought forth this embrion:' but the phrase can be understood as 'the event which befell me when I was an infant, which gave birth to this embrion'. Hence the passage gives no certain information as to the date of composition of the work.

17-18. *that pensiuenes, which two Summers since . . .*] As we cannot be certain at what date this dedication was written it is useless even

to guess at the precise circumstances alluded to. The whole passage is, perhaps intentionally, rather obscure.

29. *Prorex*] The word, which is not classical Latin and is not given by Du Cange, is used for 'viceroy' in 1 *Tamburlaine*, I. i. 89, and in 2 *Tamb.* I. i. 45 (ed. Wagner, 2362), and there is a character of the name in Day's *Parliament of Bees*, char. i, iv, and xii. He is the 'Master Bee' as being the viceroy of Oberon. I presume that Nashe means that his private thoughts are not subject to the control of any (?) except of God), but the expression seems somewhat peculiar.

30-1. *terme poyon poyon, as well in a siluer peece, as in an earthen dish*] A Euphuistic commonplace; cf. Lyly, *Euphues*, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 202. 20 'sower poyon in a siluer potte'; also 222. 15 and note to 202. 8. Again at 34. 29-30.

P. 6, 1. *Protæus... Pactolus*] i. e. however richly women be attired, the writer can recognize their baseness. There is, so far as I know, no connexion whatever between Proteus and Pactolus in any classical story.

4. *a she Saint*] I suppose that Nashe means no more than that the devil is of female sex, though the form of the expression is curious. In the only other example of the phrase which I have met with 'a she Saint' seems to mean merely a female saint; see *The Defence of Cony-catching*, 1592, in Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 79. 23-4.

5. *Nigrum theta*] A mark of condemnation, from the use of θ by the Greeks, as the first letter of θάνατος, upon voting-tablets; cf. Pers. iv. 13 'Et potis es nigrum vitio praefigere theta', and Erasm. *Adag.* chil. i, cent. 5. 56 'θ praefigere'.

10. *a Camelion*] Of course because it changes its colour; cf. Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 51, and 'chamaeleonte mutabilior' in Erasm. *Adag.* chil. iii, cent. 4. 1.

Against the 'constancy' of tigers and wolves I find nothing reported.

12. *Iliads of euils*] Cf. 'Tanta malorum impendet Iliás', Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 11. 3, Erasm. *Adag.* chil. i, cent. 3. 26. The earliest instance in *N.E.D.* is 1609 'Bp. W. Barlow, *Answ. Nameless Cath.* 359 Her stay brought forth . . . an Iliad of miseries'. Cf. also Harvey, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 303. 19.

22. *alonely*] i. e. all + only, alone.

23. *Flaunders*] The reference is, of course, to the war of independence against Spain, which, beginning in 1566, ended in the liberation of the Northern Provinces in 1609. Fighting was practically continuous during the whole period.

Fraunce] The religious wars which began in 1562 lasted, with intervals, until 1594.

36. *whose*] i. e., I suppose, the author's.

P. 7, 10. *Castalions Courtier*] The *Cortegiano* of Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) was first published in 1528, though written more than ten years earlier. An English translation by [Sir] Thomas Hoby appeared in 1561 and was frequently reprinted. The work was also rendered into Latin by Bartholomew Clerke in 1571, and this translation seems to have been little less popular than the English version. The *Courtier* is praised by Ascham in his *Schoolmaster*, where he says that reading it and following its precepts for a year would do a young gentleman more good than three years spent on

a journey to Italy (*Eng. Works*, ed. Wright, 218). So far as I can discover Nashe hardly borrows at all from the *Courtier*, though he has one other reference to it, *Have with you*, iii. 93. 26-7.

11. *Semper amabilis esto*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 107 'Ut ameris, amabilis esto'.

13. *facetus*] The earliest instance given in *N.E.D.* of the employment of the English word 'facetious' is in the famous passage supposed to refer to Shakespeare in Chettle's *Kind-heart's Dream* [1592], in *Sh. Allusion-books*, N. S. S., 38. 16-17 'His facetious grace in writting, that aprooves his Art', where the meaning seems to be much the same as 'facetus' here, i.e. pleasant and elegant.

14. *discoursing*] When not used in its literal sense of conversing the word seems generally to have a bad meaning, i.e. too fluent, discursive; cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, *Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 227 'a busie head, a discoursing tōg, and a factious harte'.

22. *Aristippus*] He is constantly mentioned as a typical flatterer; cf. Lylly, *Euphues*, *Works*, ed. Bond, i. 186. 11-14 'Hee could easily discerne ... the faith of *Lælius*, from the flattery of *Aristippus*'; Lodge, *Wits Miserie*, 1596, H 4^v 'after he had learnt to lie of *Lucian*, to flatter with *Aristippus*, & coniure of *Zoroastes*'; and D 2^v 'This is as courtlie an *Aristippus* as euer begd a Pension of *Dionisius*'. Aristippus is a character in R. Edwardes' *Damon and Pithias*, where he is made to say (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, iv. 16)

I profess now the courtly philosophy,
To crouch, to speak fair, myself I apply,
To feed the king's humour with pleasant devices.

27. *Jacke*] Very commonly used as a contemptuous appellation, generally with some idea of low breeding; see *N.E.D.* and examples there given, also Deloney, *Gent. Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 100 'Why, then, what jacks are they, to reject mee!' and the phrase 'Jacke will be a gentleman', in Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 519 foot, and often.

clubheaded] i.e. rude and stupid; cf. 'blockhead'.

P. 8, 4. *iudiciall*] i.e. judgement, pronouncement, more usually a conclusion arrived at from astrological observations or calculations.

12. *Painter in Plutarch*] *De Discernendo Adulatore ab Amico*, 24, but probably taken from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, in Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, ed. 1574, p. 1168 'Quidam male pinxerat gallos gallinaceos, iussitque puero ut veros gallinaceos procul abigeret a tabula, ne collatione deprehenderetur': Plutarch's name is given. Nashe did well to suppress the rest of the comparison, 'Sic adulator veros amicos pro viribus abigit, ne ex illorum comparatione deprehendatur fictus amicus.' Mr. Crawford notes that the story is to be found in Montaigne's *Essaies*, lib. iii, cap. 5. It is also in *The French Academy*, 1586, pp. 460-1.

27. *Vsque aras*] cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iii, cent. 2. 10 'Vsque ad aras amicus'.

P. 9, 1-5] Taken probably from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, in Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, 1574, p. 1215 'Ut Zeus picturus Iunonem, Agrigentinis omnibus virginibus inspectis, quinque praecipuas elegit, ex quibus quod esset in unaquaque praecipuum imitaretur: ...' The

story is related by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 36 § 2. Prof. Gregory Smith refers it to Cicero, *De Invent.* ii. 1, but here the scene is laid at Crotona, not at Agrigentum. The painter's name should of course be 'Zeuxis'. Lyl also refers to the same tale, but has 'fiftie faire virgins of Sparta' (*Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 211. 21, &c.).

11. *duncerie*] The earliest example given in *N.E.D.* in the modern sense of stupidity, as here, belongs to 1615: of the earlier sense, i.e. in the manner or according to the precepts of the Scotists, there are instances from 1560.

Nigrum theta] see note on 6. 5.

14-16 *Macedon Phillip . . . πονηρόπολις*] Probably from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1201 'Ut Philippus ex deterrimis hominibus conditam civitatem πονηρόπολιν appellavit: Sic curiosus malis undique congestus, thesaurum quendam inamabilem et inamoenum sibi in memoria construit'. (As frequently, Nashe only uses part of the comparison.) See Plutarch, *de Curiositate*, 10. In neither place is there anything corresponding to 'hauing finished his warres'.

22. *she Asses*] see Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 68, but probably taken from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1316 'Asinae per omnem gignunt vitam, cum homo tam mature desinat parere: Ita facilior ac perpetuus proventus rerum vilium, egregia raro contingunt'.

23. *brainlesse Bussards*] I cannot trace the origin of the low opinion which seems to have been held of the bird. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, Eng. *Wks.*, ed. Wright, 260. 3, speaks of 'blind bussardes', as does also Langland (see *N.E.D.*). Neither Aristotle nor Pliny says anything against the *buteo*. The French *buse*, buzzard, means also fool. Cf. 24. 33 below.

24-6 *as an Egge that is full . . . aboue*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., pp. 1175, 1273 'Ut ova plena sidunt, inania fluitant: Ita qui veris virtutibus aut literis est praeditus, minus ostentat se quam qui secus'. See Pliny, *H.N.* x. 75 'Et in aqua est experimentum: [ovum] inane fluitat: itaque sidentia, hoc est, plena, subiici volunt' [i.e. placed under the hen]. 'Plena' means, of course, fertilized.

P. 10, 3-35] The identity of the writers here aimed at is one of the most difficult problems in Nashe's works, and it will be necessary to discuss the matter in some detail. In the *Preface to Menaphon*, which appeared in the same year, there are, as will be remembered, similar attacks, the interpretation of which presents equal, or even greater, difficulties. With ll. 3-8, cf. especially iii. 311. 25-9.

The persons attacked in the present passage (1) were professed stylists, (2) they made use of allusions to minerals, stones, and herbs, and attributed strange and incorrect properties to them, (3) they used mottoes claiming that their work gave 'profit mixt with pleasure', (4) their stories were of an amorous nature and tended to the corruption of morals.

It is, I think, generally considered that we have here an allusion to Robert Greene. Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 125) holds that Nashe must have quarrelled with him subsequently to the publication of *Menaphon*, but with this I cannot agree, for there can be little doubt that, though published later, the *Anatomy* was the earlier work, and this passage has certainly not the appearance of one inserted as an afterthought.

The arguments for Greene being the object of attack are as follows :

(1) Greene's constant use of the style 'in artibus magister' upon his title-pages is in some sort an ostentation or claiming of authority which fits in with the charge of obtruding 'themselves vnto vs, as the Authors of eloquence'.

(2) Greene's use of similes drawn from natural history, stones, herbs and animals, attributing strange natures to them. Nashe, in *Strange News*, brings this very charge against him by name, i. 318. 34—319. 3 'Wherein haue I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton...? Is my stile like Greenes, or my ieasts like Tarltons? Do I talke of any counterfeit birds, or hearbs, or stones...?' So again in *Have with you*, iii. 132. 16—17, 23—6 'he girds me with imitating of Greene,... Did I euer write of Conycatching? stufft my stile with hearbs & stones? or apprentisid my selfe to running of the letter? If not, how then doo I imitate him?'

(3) Greene's use of the motto '*Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*'. He employed it occasionally from about 1584, and regularly from 1588 to 1590. Harvey, in *Four Letters, Wks.*, i. 189, refers to it as 'his professed Poesie', and Greene in 1588 calls it his 'old poesie', *Perimedes, Wks.*, vii. 7. 14.

(4) Greene's tales were generally love-stories.

A further piece of evidence greatly in favour of Greene being the writer alluded to is the existence of an attack on him a couple of years later, which takes almost exactly the same line as that with which we are dealing. This is to be found in the 'Epistle Dedicatore' (signed R. W.) to the anonymous tract *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, 1591 (reissued, with no change save that of date, in 1592). The writer is inveighing against the multitude of worthless books generally, but the allusions, which are quoted below, to the authors calling themselves graduates *In Artibus Magister*, and to their putting on a mourning garment and crying farewell [to folly], show clearly that Greene was the person more especially aimed at. Greene's *Mourning Garment* was entered S. R. November 2, 1590, and *Farewell to Folly* was published in 1591. I quote the more important passages : [A 3^v] 'I loath to speake it, euery red-nosed rimester is an author, euery drunken mans dreame is a booke, and he whose talent of little wit is hardly worth a farthing, yet layeth about him so outrageously, as if all *Helicon* had run through his pen, in a word, scarce a cat can looke out of a gutter, but out starts a halfpeny Chronicler, and presently *A propper new ballet of a strange sight* is endited : What publishing of fruolous and scurilous Prognostications? as if *Will Sommers* were againe reviued : what counterfeiting and cogging of prodigious and fabulous monsters? as if they labored to exceede the Poet in his *Metamorphosis*; what lasciuious, vn honest, and amorous discourses, such as *Augustus* in a heathen common wealth could neuer to-[A 4]lerate? & yet they shame not to subscribe, *By a graduate in Cambridge*; *In Artibus Magister*; as if men should judge of the fruites of Art by the ragges and parings of wit, and endite the *Vniuersities*, as not onely accessory to their vanitie, but nurses of bawdry...'. And later: 'If any [A 4^v] man bee of a dainty and curious eare, I shall desire him to repayre to those authors; euery man hath not a Perle-mint, a Fish-mint, nor a Bird-mint in his braine, all are not licensed to create new stones, new

Fowles, new Serpents, to coyne new creatures'. Cf. also A 4 'when with shame they see their folly, they are faine to put on a mourning garment, and crie, Farwell'.

We thus see that there is at any rate much to lead us to think that Greene is referred to. On the other side we have:

(1) Nashe's definite statement in *Have with you*, iii. 131. 15-16
'I neuer abusd Marloe, Greene, Chettle in my life'.

(2) That Harvey nowhere brings this passage up against Nashe, as he surely would have done, had it been known for an attack upon Greene. It is, however, possible that Harvey was not acquainted with the book, though he must have known of its existence; see p. 2.

(3) It is conceivable that Nashe when at Cambridge, and before he made Greene's acquaintance, might have taken him as typical of the writers of those frivolous works which he wished to attack, and that the *Anatomy* having become the property of a stationer, and being indeed perhaps partly in type when Nashe came up to London and changed his views as to Greene's merits, it might have been impossible to recall the criticisms. We might, indeed, even suppose the laudatory preface to *Menaphon* to be a kind of apology to Greene for this earlier attack upon him, which had no doubt been circulated in MS. But how can we possibly reconcile this with Nashe's deliberately advertising the *Anatomy* at the end of the *Preface to Menaphon* (iii. 324. 26-30)? Surely it is inconceivable that, if Greene had been aimed at in the *Anatomy*, Nashe should, in a eulogy of Greene, have called attention to that work as a criticism of 'our maimed Poets'.

(4) Save in so far as they are love-stories, there is certainly nothing immoral in Greene's works, nor do the references 'to kindling *Venus* flame in *Vulcans* forge', or 'carrying *Cupid* in triumph' seem to have particular application to anything of his.

Further, many other authors used illustrations drawn from fancied properties of herbs and stones—they all did more or less—and the claim that one's work contained both pleasure and profit was a commonplace; cf. the titles of Fenton's *Tragical Discourses*, 'no less profitable than pleasant'; Gascoigne's *Hundreth sundry Flowers*, 'both pleasaunt and profitable'; and very many other works, besides the *Anatomy of Absurdity* itself.

Lastly, the whole tone of the attack, and especially p. 11, ll. 1-15, suggests that it is a protest against the revival of worn-out, old-fashioned literature—and surely Greene's works cannot have been considered as coming in this class.

Without wishing to put forward a rival claimant to Greene, I may point out, as evidence that other interpretations are possible, that George Pettie used the motto '*Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*' on the title-page of his *Petite Palace of Pleasure*; that the stories contained in this work are certainly 'amorous discourses', including, as they do, those of Tereus and Progne, Claudius and Virginia, and Pasiphae; that Pettie makes use of many similes drawn from natural history; and lastly that, as the translator of Guazzo's *Civil Conversatione*, he may have had some claim to being an *arbiter elegantiarum* in matters of deportment generally, if not especially in those of language.

In the absence of further evidence I do not see that we can arrive

at any certainty regarding the persons aimed at in this passage. While much favours the view that Greene is attacked, the evidence on the other side seems at least equally strong.

15. *the vicar of S. Fooles*] I am not aware of the origin of this personage, unless he is merely the *episcopus stultorum*, 'abbot of misrule,' or other leader of the sports at the Feast of Fools.

In *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. iv. 266-8, the name appears as that of a dance:

Misogonus: . . . What country dauncis do you now here dayly frequent?

Cacurgus: The vickar of S. fooles, I am sure, he would brave:

To that daunce of all other I see he is bent.

In *Martin's Month's Mind*, 1589, G IV (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 190. 1-2), we have 'Item, to my zealous brother Wig, I bequeath the Vicarege of S. Fooles', and Greene, in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 246. 18-21, describing how Velvet-breeches, i.e. a gallant, has his hair cut, says 'he sittes downe in the chaire wrapt in fine cloathes, as though the barber were about to make him a foot cloth for the vicar of saint fooles'.

16. *Gothamists*] Nashe again uses the word in *Preface to Menaphon*, iii. 314. 9. The men of Gotham (perhaps the village of that name in Nottinghamshire) were proverbial for their foolishness at the time when the Towneley plays were written, c. 1460: cf. *Towneley Plays*, ed. England and Pollard, xii. 179-80 'Now god gyf you care, foles all sam; Sagh I none so fare, but the foles of gotham' (quoted in *N. E. D.*). Mr. W. C. Hazlitt has collected some of the numerous references to them in the notes to his edition of *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham*, in *Sh. Jest-Books*, iii. 2, 3 and 'Additional Notes' at end. Sometimes, ironically, the 'wise men of Gotham' as in the *Trimming of T. Nashe*, G. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 34. 12-13.

22. *Italinated*] Probably a misprint for Italianated, or Italionated: cf. Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 88 'if any English-man be infected with any mysdemeanour, they say with one mouth, hee is Italionated: so odious is that nation to this, that the very man is no lesse hated for the name, then the countrey for the manners'. References to the harm done to Englishmen by the journey to Italy, which was looked upon as the necessary complement of a liberal education, at least among the higher classes, are very numerous. Ascham's attack upon it in the *Schoolmaster* (*Eng. Works*, ed. Wright, pp. 223-36), is familiar to all. He here gives the saying '*Englese Italianato, e vn diabolo incarnato*' (p. 229). A similar proverb, '*Thedesco Italionato, Diabolo incarnato*', is found in *The Traveller of Jerome Turler*, 1575: F1v. For other attacks upon Italian travel see Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S. i. 81, 129 (Holinshed, *Chron.*, 1587-8, i. 253, 273). Greene refers to the saying in the *Disc. of Cosenage*, 1591, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 6. 24 '[I am] not a deuill incarnate because I am Italianate'.

34-5] Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 1, 2.

P. 11, 3. *bable*] i. e. trifling, foolish: cf. *Tr. and Cress.* I. iii. 35. Here, perhaps, influenced by the verb 'babble'.

4. *Venus Court*] This may possibly be an allusion to *The Courte*

of *Venus*, which was printed c. 1540, but it seems at least doubtful. The same work 'moralized' by T. Brice was entered *S. R.* in 1566-7 (see Mr. Hazlitt's *Coll. and Notes*, i. 437 and *Handbook*, 61).

5. *Legendary licence of lying*] The reference is to the *Legenda Aurea*, which in Protestant times had become proverbial for mendacity. Allusions to this view of its character are frequent: cf. J. Racster, *William Alabaster's Seven Motives*, 1598, F3^v 'Why then the Popes *Legenda aurea*, his legend of lies, is nothing worth with vs, but to stop mustard pots', and the expression to 'lie by th' legend' in Fletcher's *Wit without Money*, II. iii. 50. It is referred to by J. Taylor as 'the lying Legend of Golden Gullery', *A Bawd*, 1635, A 7, and Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 498, classes the stories in it with those of Friar Rush and Adam Bell, as inventions too 'grosse and palpable' to be answered. He has other contemptuous references to it on pp. 79, 176. Cf. also note on i. 169. 15, and iii. 71. 21.

6-11. Denunciations of the romances of King Arthur and similar literature were frequent. Perhaps in writing this Nashe had in mind Ascham's in *The Schoolmaster (Engl. Wks.)*, ed. Wright, 230-1), 'In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookees were read in our tong, sauyng certaine bookees of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, *Morte Arthure*: the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciaill poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdry . . .' A similar attack upon such literature was made by Edward Dering in an epistle prefixed to *A briefe & necessary Instruction, Verye needfull to bee knownen of all Housholders*, 1572. The passage is quoted in Herbert's ed. of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 887 note, and at somewhat greater length from Dering's *Works*, 1614, in *Brit. Bibl.* iv. 371-3: cf. also T. Marshe's ed. of Lydgate's *Troy-Book*, 1555, as quoted in Ames, u.s. 849, note; C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van. Omn. Scient.*, cap. 5; and Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, Mm 4-4^v, where other denunciations of romances of this type are to be found.

7. *Abbie-lubbers*] The word occurs in *Euphues* (Lyly, ed. Bond, i. 250. 37), also in Marprelate's *Epitome*, ed. Petheram, p. 6 foot.

9. *Arthur of litle Brittaine*] i.e. *The History of the Most Noble and valyant Knyght Arthur of Little Brittaine, Translated out of French into English By the Noble John Bourghchere Knight Lord Berners. Imprinted at London by Thomas East [1581]*. There was also another edition printed by Robert Redborne, n.d. (Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 14). See an account of the book in *Brit. Bibl.* iv. 228-33.

9-10. *sir Tristram*] I am unable to find any record of a separate book of Sir Tristram printed at this time, though of course his story is given in part in the *Morte Arthure*. There is no Sir Tristram among the books of Captain Cox (in R. Laneham's letter describing the Kenilworth festivities of 1575), though, with the exception of *Arthur of Little Britain*, he possessed all the other works here mentioned—and many more of the kind. Harington, *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, p. 47, refers by this name to a book of hunting and hawking, 'I would ask you, sir, lest you should think I never read Sir Tristram . . .'

10. *Hewon of Burdeaux*] Translated by Sir John Bourchier c. 1530.

A third edition was published in 1601, but no second is known. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 289.

the Squire of low degree] Two editions are known, one printed by Wynkyn de Worde and the other by W. Copland. Neither is dated, but for the second the British Museum Catalogue suggests 1550. See Hazlitt, u. s., p. 574. Both printed parallel by Prof. W. E. Mead, *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, 1904.

11. *the four sons of Amon*] This was printed c. 1489, 1504, and 1554. It was also entered in the Stationers' Register to T. East in 1581; but no copy of the edition, if it was ever published, seems to be known. See Hazlitt, u. s., p. 19. 'Amon' is of course Aymon.

22-8] This passage is evidently a reminiscence of one in *Euphues*, to which it is in some sort an answer, 'I know that as ther hath bene an vnchast *Helen* in *Greece*, so there hath bene also a chast *Penelope*, as there hath bene a prodigious *Pasiphae*, so there hath bene a godly *Theocrita*, though many haue desired to be beloued as *Jupiter* loued *Alcmæna*, yet some haue wished to be embrased as *Phrigius* embrased *Pieria*, as ther hath raigned a wicked *Iesabel*, so hath there ruled a deuoute *Debora*, though many haue bene as fickle as *Lucilla*, yet hath there many bene as faithful as *Lucretia*!' Lyly, *Works*, ed. Bond, i. 257. 31-258. 2. But of course there was nothing new in the idea of such a contrasted list; compare, for example, the quotation from the *Χρυσίλλα* of Eubulus in Athenaeus xiii. 8.

24. *Medullina*] Her story is told in Plutarch's *Parallelæ*, 19. Having been abused by her father when drunk, she made him drunk again and killed him.

25. *Timoclea*] Her story is related in Plutarch's life of Alexander, 12; also in his *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, 24. See also *Coniugalia Praecepta*, 48, and *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, introductory par. At the taking of Thebes by Alexander she induced one of his soldiers to go down a well in the hope of finding treasure, and there overwhelmed him with stones.

26. *Sulpitia*] Chosen in B. C. 113, as being the chaste woman in Rome, to dedicate the statue of Venus Verticordia; see *Val. Max.* viii. 15. 12, and Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 35.

27. *Scylla*] A daughter of king Nisos of Megara, who when Minos was besieging her father's capital became enamoured of him, and to gain his love cut off the golden lock of hair from her father's head on which the safety of his kingdom depended, Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 1 et sqq.

Claudia] There were two persons of the name, one renowned for chastity, the other for filial piety, and there seems to have been a certain amount of confusion between them. The first, and doubtless the one to which reference is intended, is Claudia Quinta, probably sister of Appius Claudius Pulcher. Her story is told at length by Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 305 sqq., and Livy xxix. 14, and she is cited as an example of chastity by Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 35, and Plutarch, *Coni. Praecep.* 48; see also Sueton. *Tib.* 2.

The second was a Vestal virgin who, when her father, or, as some say, brother, was holding a triumph against the will of the tribunes, took his part and rode in the chariot with him—an action which apparently rendered further interference impossible. Cf. Sueton. *Tib.* 2, end; *Val. Max.* v. 4. 6, and the passage from Cicero quoted in the next note.

St. Jerome (*Patr. Curs.*, 23 (Hieron. 2) col. 271), tells the story of Claudia Quinta, but calls her a Vestal : 'Claudia virgo Vestalis cum in suspicionem venisset stupri, et simulacrum matris Idaeae in vado Tyberis haeret, ad comprobandum pudicitiam suam fertur cingulo duxisse navem, quam multa millia hominum trahere nequivaverant.' This Claudia is frequently referred to as an example of chastity, as in Lyly's *Euphues and his England*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond., ii. 209. 19.

28. *Clodia*] the wife of Q. Metellus Celer. Her character is fully dealt with by Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, 13-21. It is just possible that the association of the names may have been borrowed from section 14 of this, where Cicero, attacking Clodia, exclaims, 'Nonne te . . . ne progenies quidem mea, Q. illa Claudia, aemulam domesticae laudis in gloria muliebri esse admonebat? non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia, quae patrem complexa triumphantem ab inimico tribuno plebis de curru detrahi passa non est?'

32. *Atlanta*] Of course Atalanta is meant. Nashe may well have been familiar with her story from Ovid, *Metam.* x. 565 et sqq., though the end of her story as there related hardly seems to render her an irreproachable example of feminine virtue. The same spelling is to be found in Greene, *Wks.*, iv. 6, 222, and frequently elsewhere.

Architumna] In spite of search in a large number of works dealing with virtuous women, and elsewhere, I have been unable to discover any trace of a person so named. There was indeed an Archidamia (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 27), a Spartan woman renowned for courage, but she can hardly be intended here, and I know no others whose names are at all similar.

Hippo] See Val. Max. vi. 1. ext. 1. She was a Grecian woman who, being on a ship which was captured by a hostile fleet, threw herself into the sea in order to preserve her chastity.

Sophronia] A Roman Christian who in A.D. 309 killed herself to escape Maxentius. See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 14, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Gr. 20 (Euseb. 2), col. 785-8, where, however, her name is not given. This is to be found in Ruffinus's translation, viii. 17. Cf. also St. Jerome, *Epist.* 127. 5.

Lezena] An Athenian hetaera who, being charged with complicity in the murder of Hipparchus, bit off her tongue lest she should be forced to reveal the secret. She is mentioned by Pliny as an example of fortitude in enduring pain, *H. N.* vii. 23. Cf. also Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, 8.

33. *Flora*] The mediaeval conception of Flora as a courtesan seems to be chiefly due to Plutarch and Lactantius. The former speaks of Pompey's familiarity with a woman of this name (*Pompeius*, 2, 52), and Lactantius identifies the courtesan with the goddess of flowers : 'Flora cum magnas opes ex arte meretricia quaesivisset populum scripsit heredem, certamque pecuniam reliquit cuius ex anno foenore suis natalis dies celebraretur editione ludorum, quos appellant *Floralia*.' Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 6 (Lactant. 1), col. 218-9. The *Floralia* were of course celebrated in a manner which might seem to justify this theory of their origin. So far as I have observed, this conception of Flora was universal during the middle ages and the Renaissance. See, among many others, Pol. Verg. *de Invent. Rerum*, iv. 14; Erasmus, *Enc. Moriae*, ed. 1816, 16; *Collection out of Seb. Munster*, 1574, fol. 44; S. Batman,

Golden Book of the Leaden Gods, 1577; Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 77. 27-9. A somewhat different version is given by G. Fenton, *Golden Epistles*, 1582, 329-30.

34. *Rhodope*] i.e. Rhodopis, the famous Greek courtesan and supposed fellow slave of Aesop, who with the wealth that she had acquired in Egypt was said to have built the third pyramid : cf. Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 17, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 33. It may be noted that the form of the name in -e seems to have been universally employed. She is constantly referred to ; cf. Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 166. 35 ; Greene, ed. Grosart, ii. 270, 280 ; and see Grosart's index.

daughters of Danaus] See Ovid, *Heroid.* xiv.

Biblis] See Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 453-664.

35. *Canace*] See Ovid, *Heroid.* xi.

Mirrha] See Ovid, *Metam.* x. 300-502. The names of Byblis and Myrrha occur together in *Ars Am.* i. 283-5. As Mr. Crawford notes, Myrrha and Byblis are mentioned in *Euphues*, Lyly, ed. Bond, i. 231. 20-1, and with Canace in *Euphues and his England*, ii. 113. 3-4.

36. *Semiramis*] See Justin, i. 2 'ad postremum, quum concubitum filii petisset, ab eodem interfacta est'.

P. 12, l. *Pasiphae*] Her story is referred to by Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 131 et sqq., and *Ars Am.* i. 295.

3. *Mantuans inuictiue*] i.e. the well-known Fourth Eclogue of Baptista Spagnuoli Mantuanus, entitled 'Alphus—de natura mulierum'. The eclogues had been translated into English by George Turberville in 1567, other editions being published in 1572 and 1594.

6. *the Homer of Women*] It has been maintained that this is a reference to Robert Greene (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 95, and *D. N. B.*), a theory based, I suppose, on a passage in his *Mamillia*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 106-7, where Greene, protesting against those who slander women, says that if he 'were able either by wit or arte to be their defender' he 'would correct *Mantuās Eglogue*, intituled *Alphus*: or els if the Authour were alive, I woulde not doubt to perswade him in recompence of his errore, to frame a new one: for surely though *Euripiðes* in his tragedies doth greatly exclaim against that sexe, yet it was in his choller, and he infered a generall by a particular, which is absurd. He had an euyll wife, what then? because the hill *Canaros* hath a fountayne runs deadlie poyson, is al water nought? . . .' It is clear, however, that Greene is referring to the story that the infidelity of Euripides' wife induced him to satirize the whole sex in the *Hippolytus*, and not to Mantuan's wife at all. In any case surely 'the Homer of women' is a curious term, from every point of view, to apply to a prose-writer like Greene. The natural meaning would, I think, be, not a man who wrote in praise of women, but a female poet.

7-8. *Mantuans house holding of our Ladie*] i.e. his wife having the upper hand of him and ruling his household. Cf. Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, Engl. *Wks.*, ed. Wright, 205 : 'And if som good father wold seick some remedie herein [to the bad bringing up of his children], yet the mother (if the house hold of our Lady) had rather, yea, & will to, haue her sonne cunnyng & bold, in making him to lyue trimlie when he is yong, than by learning and trauell, to be able to serue his Prince and his contrie, both wiselie in peace, and stoutelie in warre, whan he is old.'

12-15, 19. There can, I think, be little doubt that Nashe borrowed all this, in a piece, from elsewhere. I have, however, been unable to find the source of it.

12-14. *One of thē beeing asked . . .]* Not found.

14-16. *Aristotle doth counsell vs . . .]* I cannot find this saying elsewhere attributed to Aristotle. It is related by Plutarch, *De Fraterno Amore*, 8, as that of a certain Lacedemonian, while in the *Loci Communes* of Antonius Melissa it is told of Democritus. See Migne, *Patr. Curs., Ser. Grec.*, 136, col. 1092.

The saying 'of two ills the least should be chosen' is frequently quoted or referred to : cf. ll. 25-6 and Chaucer, *Tr. and Cres.* ii. 470; Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 20; *Soliman and Perseda*, IV. i. 237; *I Tamburlaine*, III.ii. 96 (Wagner, 1076). See also W. F. H. King, *Class. Quot.*, 1904, No. 1552 'minima de malis'.

19-21. *Diogenes . . .]* From Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 6. 54.

21. *Pythagoras*] The reference is evidently to the saying πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ γυνή, κακὰ τρία : cf. Erasm. *Adag.* chil. ii. cent. 2. 48 'Ignis, mare, mulier, tria mala'; but I have not found it anywhere attributed to Pythagoras.

23-5. *the forenamed Cinick . . .]* See Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 4. 29 ἐπῆνει τοὺς μὲλλοντας γαμεῖν καὶ μὴ γαμεῖν.

26. *of two extremities to choose the lesse*] See note on l. 14.

26-9. *The selfe same man affirmeth . . .]* I cannot find any such saying attributed to Diogenes.

28. *square*] i. e. direct, regulated ; cf. Preston, *Cambyses*, ed. Manly in *Pre-Sh. Dr.*, l. 1204-5.

Our author craves likewise, if he have squared amisse,
By gentle admonition to know where the fault is.

29-33. *The olde Sages . . .]* The reference seems to be to Plutarch, *De Educatione Puerorum*, 19 'Εγγνάθου δὲ δεῖ τοῖς νιόις γυναικας μήτε εὐγενεστέρας πολλῷ μήτε πλουσιωτέρας' τὸ γάρ, Τὴν κατὰ σαντὸν ἔλα, σοφῶν ὡς οἱ γε μακρῷ κρείτοντος ἑαυτῶν λαμβάνοντες οὐ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδρες, τῶν δὲ προκῶν δοῦλοι λανθάνονται γυνόμεναι : cf. also M. Seneca, *Controv.* i. 6 (ed. Bouillet, 1831, p. 130) 'Omnes uxores divites servitatem exigunt. Crede mihi, volet in suis regnare divitiis', and Jerome, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, 23 (Hieron. 2), col. 250 'Incipit enim [uxor dives] non uxor esse sed domina. The advice to take a wife of the same rank as oneself is more frequent : cf. Diog. Laert. i. 4. 8. 80 and i. 6. 4. 92.

33-5. *Another Philosopher . . .]* Not identified.

35-7. *Socrates . . .]* The nearest that I can find to this is his saying of Xanthippe, that if one could manage a bad-tempered wife he would have no trouble with other people. See Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 17. 37.

P. 13, 1-13. *him that beeing askt . . . Demosthenes . . . Democritus . . . Another being asked . . . accurst*] In spite of much search I have been unable to discover any authority for these sayings. They seem to be entirely ignored by other writers against women, and in the collections of *Apophthegmata*. A saying somewhat similar to that here attributed to Demosthenes is related by Anton. Melissa of Protagoras, Migne, *Patr. Curs., Ser. Grec.* 136, col. 1092.

14. *he that marrieth late marrieth euill*] The proverb is otherwise unknown to me.

20. *women and wine*] The reference, if to anything in particular, is probably to Ecclesiasticus, 19. 2 'Wine and women lead wise men out of the way and put men of understanding to reproof'.

22. *Plutarch in his precepts of wedlocke*] I do not find this in the *Coni. Praec.*

25. *Seneca*] Not found.

26. *Marcus Aurelius*] I have been unable to find the passage in Marcus Aurelius. If Nashe copied all this bodily from elsewhere, perhaps the reference should be to Plautus, who comes next on the list: see *Poenulus*, I. ii. 1-6 :

Negotii sibi qui volet vim parare,
Navem et mulierem, haec duo comparato.
Nam nullae magis res duae plus negotii
Habent, forte si occuperis exornare.
Neque unquam satis hae duae res ornantur,
Neque eis ulla ornandi satis satietas est.

28-32. *Plautus saith . . .*] Not found.

33. *an Author of late memorie*] I cannot with certainty identify the author. Possibly Gascoigne, who died in 1577, may be meant; cf. the Epilogue of his *Steel Glass*:

Behold (my lorde) what monsters muster here,
With Angels face, and harmefull helish harts,
With smyling lookes, and depe deceitfull thoughts,
With tender skinnes, and stony cruel mindes,
With stealing steppes, yet forward feete to fraude.

But similar sayings are very common: cf. *The Courtier* (Tudor Trans., p. 38), 'an ungrate woman, who with the eies of an angel, and hearte of a Serpent, never agreeth her tunge with her mynde . . .'; and, later, Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* in *Sh. Allusion Bks.*, N. S. S., 28. 12-13, and Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 16. 2.

35-6. *Valerius in Epist. ad Ruf.*] This letter, called *Valerius Rufino ne ducat uxorem*, or by similar titles, the author of which is unknown, was extremely popular throughout the middle ages. It is found with variations in numerous MSS. and was generally printed among the supposititious works of St. Jerome. It was claimed by Walter Map and inserted as his in the *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. T. Wright for the Camden Society, 1850, pp. 142-52).

37. *Amice ne longo . . .*] See *De Nugis Curialium*, u. s., p. 152, and Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, 30 (Hieron. 11), col. 261. The quotation corresponds best with the text given in the latter, but is not exact.

It may be noted that the Latin quotations here and generally throughout the piece are in italic type in the original, while the translations are in Roman. As both these are here alike represented by italic, the typographical distinction of the original is necessarily lost.

P. 14, 4-5. the golden Booke of Theophrastus] i.e. the work from which extracts are given by St. Jerome: see *Adv. Iovin.* i. 47, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 23 (Hieron. 2), col. 276.

9. *Quis mulibri . . .*] This does not seem to come from the epistle of Valerius, and I have not succeeded in tracing it.

14-21. *quid aliud est mulier . . .*] This is from a homily on the Gospel

of St. Matthew printed among the works of Chrysostom, but of uncertain authorship. The passage, which has for title 'Mulieris malae descrip^{tio},' runs—'Quid autem est aliud mulier, nisi amicitiae inimica, ineffugabilis poena, necessarium malum, naturalis tentatio, desiderabilis calamitas, domesticum periculum, delectabile detrimentum, mali natura, boni colore depicta? Ergo si dimittere illam peccatum est, cum oportet tenere iam vero tormentum necesse est.' Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec. 56 (Chrysost. 6), col. 803. Cf. note on 15. 5-19.

21-9. *Illud aduerte . . .*] Not found, in these words.

29-33. *Diligit mulier ut capiat . . .*] From the *De Nuptiis* attributed to Hugo de St. Victor, or, better, to Hugo de Fouilloi, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, 176 (Hugo de S. V., 2), col. 1207.

33, &c. *Nulla est uxoris electio . . .*] Quoted from '*Aureolus Theophrasti liber*' by St. Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.*, i, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, 23 (Hieron. 2), col. 277. Also in the *De Nuptiis* mentioned above, at the beginning of which the whole of Jerome's extract from Theophrastus is repeated.

P. 15, 5-19.] The opinions here cited are to be found, immediately preceded by that quoted at 14. 14-21, in J. Nider's tract *De Maleficiis* (in the *Malleorum Quorundam Maleficarum . . .* tom*i* duo, 1582, i. 760) and in Sprenger and Institor's *Malleus Maleficarum*, pars i, quaest. 6 (ed. 1580, p. 87): there are slight differences of reading. Both attribute the 'Viros ad unumquodque maleficium . . .' to 'Tullius 2 Rethoricæ': I am indebted to Prof. W. C. Summers for the correct reference, *ad Herennium*, iv. 16. 23. The last part, 'muliebrium enim . . .' is not there, nor does it seem to be elsewhere in Cicero, but 'Muliebrium vitiorum fundamentum avaritia est' is to be found in M. A. Seneca, *Excerpta Contr.* ii. 7.

12-19. *Seneca also saith thus in his Proverbs*] Cf. Sprenger, *Mall. Mal.* u. s. (Nider's readings in square brackets), 'Et Seneca in suis Tragœdijs [proverbijs *N*]: Aut amat aut odit mulier, nihil [vel *N*] tertium dedisse est [*om. est N*], flere fœminā est mendaciū. Duo genera lachrymarum habentur in oculis fœminarū, veri doloris unū, insidiarū aliud, mulier cùm sola cogitat, mala cogitat.' Three of the sayings are from Publius Syrus, the collection of *sententiae* now attributed to him having formerly passed under the name of *Proverbia Senecæ*. The lines are, as usually given:

Aut amat, aut odit mulier: nihil est tertium.

Didicere flere fœminæ in mendacium.

Mulier quum sola cogitat, male cogitat.

For 'Duo genera lachrymarum . . .' I can find nothing nearer than 'Muliebris lacryma condimentum malitia est.' In Baldwin's *Mor. Phil.*, ed. 1587, p. 152, the saying is attributed to Pythagoras.

23. *Battus*] See Ovid, *Met.* ii. 688, &c. The phrase 'wonne with a Cowe, and lost with a Bull' seems to parody the common saying 'won with a nut and lost with an apple,' i. e. lightly won and lightly lost: see *Euphues*, ed. Bond, i. 206. 33-4.

25. *that of Plato*] Borrowed possibly from Erasmus, *Encomium Moriae*, with which Nashe was almost certainly familiar, 'Nam quod Plato dubitare videtur, utro in genere ponat mulierem, rationalium animantium, an brutorum, nihil aliud voluit, quam insignem eius sexus

stultitiam indicare' (*Opera*, 1703, iv. 418c). There is precisely the same statement in Rabelais, iii. 32. The passage in Plato referred to is apparently *Timaeus*, 76 e, ὡς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυνάκες καὶ τάλλα θηρία γενήσαντα, ἡπίσταντο οἱ συνιστάντες ἡμᾶς.

26-9. *who also gave thanks to Nature . . .*] I have not found this attributed to Plato: it is reported by Diog. Laert. i. 1. 7. 33, as of Thales: ἔφασκε γάρ, φησί, τριῶν τούτων ἐνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἔγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον εἴτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή τρίτον ὅτι Ἑλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.¹

29. *Aristotle*] See *Politica*, vii. 14 (16), § 4.¹

36. *In some Countries . . .*] i.e. in Boeotia: cf. Plutarch, *Coni. Praecept. 2*. Half the reason is here suppressed. The plant was 'wilde preckie Spirach branches [i.e. asparagus], for that this plant out of a most sharpe and pricking thorne, putteth foorth a most pleasant and delectable fruit'; thus typifying that after the first difficulties and troubles of marriage the wife shall bring her husband 'a sweete and amiable societie', Plutarch, trans. Holland 316. l. 24, &c.¹

P. 16, 3-5. *The Massagets told Pompey . . .*] Cf. Pettie's *Petite Palace of Pleasure* [1576] Ee 2^v-3. The original source is unknown to me.¹

14-19. *Ioue had sundry shapes . . .*] From Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 110-14:

Addidit, ut Satyri celatus imagine pulchram
Iuppiter implerit gemino Nycteida fetu,
Amphitryon fuerit, cum te, Tirynthia, cepit,
Aureus ut Danaen, Asopida luserit ignis,
Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoida serpens,

but taken by way of Golding's translation (compare the names):

She added also how by *Jove* in shape of *Satyr* gaye
The faire *Antiope* with a paire of children was besped:
And how he tooke *Amphitrios* shape when in *Alcmenas* bed
He gate the worthie *Hercules*: and how he also came
To *Danae* like a shoure of golde, to *Aegine* like a flame,
A sheepeherd to *Mnemosyne*, and like a Serpent sly
To *Proserpine*.

15-20.] In *Euphues* occurs a very similar passage, which Nashe may have remembered: 'Loue knoweth no lawes: Did not *Iupiter* transforme himselfe into the shape of *Amphitrio* to imbrace *Alcmæna*? Into the forme of a Swan to enioye *Læda*? Into a Bull to beguyle *Io*? Into a showre of golde to winne *Danae*? Did not *Neptune* chaunge himselfe into a Heyfer, a Ramme, a Floude, a *Dolphin*, onelye for the loue of those he lusted after? Did not *Apollo* conuerte himselfe into a Shepheard, into a Birde, into a Lyon, for the desire he had to heale hys disease?' Lylly, ed. Bond, i. 236. 10-16.

17. *to Læda in the likenes of a Swan*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xvi. (Helene) 55, and, without mention of Jove, in *Metam.* vi. 109, immediately before the lines already quoted.

17-18. *to Io like a Heyfer*] A confused recollection of the story. It was Io herself who was changed into a cow, Ovid, *Metam.* i. 610-11. Perhaps the passage from Lylly quoted above may be the cause of the mistake. Mr. Bond notes that Io is an error for Europa.

¹ See Additional Notes on these pages at the end of the volume.

19-20. *to Pasiphae like a Bull*] The mistake may possibly be due to a careless reading of *Heroid.* iv. 55-8:

Iuppiter Europen (primast ea gentis origo)
Dilexit, tauro dissimulante deum;
Pasiphae mater, decepto subdita tauro,
Enixast utero crimen onusque suo.

The story of Pasiphae is mentioned in *Metam.* viii. 131-7.

20. *Nonacris*] i.e. Callisto. Jupiter assumed the form of Diana, not that of Apollo, cf. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 401 etc. She is there called Nonacrina: by Golding 'a Nymph of *Nonacris*'.

22. *Orpheus*] See Ovid, *Metam.* x. 79-85 and xi. 1, &c.

26-7. *Minerua . . . Medusa*] Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 799-800.¹

29. *Greene colours*] This is generally taken to refer to Robert Greene, who certainly had written much about women, and it is difficult to resist the conviction that it does so. But even if Greene is meant here, the passage need not be read as an attack upon him; the sense may be merely 'such colours as Greene uses,' i.e. in emulation of Greene. It should also be noted that 'green' was used to mean much the same as 'fresh' or 'lively,' and that it was supposed to be a particularly pleasing colour. Cf. Lylly, *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed Bond, i. 313. 30-1, 'Diuers colours offende the eyes, yet hauinge greene amonge them whet the sight' (cf. Plutarch, *De Exilio*, 3), and Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 91, 'all thing is gay that is greene.'

30. *Is not witchcraft . . .*] The belief that women were more easily subjected to diabolical influence than men is frequently discussed and referred to; see *Malleus Maleficarum*, pars i, quaest. 6, and R. Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 116, 'As women in all ages haue beeene counted most apt to conceiue witchcraft, and the diuels speciaill instruments therin, and the onelie or cheefe practisers therof . . .'; cf. Lodge's *Divil Coniured*, 1596, E 2; also *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 271. 1181-2.

32. *Thebane Tyresias*] See Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 318-33, and Lucian, *Amores*, 27.¹

34. *Calphernias impudencie*] Caia or Gaia Afrania is meant; see Val. Max. viii. 3. 2, where, however, the law is not mentioned. For this see Ulpian in *Digests*, iii. 1, § 5, where the person whose action was the cause of its being passed is called Carfania. For the name Calphurnia, sometimes given to her, see the foot-note to the passage in Val. Max., ed. Valpy, 1823.

P. 17, 3. *Sabina*] i.e. Poppaea Sabina, wife of Nero. The story is perhaps taken from Xiphilinus, *Nero* (ed. 1558, p. 205), who uses the name Sabina. Pliny in relating the same thing (*H. N.* xi. 96) calls her Poppaea.¹

5. *Galeria*] The wife of the emperor Vitellius; see Xiphilinus, *Vitellius* (ed. 1558, p. 229).¹

8. *Cleopatra*] 'In lectulo recumbens mortua est, aspide ad se in urnula portata, vel ut quidam putant, brachio compuncto acu qua solebat capillos suos crisplos facere: quae quod venenata esset, interitum ei percelerem attulit,' Xiphilinus, u. s., p. 76.¹

24. *hoddy-peekes*] i.e. fool, sometimes cuckold, cf. ii. 263. 28. Often a vague term of abuse, cf. *Nice Wanton*, in Dodsley, ii. 164.

¹ See Additional Notes on these pages at the end of the volume.

27. *a custome in Greece*] This is referred to by Plutarch in his *Quaest. Rom.* I, 'What is the reason that new wedded wives are bidden to touch fire and water?' Of four alternative answers the second is 'For that as the fire purgeth and water washeth; so a wife ought to continue pure, chaste and cleane all her life,' Holland, p. 850, ll. 28-9.

32. *an Ethiopian blot*] i.e. an irremovable blot, cf. Jeremiah 13. 23, and the saying 'Aethiops non albefecit' in Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iii, cent. 10. 88, also Aesop (Camerarius, 1571, No. 74). The phrase is very common, cf. *Christ's Tears*, ii. 54. 29.

34. *In Boëtia . . .*] Taken apparently from Plutarch's *Quaest. Rom.* 29, but there is some confusion, for Plutarch speaks of this as a Roman custom. The explanation given by Nashe is one of three suggested in the Greek. In illustration Plutarch compares the Boeotian custom of burning the axle-tree of the chariot in which the bride has been taken to her husband's house, which is also referred to in the text before us.¹

P. 18, 5. *In Rome . . .*] From Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 31, but not exact: 'Certes they that lead the bride home, cause her to sit upon a flicce of wooll, then bringeth she foorth a distaffe and a spindle, and with wooll all to hangeth and decketh the dore of her husbands house' (trs. Holland, 861. 13-15); cf. Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 74 and xxix. 9.

27. *Spanish needle*] Needles are very frequently referred to as Spanish, cf. Greene, *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 239. 25, 241. 9, and Lylly, *Gallathea*, III. iii. 12. They were, it is to be presumed, in earlier times imported from Spain, but not apparently at this date. Stafford in his *Examination of Complaints*, 1581 (ed. N.S.S., p. 51), says that men are not contented with any 'Dagger, Swarde, Knife, or Gyrdle, but of spanish making, or some outward countrey,' but says nothing of needles. From Stow's *Annals* (ed. 1615, p. 948^a) we learn that 'the making of Spanish Needles, was first taught in Englande, by Elias Crouse a Germaine, about the Eight yeere of Queene Elizabeth, and in Queene Maries time, there was a Negro made fine Spanish needles in Cheapside, but would neuer teach his Art to any.'

27-8. *Spanish gloues*] See W. Stafford, *Exam. of Complaints*, N. S. S., p. 51, 'of our felles they [i.e. foreigners] make Spanish skins, Gloves, and Girdels; . . . There is no man can be cōtentēd now with any other Gloves, then be made in Fraunce or in Spayne.' Also Jonson's *New Inn*, II. ii (quoted in notes to Stubbes' *Anatomy*, N. S. S.), 'Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid.' In Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*, II. i, near end, Romish gloves are mentioned as of especial excellence.

28. *setting sticke*] A forked instrument for arranging the folds of the ruff, apparently when on the neck. Cf. note on i. 181. 6-7.

35. *Troyan Dames*] Cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 6 and *De Mulierum Virtutibus* I.

P. 19, 4. *on a light fire*] i.e. in a blaze. Cf. *N.E.D.*, s.v. Light ^{a, 2} I. a, Jonson *Ev. Man. In.* III. iv. 2, and J. Taylor, *Works*, 1630, Bbb 3^v col. b. Similarly 'on a light flame,' Harsnet, *Decl. of Pop. Imp.*, 1603, p. 133.

15. *The Esseniāns*] See Pliny, *H. N.* v. 15.¹

¹ See Additional Notes on these pages at the end of the volume.

21. *Atlas . . .*] Cf. Pol. Vergil, *De Inventoribus Rerum*, i. 17, ‘Plinius libro septimo [cap. 57] Atlantem Lybiae filium Astrologiam invenisse dicit. Quapropter Poëtae tradiderunt hunc sustinere coelum humeris.’ See Natalis Comes, *Mythologia*, iv. 7, for a long discussion of the meaning of the fable. The explanation here advanced is given by Diod. Sic. iii. 60, § 2 and iv. 27, § 5.

31-2. *prayse . . . from the penne of the praysed*] Alluding to the saying ‘Magnificum est laudari a laudato viro’. See Seneca, *Epist.* 102. 16, and Cicero, *Epist. ad Div.* v. 12. 7.

P. 20, 3-4. *anatomize abuses and stubbe vp sin by the rootes*] A manifest reference to Philip Stubbes’ *Anatomy of Abuses*, first published in 1583.

5. *dogge daies effects*] Pliny has frequent references to the supposed effects of the rising of the dog-star, cf. *H. N.* ii. 40, ix. 25, xiv. 22, xviii. 68. These include the souring of wine, rendering dogs mad, causing fish and seaweed to come up to the surface of the sea, &c. So Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1289, has ‘canicula pestilens est omnibus sidus.’ There is much on the subject in J. Gorus (Joannes de S. Geminiano), *Summa de Exemplis*, ed. 1576, fol. 37, and in *The Treasury of Ancient and Modern Times*, 1613, bk. i, cap. 28. Here I think Nashe merely means to say that such authors are mad with envy. ‘Dogged’ is always used by Nashe for cynical or envious.

12. *Nullus ad amissas . . .*] Ovid, *Tr.* i. 9. 10. Quoted in Lily’s *Short Introduction of Grammar*, 1577, H 7^v.

18. *as the Stage player . . .*] From Erasmus’s *Parabolae*, in Lycosthenes’ *Apophthegmata*, 1574, p. 1217, ‘Ut histrio non est felicior, quod in scenis adornatus, rex aut Deus videatur: Sic non homo fortunae muneribus: quandoquidem suis bonis aestimatus, nihil est.’ See Seneca, *Epist.* 76. 23, and cf. *Epist.* 80. 7, 8.

23-4] Perhaps suggested by Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1231, ‘Ex arboribus quae vehementer foecundae sunt, eo celerius senescunt.’ See Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 51 ‘fertilitas senectam [ad]iicit’.

27-8. *Vultures slay nothing themselves*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1218, ‘Vultures ipsi nihil occidunt, sed ab aliis occisa invadunt: Ita nonnulli alienis fruuntur sudoribus.’ See Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 93 ‘neither killeth hee [i.e. the Vulture] any living creature, like as eagles, falcons, hauks, and other fowles do, that prey by night, but feedeth upon dead carriions,’ trans. Holland, 881. 18-20.

P. 21. 5-6. *At scire tuum nihil est . . .*] Persius, *Sat.* i. 26-7 ‘Usque adeone Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciatur alter?’

8. *Anacharsis . . .*] From Plutarch, *De Profectibus in Virt.* 7, but probably taken by way of Erasmus’s *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1277, ‘Quemadmodum Anacharsis dixit, Athenienses ad nihil aliud uti nummis, nisi ad numerandum: Ita quidam utuntur philosophiae praecepsis, tantum ut ostentent.’

11. *the Panther . . .*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., pp. 1236, 1305, ‘Ut Panthera bene olet, sed non nisi bestiis, quas ad se trahit, hominibus non item: ita iocus [p. 1305: Scotus] bonis ingenii gravis est, stupidis istis et bardis quovis aromate gravior.’ See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 23, who, however, does not state that it is only to beasts that the smell of the panther is agreeable. Nor is this mentioned by Muenster who refers to the subject; see *A Briefe Collection . . . oute of . . .*

Sebastian Munster, 1574, fol. 68v. In Belleforest's edition of Muenster there is a long discussion of Pliny's statement, the truth of which had been denied by some.

16-17. *put theyr Oare in another mans boate*] A very common saying, cf. *Tell Troth*, N.S.S., 14. 12, 'such Jealous gossipes as loue to haue owers in euery mans bote'; Lodge, *Wil's Misery*, 1596, C IV, 'an oare in euery mans boat'; and *Two angry Wom. of Ab.* III. ii (ed. Gayley, viii. 382-3), 'tis not good to have an oar in another man's boat.'

18. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*] Cf. Pliny, *H.N.* xxxv. 36, § 12, and Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 6. 16.

19. *Quam quisque norit artem . . .*] Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 18. 41, where it is cited as a Greek proverb. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 2. 82, also chil. i, cent. 6. 15.

20. *with the Elephant . . .*] Probably from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1250, 'Ut elephanti, cum nare non possint, tamen amnibus impense delectantur, circaque illos vagari gaudent: Ita quidam cum literas nesciant, tamen inter eruditos versari gaudent.' A reference is given to Pliny *H.N.* viii. 5, but he does not seem either here or elsewhere definitely to state that the elephant cannot swim, though in his description of the manner in which a herd crosses a stream perhaps this is implied. Aristotle, however, says so (*Hist. Anim.* ix. 46), and the belief seems to have been general, cf. North's Guevara's *Dial of Princes*, 1582, fol. 406v, 'lambs swimme wyth safty in y^e deepest chanel, & elephâts downe [sic, for drown]e in the shalowest foord.'

25. *twopennie Catichismes*] We may, if we will, take 'twopennie' as representing the price of the book; cf. 'twopennie Pamphlets' in the *Preface to Menaphon*, iii. 316. 12, but the word was certainly used also in a depreciatory sense as at present; cf. J. Racster's *William Alabaster's Seven Motives*, 1598, M 3v, 'He himselfe confessed, it was a certain ten penny book that helped him to his two penny faith'.

32-3. *Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne*] Pliny, *H.N.* xxxv. 36, § 11, but probably from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1303, 'Quemadmodum Protogenes pictor Apellem ex unica linea cognovit nunquam alioqui visum: Ita ex unico responso ingenium et prudentiam viri deprehendet, qui sit ipse sapiens.'

37, &c. *A small ship in a shallow Riuier . . . vessell*] From Seneca, *Epist.* 43. 2, 'Navis, quae in flumine magna est, in mari parvula est,' coming probably through Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u.s., p. 1258 'Navis in fluvio magna, in mari parva est: Sic mediocres alibi, alibi videntur insignes.' The image is of frequent occurrence. Mr. Crawford compares Bacon's *Apophthegms, Wks.*, ed. Spedding and Ellis, vii. 175, 'King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them; *Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which shew like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things*'; also Webster, *White Devil*, V. i, 'Fran. de Med. . . . As ships seem very great upon the river, which show very little upon the seas, so some men i' the court seem colossuses in a chamber, who, if they came into the field, would appear pitiful pygmies.' He also notes a reversal of the saying in *Hero and Leander*, Sest. i. 225-6:

A stately-builded ship, well rigg'd and tall,
The ocean maketh more majestical.

P. 22, 5. *agrauate*] Apparently used here in a sense of which *N.E.D.* has no example earlier than 1626, i. e. lay to the charge of, impute as a fault; cf. example under 1641 'Baker, *Chron.* (1679) 80/2 Their spokesman to the King to aggravate his breach of promise.'

17-18. *the performance of good workes for Papistrie*] The relative importance of faith and good works for justification was of course one of the main points of difference between the Church of Rome and the Protestants. The Council of Trent had in 1546 given its assent to the doctrine that justification is dependent on the righteousness of Christ working in believers so as to cause themselves to become righteous. Hence the performance of good works was implied as an essential for justification. The Protestants, and the Puritan party especially, held that man can in no case have any merit of his own, but that justification is granted to believers, as an act of the divine grace, solely on account of the merit of Christ. They therefore rejected the efficacy of good works for salvation. The Puritans are constantly attacked as if they denied that good works ought to be performed, which of course they did not: cf. *Christ's Tears*, ii. 107. 19-21; see note.

19. *Cauete ab hipocritis]* Perhaps Luke 12. 1 is meant, but, if so, the quotation is not exact.

32. *pind to their sleeveus*] It seems possible that certain of the extreme Puritans wore some distinguishing mark on their sleeves—a usual place for a badge—though I know of no other evidence of this. In 1536 at the time of the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' under Robert Aske the insurgents wore 'imbrodered on the sleeves of their cotes in stead of a badge, the similitude of the five wounds of our sauour, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our Lord' (*Holinshend, Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 800); so also in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, iv. 215, we hear of a heretic being obliged to wear the device of a faggot upon his left sleeve.

P. 23, 1. *Howligasse*] The figure of Ulenspiegel seems to have been remarkably popular in this country in spite of the fact that only a mutilated version of the German stories which passed under his name had appeared in English. This was printed by W. Copland, c. 1528, and there were at least three editions (see Mr. Hazlitt's *Hand-book*). After about 1560 it does not seem to have been reprinted. For an excellent account of the character see Professor Herford's *Lit. Relations of England and Germany*, 1886, pp. 283-93. It may be observed that, in Scotland, Howliglas or Holliglas seems to have been associated rather with vice than with humour (*Lit. Rel.* 287 and note 2), and he is apparently thus regarded by Nashe. In England, on the other hand, he was more often classed with the comic characters of the Jest-hooks, as for example by G. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 215.

3-4. *tract path*] I suppose 'the path 'traced' or followed by their treachery' is meant. Though 'tract' alone is used for path, I have not met elsewhere with any such combination as 'tract path.'

II. *with Thales Milesius*] The well known story of Thales falling into a ditch, when observing the stars, is narrated in Diog. Laert. i. 1.8. 34. In the life of Anaximenes, ii. 2. 3. 4, it is stated that an accident of this kind occasioned Thales' death.

15. *with the Phænix*] I have not found this statement about the phoenix elsewhere.

19. *lightly*] i. e. as a general rule.

20. *the ende of evry Tearme*] The law terms being the busiest time of the year in London seem also to have been the chief seasons for the publication of new books. Perhaps such works as are here referred to appeared at the end of the term for countrymen to buy and take home with them. Cf. i. 329. 6-7.

24-5. *Calabrian floodde*] The reference is to a pamphlet which was entered *S. R.* on Nov. 10, 1586, to J. Perrin, and was probably issued early in 1587. It sets forth the opinion of the astrologer John Doleta as to the events foreshadowed by the appearance of certain stars, or comets, in Calabria, and is entitled *Straunge Newes out of Calabria: Prognosticated in the yere 1586. vpon the yere 87. and what shall happen in the said yere: Praying the Lord to be mercifull vnto vs.* We learn that the sun 'shall be couered with the Dragon, in the morning frō fwe a clocke vntill nine, and will appeare like Fire: therfore it is not good that any man doe behold the same: for by the beholding thereof you may lose your sight' (cf. l. 28). Floods, great winds, pestilence, and earthquakes are foretold, which will affect all Christendom. Nashe again refers to the book i. at 289. 18-19.

25-7] Mr. Crawford takes this to refer to Spenser's *Virgil's Gnat*, ll. 233, &c. It is, however, I think, sufficiently explained by the pamphlet described above.

27. *wappe*] I suppose this to be the same as the 'whappet or prickeard curre' mentioned by Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.* bk. iii, cap. 7, ed. N. S. S., pt. ii, p. 48. See also Caius, *Engl. Dogs*, 1576, p. 34, a 'Wappe or Warner'.

32. *the Ballet*] I do not know of any ballad on an earthquake published at this time. There was certainly one, and probably several, published on the earthquake of 1580, but these could hardly be alluded to here.

37. *new found*] i. e. new, or perhaps newfangled.

Songs and Sonets] Nashe was probably not thinking of any particular collection. From its familiarity as the title of Tottel's *Miscellany* the phrase seems to have come to mean any collection of short poems—especially if of an amorous tendency. So Edward Dering, in the passage referred to in the note on II. 6-11, speaks of 'our Songs & Sonets, our Pallaces of Pleasure, our vnchast Fables, & Tragedies, and such like sorceries.' Compare the use of the expression in *Every Man in his Humour*, Fol. IV. iii., Q. 1601, l. 1867, and in *Satiromastix*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, i. 241. It occurs also as part of the title of Turberville's *Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonnets*, 1567, and later of Deloney's *Strange Histories, or Songs and Sonnets of Kings, &c.*, 1607.

P. 24, 8-9. *as the straightest things beeing put into water, seeme crooked*] Erasmus, *Parabolæ*, in Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, 1574, p. 1242, 'In aquam demissa quaedam, cum sint rectissima, speciem curvi præfractique visentibus reddunt: Ita si de rebus perperam iudicamus, nostrum est vitium, non rerum.' See Seneca, *Epist.* 71. 23. The image is of frequent occurrence. Mr. C. Crawford refers to Montaigne, *Essaies*, bk. i, cap. 40 (ed. Morley, 126^a) 'A straight oare,

being under water seemeth crooked. It is no matter to see a thing, but the matter is how a man doth see the same.' Also bk. ii, ch. 12 (ed. Morley, 300 a).

13. *Apuleyan eares*] i. e., of course, asses' ears.

18. *that saying of Campanus*] Probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 4 'sicut alicubi cecinit Campanus :

Viuunt carmine insani poetae,
Si nugas adimas, fame peribunt.
His mendacia sunt opes et aurum,
Fingunt quaeque uolunt, putantque palmam
Mentiri bene gloriosiorem.'

These are ll. 3-5, 13, 14 of the poem 'Ad Aurianum' in the third book of Campanus's Epigrams. See *Omnia Campani Opera* [? 1495], fol. 13 of the Epigrams at end. This reads 'pauperes poetae' in the first line quoted.

27. *politique Counsailour or valiant Souldier*] Nashe may have been thinking of some of the poems published on the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1578-9 and Sir Philip Sidney in 1586, but it would be idle to speculate which.

33. *Bussards*] Cf. 9. 23.

35-6. *Ante ad dicendum . . .*] Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* i. 17. 78, 'ante ad agendum quam ad cognoscendum venimus.'

P. 25, 3. *abscedarie Priest in Lincolnshire*] I have not been able to find any source for this story. It seems, however, to be referred to in R. Harvey's *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 26. 13-16, where the author speaks of ignorant ministers 'which thanke God, I dare saie in their hearts (with that firehot Preacher) that they are so farre from the Romish Religion, as they cannot vnderstand a word of the Latine toong.' Again, perhaps from the present passage, in 2 *Return from Parnassus*, II. iv. 29 (695-8), Immerito, whose father is about to buy him a benefice, objects to certain questions which the bishop's examiner might ask him; whereupon Academico says: 'He meanes any question in Latin, which he counts a scruple; oh this honest man could neuer abide this popish tongue of Latine.' In T. Freeman's *Rubbe and a Great Cast*, 1614, there is an epigram on one Gosling, a Puritan, who never quoted the Fathers, saying that the Scripture is all-sufficient—because he knew no Latin (Epigr. 11, B 3). Nashe repeats the story, as of a 'Parson in Lancashire,' in *Strange News*, i. 325. 10-13. For 'abscedarie' compare the term 'Abecedarii' applied to the boys of the lowest class in the College of Guyenne—and doubtless elsewhere; see Woodward, *Education during the Renaissance*, 1906, p. 144.

5-6. *Albadanensis Appollonius*] i. e. Apollonius of Alabanda. See Cic. *de Orat.* i. 28. 126.

7-12] All this is probably taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 4, trs. 1569, fol. 12, 'But let vs retourne to Poetrie: Augustine willeth that it shoulde be banished out of the Citie of God: Plato the Pagane drijeth it out of his Common Weale . . . (12^v) But emonge y^e aunciente Romanes also, Poetrie was publike had in dishonoure: and in suche sorte, that as *Gelius* and *Cato* witnesse, he that studied therein, was called a common murderer . . . The *Athenians* . . . laughed to skorne the Poete *Tichteus* as a man of a weake witte:

and moreouer the *Lacedemonians* commaūded the bookeſ of *Archilochus* the Poete to be caried out of their Citie.' For Plato see *Repub.* 398 a; for Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, ii. 12-14 (Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 41 (August. 7) col. 56 &c.); for the Romans, *Aul. Gel.* xi. 2, where he is quoting from Cato; for Archilochus, Plutarch, *Inst. Lacon.* 34.

14-15. *the Basiliske with his hisse]* Cf. Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 33, 'sibilo omnes fugat serpentes.'

19. *Quantum mutatus ab illo]* Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 274.

20, &c.] It may be remarked that Nashe's views on poetry correspond closely to those put forward by Plutarch in *De Audiendis Poetis*. These have, however, been so often repeated by other writers that there seems no reason for supposing direct imitation.

22. *them]* I suppose the 'Bussards' at the beginning of the preceding paragraph are meant.

30. *as Cicero testifieth in his Tusculanes]* Apparently the reference is to *Tusc. Disp.* i. 1. 3, 'Nam quum apud Graecos antiquissimum sit e doctis genus poetarum . . .' What follows does not seem to be a quotation.

P. 26, 5-9] Cf. 27. 37-28. 3 and note.

12. *Erasmus Roterdamus]* The nearest that I have found to this is a passage in the Epistle prefixed to his *Apophthegmata*, which in Udall's translation 1564, ** 3^v, runs, 'For this entente and purpose, thei [i. e. the ancients] did as ye would saie, spice and pouther Cosmographie, Astrologie, Musike, and Philosophie, aswell naturall as morale, with fables and tales, pretielie and wittile feigned.' For 'did . . . spice and pouther' the Latin has only 'asperserunt.'

22-32] See *Syr Beuys of Hampton* [col. :] *Imprinted at London, in Lothburye by Willyam Copland* [c. 1550], H 1, ll. 7-8; M 2^v, ll. 10-11; I 1, ll. 1-2; O 1^v, 25-7. There were several editions, and it is not certain that Nashe quoted from this one, but the citations correspond as closely as one would expect. The last, however, is hardly fair. The author is describing how the Scotch suffered defeat and were wounded in several places:

Some their nose ād some their lyppe
the king of scotland had a shyppe
And fledde away forth by the west . . .

There should of course—but that the original has no punctuation—be a stop after the first line. It was a curious irony of fate which led Peacham in the *Complete Gentleman* (ed. 1906, 53 foot) to class with Sir Bevis Nashe's own *Lenten Stuff!* This criticism of Sir Bevis was probably suggested by Melbancke's *Philotimus*, L 2, where the lines 'Some lost . . . ship' are similarly quoted and ridiculed.

P. 27, 1-2. *imitating Ajax . . . follie]* I cannot explain the allusion.

6. *accounting Poetrie impietie]* Nashe is attacking the more austere Puritans in general; not, I think, any particular writers.

7-10. *It is an old Question . . . affections]* Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 116, opening words, 'Utrum satius sit, modicos habere affectus, an nullos, saepe quaesitum est. Nostri [i. e. Stoici] illos expellunt. Peripatetici temperant.'

33. *The Sunne beames touching the earth . . .*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., p. 1182, 'Radii solis etsi contingunt terram, tamen ibi

sunt unde mittuntur: Sic sapientis animus tametsi versatur hic, tamen apud suam originem est.' See Seneca, *Epist.* 41. 5.

37—28, 3] Cf. Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., p. 1283, 'Quemadmodum in vite luxuriantibus foliis ac palmitibus saepe fructus occultantur: Ita in poematibus, figuris ac fabulis luxuriantibus, multa cognitu utilia fallunt adolescentem.' From Plutarch, *De Aud. Poet.* 10. Cf. 26. 5—9, which was perhaps also suggested by this passage.

P. 28, 4. *Virgill under the couert of a Fable*] The belief that the lines of Vergil, *Ecl.* iv. 6 et sqq.,

Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,' &c.,

were a prophecy of the coming of Christ was of course general in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It seems to have arisen in the fourth century. See particularly Eusebius, *Orat. Const. Imp. ad Sanctorum Coetum*, cap. 19, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec., 20 (Euseb. 2), col. 1289, &c., but references to the idea are innumerable: among others see the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, 1872, p. 577, and the *Towneley Plays*, xii. 388. A discussion of the whole matter will be found in Migne's *Nouv. Encyclo. Théologique*, xxv, col. 1158—76. See also Dr. Sandys' *Hist. of Cl. Scholarship*, ed. 1906, 634, Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, 1895, cap. 7, and *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* by Mayor, Fowler, and Conway, 1907.

8—9. *in the Fable of Deucalion and Pirrha*] *Metam.* i. 260, &c.

12. *a place in Lucian . . .*] *De Syria Dea*, 12. What follows in ll. 18—35 is a fairly close translation, but from 'Citties' to l. 13 of the next page is an expansion of 'πάντες ὁλοντο.' The rest to l. 23 is again translation, but of course there is no reason for supposing that Nashe took the account directly from Lucian.

14. *Enundation*] The form is rare but is probably not a misprint. One instance is given in *N.E.D.* from Markham (1607).

15. *Ille Atlanta*] The Isle of Atlantis (Plato, *Timaeus* p. 24, *Critias* pp. 108, 113; Strabo, ii. 3 § 6, &c.). There may have been some confusion with the small island of Atalanta off Locris, of which Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* vi. 24. 5) says 'circa Peloponnesiaci belli tempus, Atalantam insulam aut totam, aut certe maxima ex parte suppressam.'

29. *in lieu of*] i. e. in return for.

P. 29, 3. *men might haue fisht where they sold fish*] Cf. the similar phrase in iii. 159. 33—5.

7. *stilts*] i. e. crutches; cf. *Jew of Malta*, II. iii. 215.

24. *Plutarch also recordeth*] *De Solertia Animalium*, 13. 'Those who have invented fabulous tales make report, that during the great deluge, *Deucalion* used to let forth a dove out of the arke, to know what weather it was like to be abroad; for if she returned soone againe, she brought newes of tempest and raine, but if she flew cleane away, and came no more backe, she shewed thereby that it was calme and faire weather' (trans. Holland, 961. 54 &c.).

37. *Virgils unchast Priapus*] The *Priapeia* are referred to. In Angelo Politiano's *Miscellanea*, cap. 59, there is a discussion whether these epigrams should be attributed to Vergil or to Ovid, but they have

long ceased to be regarded as the work of either. Gascoigne, *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 31, has a similar reference to 'Virgills *Pryapus*, or *Ouids wanton verse*'.

P. 30, 2-5. *As the Bee out of the bitterest flowers . . .*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., pp. 1216, 1247, 1284, 'Vt apis ex amarissimis floribus et asperrimis spinis mel suauissimum ac lenissimum colligit : Sic ex turpibus ac sceleratis fabulis utcunque decerpi potest aliquid utilitatis.' See Plutarch, *De Aud. Poet.* 12. Mr. Crawford compares Llyl's *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 309. 21-2, 'Resemble the Bee which out of the dryest and bitterest Time sucketh moyst & sweet Honny.'

8. *haune*] i.e. halm, straw, dry stalks.

10-14. *Hunters beeing readie to goe to their Game . . .*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., pp. 1187, 1319 'Vt venatores non sinunt canes quidvis olfacere, aut mordere, sed integras eos servant ferae : Sic oportet aures et oculos non sinere quovis vagari sed rebus necessariis reservare.' See Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, II. Mr. Crawford compares Llyl's *Euphues and his England*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 157. 24-5, 'you marre your sent with carren, before you start your game, which maketh you hunt often times counter.'

22. *Spyders*] It seems to have been universally held that spiders were poisonous ; cf. ii. 179. 16-17. See also i. 93. 28-9, where occurs the more usual reference to the spider sucking poison out of flowers.

24-6. *those that are troubled with a Feuer . . .*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., p. 1209, 'Ut qui febri laborant e diversis diversa capiunt, hoc est, e calidis frigescunt, e frigidis calescant : Sic et divitiae molestiam adferunt stultis, et paupertas gaudium sapienti.' Erasmus refers to Plutarch, but I have not found the passage.

26-8. *Tygers . . .*] From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., p. 1236 'Ut Tygrides, si quis tympanis circumsonet, in rabiem agi dicuntur, adeo ut seipsas denique discerpant : ita quosdam offendit quod alii reddit animum, puta Musica, Eloquentia, &c.' See Plutarch, *Coni. Praec.* 45. Mr. Crawford compares Llyl's *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 226. 2-3, 'nor [will] he y^t standeth by a Tiger, play on a Taber.'

28. *by which men are wont to expell melancholie*] Allusions to the use of music for the purpose are innumerable. See Celsus, *De Medicina*, iii. 18 ' . . . quorundam discutiendae tristae cogitationes, ad quod symphoniae et cymbala strepitusque proficiunt.' Cf. *Midas*, IV. iv. 47, 'musick (a methridat for melancholy)', and *Pericles*, III. ii. 88, where it is used to revive Thaisa apparently dead ; also in *The Virgin Martyr*, IV. i. 47, to rouse Antoninus from his melancholy. It is partially successful, for he starts up with 'Hell on your fiddling.' An account of the cure by music of those bitten by the tarantula is to be found in Castiglione's *Cortigiano*, trans. Hoby, in Tudor Trans., p. 36. The music causes the patient to dance and by the exertion the poison is expelled.

P. 31, 2. *wittome*] I know nothing of this word.

4-6. *drinking Wine immoderately . . . dregs*] Perhaps suggested by Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., p. 1319, 'Supra modum deditus vino faecem quoque exsorbet : Sic admodum vitae avidus, qui ne extrema quidem senecta vult mori.' From Seneca, *Epist.* 58. 29.

11-12. *newe painted boxe . . . olde bard hutch*] Apparently a reference to some form of the casket-story. See *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley,

p. 656, and the parallels cited on p. 747, but I do not know any version in which one of the chests contains a halter. Cf. also Greene's *Mamillia*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 114, 'he which maketh choyce of bewty without vertue commits as much folly as *Critius* did, in choosing a golden boxe filled with rotten bones.'

12. *bard hutch*] i.e. locked chest. Nashe frequently uses the expression; cf. index.

13. *Aesops Cocco*] See Camerarius, *Fabulae Aesopicae*, ed. 1571, No. 188, p. 226. There is nothing about the cock 'parting with' the pearl: he simply despised it. Cf., however, Pettie, *Petite Pal. of Pleasure* [1576], Ee 3, 'to giue... a precious stoane for a barley corne with *Aesops* cooke.'

18. *a passing potman, a passing Poet*] The joke on 'poets' and 'pots' is of course frequent: as a character in *Histriomastix* observes (Simpson, *Sch. of Shaks.* ii. 302-3):

Your Poetts and your Pottes
Are knit in true-Love knots.

P. 32, 15. *preseruatiue*] i.e. antidote, as frequently.

28-36. *Pausanias . . .*] See Aelian, *V. H.* ix. 41; 'in Chalciceo' means in the temple of Athene called Chalcioecus, at Sparta.

P. 33, 3-8] Cf. i. 160. 22-7. Nashe has much to say on the subject of the folly and extravagance of young men of the time. The complaint was an extremely common one—then, as always.

10-11. *which was wont to be manie poore mens relief*] It is hardly necessary to remind the student of Elizabethan literature of the great changes in social life, especially in the country districts, which were in progress during the sixteenth century; and it would be quite useless to attempt any discussion of them. The principal factors in the change seem to have been (1) the increase of foreign trade, with a consequent demand for wool for export, resulting in the turning to pasture of an ever greater quantity of arable land. Breeding of sheep requires, of course, more land and less labour than tillage, and many men were therefore unable to find occupation, while at the same time there was a tendency on the part of the land-owners to enclose land which had formerly remained common—more perhaps because it had not been, with the labour at command, possible to work it at a profit, than from any question of right. (2) Partly owing to the less amount of personal supervision which the pasture lands required than the old farms, but chiefly perhaps on account of the spread of education and of interest in the world at large, it grew more and more customary for the sons of the better class yeoman to try their fortunes in London, and somewhat to look down upon a country life. As a natural result country establishments grew smaller—the younger generation needed the money to spend in London—and there came that 'decay of hospitality' for which we have so much lamentation. It is perhaps hardly worth while to refer to authorities, for almost any book of the period will serve, but Stafford's *Exam. of Complaints* of 1581 seems to put the position as clearly as any, cf. especially pp. 40-1 (ed. N. S. S.).

12-13. *begging of poore mens houses*] I cannot get at the rights of this matter, which is frequently mentioned, but it would appear that at

the time of the dissolution of the monasteries a very considerable amount of land which properly belonged to them had been quietly annexed by various persons and not handed over, as it should have been, to the king. Land so held was called 'concealed land,' and commissions were appointed to discover it and reclaim it for the crown. From numerous allusions it would seem that there was, or was thought to be, much injustice in the way in which this enforcement of the sovereign's rights was carried out, and it is not obscurely hinted that one with influence at Court could so arrange matters that land which he coveted could be shown to be 'concealed' and then made over to himself, either as a gift, or for a nominal sum. See the use of the phrase 'to be begged for a concealment' in *Every Man in his Humour*, IV. i. 126, and Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, cap. i, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 213. 13-14.

18-20. *The Temple of Terminus Deus . . .*] Apparently derived from Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 671-8; but the reason here assigned for the opening in the roof is not that given by Ovid.

27-9. *the Brooke Achelous . . . streames*] Cf. the description of waters in flood in Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 552-3 :

Ferre trabes solidas obliquaque volvere magno
Murmure saxa solent.

Taken by way of Golding's translation (ed. Rouse) viii. 712-13 :

This brooke is woont whole trees too beare and evelong stones
too carry

With hideous roring down his stremme.

31-2. *Calchas . . . Mopsus*] The story is related by Strabo xiv. 127.

33. *brauerie*] i. e. fine dress.

36. *Crates*] The story is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius vi. 5, 4. 87, and is related by St. Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* lib. ii, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 23 (Hieron. 2), col. 298.

P. 34, II. *woers of Penelope*]. Cf. *Od.* xviii. 1-12, xvii. 376-7.

18-19. *they may be aptlie resembled to y^e Ægyptian Temples, which . . .*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 71, trans. 1569, fol. 115v, 'For that cause Luciane very aptly dothe compare them [i. e. the women of the Court] to the Egyptian Temples. For there the Churche is very faire without, and also very greate, builte and wrought with costely stoanes, but if thou seeke within for theire God, thou shalte finde either an Ape, a Storke, a Goate, or a Catte.' See Lucian, *Imagines*, II. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paedagogus*, iii. 2 (Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec., 8 (Clem. 1), col. 560), draws the same parallel, which was, I believe, frequent.

23. *no vestis sed virtus . . .*] I have not been able to meet with the exact expression elsewhere, but the idea is of course common enough. Cf. quotation from St. Anselm in note at i. 182. 6.

27. *When as*] i. e. whenas, when.

29. *gray*] Collier was, I think, right in altering to 'gay.'

29-30. *poison . . . in a siluer peece*] Cf. 5. 30-1.

30. *pilgrim salue*] 'An old ointment, made chiefly of swine's grease and isinglass' (Halliwell). *N.E.D.* has quotations from c. 1580 to 1672.

P. 35, 5. *auncitry*] i. e. ancestry.

14. *Tilsman*] i. e., I suppose, plowman.

15-16. *good man Webbe*] I have not met with this name for a countryman elsewhere.

16. *peritly*] 'Experienced, skilled, expert.' *N. E. D.*

26-30. *was not Gracchus . . .*] From C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 3, trans. 1569, fol. 7^v, 'Cornelia, mother of the *Gracchi*, framed their speache, the whiche were accompted verie eloquente. *Istrina* taughte her sonne *Siles* the greeke tongue, whose Father *Ariapithes* was Kinge of *Scythia*.' The same occurs almost in the identical words in Agrippa's work *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Feminei Sexus* (ed. 1609, D 1^v).

For Cornelia see Cicero, *Brutus*, 27, § 104 'Fuit *Gracchus* diligentia *Corneliae* matris a puerō doctus et *Graecis* litteris educatus'; also 58, § 211, and Quintilian, *De Inst. Orat.* i. 1. 6. The other example is from Herodotus iv. 78. Ariapithes, king of Scythia, had a child Scyles by a woman of Istria (*ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς γυναικάς*); being bred up by her, the child gained an acquaintance with the Greek language and letters. Istrina seems to have been taken to be her name and she is thus called in Bodenham's *Belvedere*, 1600, H 6, where occurs the somewhat odd statement:

Istrina, sometimes Queene of Scythia,

With her sweet voice, made calme the rough swolne seas.

See also Heywood's *Gvvaikēiōv*, 1624, p. 378, where the same name is given her.

Nashe seems at first sight to have confused Ariapithes with Scyles, but the text *can* mean 'the son of "Ariapithis", the king of Scythia,' and is perhaps so intended.

34. *seeme to gather stones on the sea shoare*] I do not know this as a proverbial saying. Nashe perhaps borrowed it from the dedicatory epistle of Erasmus's *Parabolae*, 'verum nos non passim obvias [similitudines] sumpsimus, nec lapillos in littore sparsos collegimus: sed exquisitas aliquot gemmas ex abstrusis Musarum thesauris deprompsimus.' Compare, however, Seneca, *Epist.* 115. 8, 'Illos reperti in littore calculi leves, et aliquid habentes varietatis, delectant.' The sense is, however, here rather that of 'conchas legere', to trifle; cf. Erasm. *Adag.* chil. v, cent. 2. 20 and the well-known story of Caligula in Suet. *Calig.* 46.

37. *Science hath no enemie but the ignoraunt*] A proverbial saying: cf. 'Ignorantia scientiae inimica' in the *Adagia* of Gilbertus Cognatus (in Erasmus, *Adag.*, Basle, 1574, ii. 490); also PUBL. Syr., 'Nisi ignorantes, ars osorem non habet.' Professor Moore Smith gives a number of instances of the saying, in varying forms, in his edition of *Pedantius*, note on l. 259.

P. 36, 2-4. *Valentinianus . . . Licinius*] From C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4, 'Wherfore *Valenti[ni]janus* the Emperour seemeth not to be despised, who (as it is reported) was an ennemie to learninge: Neither *Licinius* the Emperour, who was accustomed to saie, that Learninge was a poysen, and a publicke pestilence.' For Valentinianus cf. Amm. Marc. xxx. 8, 'oderat et eruditos,' and for the saying of Licinius see Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 71. 8.

6-8. *the Chameleon . . . stands alwaies with his mouth wide open*]

Probably from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, u. s., p. 1175, ‘Chamaeleon non alio pascitur alimento quam aëris, et idcirco ore est semper hianto.’ Cf. Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 51 ‘Ipse celsus hianti semper ore, solus animalium nec cibo nec potu alitur, nec alio quam aëris alimento.’ See also Ovid *Metam.* xv. 411–12. The idea is frequently referred to, cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 127, vii. 230, xii. 133; Lyly, *Endymion*, III. iv. 129–30, and *Hamlet*, III. ii. 98–9. A discussion of the belief, with references to numerous authorities, is to be found in a tract by Isaac Schoockius (translation in E. Goldsmid’s *Un-Natural History*, 1886, vol. iv).

9–11. *having felt the sweetnes of Abby Landes, they gape after Colledge liuing]* A very similar passage is to be found in Harrison’s *Descr. of Eng.*, bk. ii, cap. 3 end (ed. N. S. S. i. 88–9) in Holinshed’s *Chron.* He says ‘And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some greedie gripers doo gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted this sute, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisedome; or else haue spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themselues? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this maner; “Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleshed you and set your teeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow all goodnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you, sirs, that I iudge no land in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our vniuersities; for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten.”’ Further, quoting from the Duke of Somerset, when a similar attempt was made in the time of Edward VI, ‘If lerning decaie, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors . . . what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult?’ He remarks that the recent movement in favour of depriving the Universities of their land met with no success ‘and so I hope it shall continue for euer.’ The passage is one of those added in 1587: nothing of the sort is to be found in the earlier edition. Nashe and Harrison allude to attacks which had recently been made by certain of the extreme Puritans upon the Universities on the ground of their popish origin. See R. Some’s *Godly Treatise, wherein are examined . . . many execrable fancies given out . . . by Henry Barrow and John Grenewood*, 1589, dedicated to the Chancellors of Cambridge and Oxford. That the Universities should be abolished is the first of the ‘grosse and Anabaptisticall fancies’ there discussed. Vaughan in his *Golden Grove*, ed. 1608, N 6, mentions similar attacks. For a much earlier one cf. Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 76.

28–31. *like to the Trees . . . West winde]* From Erasmus, *Parabolae*, in Lycosthenes, *Apophthegmata*, 1574, p. 1219 ‘Utinarboribus robustiores sunt partes Aquiloni oppositae, quam quae Austrum aut Zephyrum spectant: Ita fortiores ac firmiores sumus in his, in quibus nos duris casibus exercuit fortuna.’ No authority for the statement is given, but it is evidently from Pliny, *H. N.* xvii. 2.

34-37, i. *those that are called Agrippæ . . . Nero*] From Erasmus, *Parabolæ*, u. s., pp. 1206, 1229 ‘Agrippæ qui vocantur, quoniam præpostere nascuntur, hoc est, pedibus primum emergentibus, malis auspiciis in vitam ingredi creduntur, magnoque humani generis malo, ut Marcus Agrippa et Nero: Ita qui per nefas et simoniam irrumunt in imperium, aut episcopatum (ut vocant) magnam pestem adducunt sibi suisque’. See Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 6, and Aul. Gel. *Noct. Att.* xvi. 16.

P. 37, 7-8. *the pearle which is affirmed to be in the head of the Toade*] References to this belief are exceedingly common, but it does not seem ever to have been traced to its origin. There is no mention of it in Pliny, though he speaks of two small bones found in certain frogs, to which remarkable properties have been ascribed (*H. N.* xxxii. 18). See Lylly, ed. Bond, i. 202. 1-2, and note.

11-13. *Promotion . . . become a purchase*] Stubbes says exactly the same thing, ‘those that are learned indeed, they are not sought for nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, somtimes by frendship, sometime by mony (for they pay wel for their orders, I heare say) and somtimes by gifts, (I dare not say bribes) are intruded’ (*Anatomy of Abuses*, Part ii, 1583, ed. Furnivall for N. S. S., 73. 10-13). See also Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S., i. 34-5.

16-21] Nashe’s statement at iii. 127. 32-3, that he was maintained at the University by his father, prevents us from taking this as personal; William Nashe did not die until 1603.

24-5] Complaints of the insufficient training undergone by preachers were very frequent. W. Stafford in his *Examination of Complaints*, 1581, says that though the Universities ordain that men shall be Bachelors and Masters of Arts and study all the seven liberal sciences before they come to Divinity, ‘now they skip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any iudgment through the foresyd sciences,’ and that this gives rise to a number of undigested opinions and strange interpretations of the scriptures (ed. Furnivall, for N. S. S., p. 25 foot; cf. also p. 96). Nashe recurs several times to the subject, cf. ii. 123. 28-9 and iii. 318. 4-6.

P. 38, 24-5. *Porus . . .*] Cf. La Primaudaye’s *French Academy*, trans. ed. 1589, fol. 194^v. ‘Porus a noble king of India, lived with water and breade onelie’. Agesilaus (194) and the priests of Egypt (196^v) are also mentioned, but not Constantius nor the Rhodians. The source of the statement is unknown to me.

25-36. *Agesilaus . . .*] The story is from Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon. Agesilaus*, 24.

36-7. *Constantius . . .*] Source not traced.

P. 39, i. *The Priests of Egypt . . .*] Cf. St. Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* lib. ii, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 23 (Hieron. 2), col. 302; and Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, lib. iv. 6, 7, quoting from Chaeremon of Alexandria. A more frequent statement is that they ate no fish, cf. Herodot. ii. 37, Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* l. viii, quaest. 8. 2; and no salt, cf. Plutarch, u. s., and l. v, quaest. 10. 1.

2-3. *The Persians . . .*] This is in extraordinary contrast to the usual statements as to the great luxury of the Persians; cf. Athenaeus, xii. 9. 64, Strabo, xv. 3 § 19. Strabo, however, mentions the temperate fare of the youths, bread, salt, cardamum, meat, and water (xv. 3 § 18). See also St. Jerome, loc. cit., and Xenophon, *Cyri Inst.* i. 2. 8.

3-4. *In Rhodes . . .*] See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i. 28.

6. *by Zaleucus law*] mentioned as a law among the Epizephyrian Locrians, referring to untempered wine—not wine in general, by Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 37; see also Athenaeus, x. 33.

8-19. *The Matrons and Ladies of Rome . . . wine*] Almost all from Pliny, *H. N.* xiv. 14, though not quite correctly: ‘Non licebat id [sc. vinum] feminis Romae bibere. Invenimus inter exempla, Egnatii Mecenii uxorem, quod vinum bibisset e dolio, interfactam fusti a marito, eumque caedis a Romulo absolutum. Fabius Pictor in annalibus suis scripsit, matronam, quod loculos, in quibus erant claves vinariae cellae, resignavisset, a suis inedia mori coactam. Cato, ideo propinquos feminis osculum dare, ut scirent an temetum olerent.’ The abstinence from wine of Roman women is also referred to by Val. Max. ii. 1 § 5, Athen. x. 33, and Aul. Gel. x. 23.

19-22. *in whose time . . .*] See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 38. That it was in Cato’s time seems to be an inference from the fact that Aelian in the same chapter mentions the abstinence of the Roman women.

27-8. *more perrish with the surfeſt then with the ſwordē*] Both the English and Latin form of the saying are very common: the latter occurs at i. 201. 11, cf. note. For the English form cf. *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 55. 26-7, ‘more perish by a surfeſt then the ſword.’

32-3. *Sir Thomas Eliot*] His *Castle of Health* seems to have first appeared in 1534, but the earliest edition now known is that of 1539. A revised edition was published in 1541 and it was frequently reprinted. For the passage here referred to see ed. 1572, G 3, ‘Now let this be a general rule, that sondrye meates, being diuers in substaunce and qualite, eaten at one meale, is the greatest ennemy to health that may be, & that ingendreth most sicknesses, for some meates being grosse and harde to digest, some fine & easye to digest, do require diuers operations of nature, and diuers temperatures of the stomake, that is to say much heate and temperate heate, which may not be together at one time’.

Pp. 40, 1-41, 32. *But that I may anſweref . . . one kind of meat?*] The whole of this comes originally from the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, though whether Nashe took it directly from him or from some one who quoted him, and to a certain extent rearranged his material, is not clear. In Macrobius the discussion of the best kind of diet occupies the whole of the fourth and fifth chapters of the seventh book, cap. 4 being chiefly taken up by the argument of Disarius in favour of a single kind of food, while cap. 5 gives the reply of Eustathius, maintaining the advantages to be derived from a reasonable variety. Nashe, or the writer from whom he borrows, taking the side of Eustathius, generally follows his answer in cap. 5, but has of course to cite the opinion of Disarius which the former is confuting. I quote from *Sat.* vii. 5 § 6 &c., inserting in italics the passages from cap. 4. The occasional numbers in square brackets indicate the corresponding lines in the *Anatomy*: ‘In primo speciosis magis quam veris, ut docebitur, exemplis paene nos Disarii nostri cepit ingenium. Ait enim pecudes simplici uti cibo, et ideo expugnari difficultius earum quam hominum sanitatem. [3-6. *From Disarius’s argument in Sat. vii. 4 § 4: Si me . . . aliquis . . . de hac quaestione consuluisset . . . admonuisse illum contentus forem*

institutionis pecudum, quibus cum simplex et uniformis cibus sit, multo saniores sunt corporibus humanis, et inter ipsas illae morbis implicantur quibus, ut altiles fiant, offae compositae et quibusdam condimentis variae farciuntur.] [6] Sed utrumque falsum probabo. Nam neque simplex est animalibus mutis alimonia, nec ab illis quam a nobis morbi remotiores. [9] Testatur unum varietas pratorum quae deapsuntur, quibus herbae sunt amarae pariter et dulces, aliae sucum calidum aliae frigidum nutrientes, ut nulla culina possit tam diversa condire quam in herbis natura variavit. [Macrobius here quotes from the *Alyes* of Eupolis, and continues:] [12] videturne vobis ciborum ista simplicitas ubi tot enumerantur vel arbusta vel frutices non minus suco diversa quam nomine? [15] Quod autem non facilius morbis homines quam pecudes occupentur, Homero teste contentus sum, qui pestilentiā refert a pecudibus inchoatam: quando morbus, antequam in homines posset inrepere, facilius captis pecoribus incubuit. [18] Sed et quanta sit mutis animalibus infirmitas vitae brevitas indicio est. Quod enim eorum quibus notitia nobis in usu est potest annos hominis aequare? [20] nisi recurras forte ad ea, quae de corvis atque cornicibus fabulosa dicuntur, quos tamen videmus omnibus inhiare cadaveribus universisque seminibus insidiari, fructus arborum persecuti: nam non minus edacitatis habent quam de longaevitate eorum opinio fabulatur. Secundum, si bene recordor, exemplum est solere medicos aegris simplicem cibum offerre, non varium: [24-31]. *From Disarius's argument in Sat. vii. 4 § 6: Fortasse illum attentiores exemplo altero fecisset, ut consideraret nullum umquam fuisse medicorum circa curas aegrescentium tam audacis negligentiae ut febriente varium et non simplicem cibum daret. Adeo constat quam facilis digestu sit uniformis alimonia, ut ei, vel cum infirma est natura, sufficiat.*] [35] cum hunc offeratis, ut opinor, non quasi digestu faciliorem, sed quasi minus adpetendum, ut horrore uniformis alimoniae edendi desiderium languesceret, quasi multis concoquendis per infirmitatem non sufficiente natura. Ideo, si quis aegrescentium vel de ipso simplici amplius adpetat, subducitis adhuc desideranti. Ideo vobis commento tali non qualitas sed modus queritur. Quod autem in edendo sicut in potando suades varia vitari, habet latentes captionis insidias, quia nomine similitudinis coloratur. [40. 37-41. 4. *From Disarius's argument in Sat. vii. 4 § 7: Nec tertium defuissest exemplum, ita esse vitandam ciborum varietatem ut varia solent vina vitari. Quis enim ambigat eum qui diverso vino utitur in repentina ruere ebrietatem necdum hoc potus copia postulante?*] [41.] 'Ceterum longe alia potus alia ciborum ratio est. Quisenim umquam edendo plurimum mente sauciatus est, quod in bibendo contingit? [9] Fartus cibo stomacho vel ventre gravatur: infusus vino fit similis insano, opinor, quia crassitudo cibi uno in loco permanens expectat administrationem digestionis, et tunc demum membris sensim confectus illabitur: [16] potus, ut natura levior, mox altum petit, et cerebrum, quod in vertice locatum est, ferit fumi calentis aspergine. [18] Et ideo varia vina vitantur, ne res, quae ad possidendum caput repentina est, calore tam diverso quam subito consilii sedem sauciet. [21] Quod aequae in cibi varietate metuendum nulla similitudo, ratio nulla persuadet....[23] Illi soli non adsentior quod sucos varios de ciborum varietate confectos dicis contrarios esse corporibus, cum corpora ipsa de contrariis qualitatibus fabricata sint. Ex calido enim et frigido, de sicco et humido constamus. [26] Cibus vero simplex cui adest sucum

de seunius qualitatis emittit. . . [28] Ver ergo calidum fecit et humectum, sicca est aestas et calida, auctumnus siccus et frigidus, hiems humida pariter et frigida est. [30] Sic et elementa, quae sunt nostra principia, ex diversitatibus et ipsa constant et nos nutriunt. . . [31] Cur ergo nos ad uniformem cibum redigis, cum nihil nec in nobis nec circa nos nec in his de quibus sumus uniforme sit? Quod autem aescere vel nonnunquam fumare in stomacho cibum vis adsignare varietati, ut credamus, pronuntiis oportet aut semper eum qui vario cibo utitur haec pati, aut numquam illum pati qui simplicem sumit. Si vero et qui mensa fruitur copiosa hoc vitium saepe non sentit, et qui se uno cibo afficit saepe sustinet hoc quod accusas, cur hoc varietati et non modo edacitati adsignas? [34] Nam et de simplici avidus noxam patitur cruditatis, et in vario moderatus digestionis commodo fruitur.'

The English, as will have been noticed, gives the general sense of the original very closely, though there are a few short additions, as 40, 32-4, which, however, follows naturally from the context. I have omitted some lines of the Latin which are not represented at all in the English, leaving others which seem to be summarized.

The treatment of the subject by Macrobius is based upon Plutarch's discussion of the same question in *Quaestiones Convivales*, lib. iv, quaest. 1, which in parts is closely followed. There is, however, no doubt that it reached Nashe through the medium of the Latin writer, whether he took it directly from Macrobius or from some one else. The subject was one which came in for a good deal of discussion of an academic nature, and it is perfectly possible that Nashe may have drawn on some later work, which would almost inevitably quote Macrobius. It is discussed by Lodge in *Wit's Misery*, 1596, N 2^v, where also Macrobius is cited, and is referred to by Lylly, in *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 16. 22-3, 'Use not chaūge in attire nor varietie in thy dyet: the one bringeth pride, the other surfets.'

P. 40, 16-17. *Homers authoritie*] Cf. *Iliad* i. 50-2:

οὐρῆς μὲν πρῶταν ἐπώχετα καὶ κύνας ἀργαύς,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖστι βέλος ἐχεπυκὲς ἐφίεις
βάλλει.

21. *Crowes and Rauens*] Taken by Macrobius from Plutarch. Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 49, cites Hesiod for the statement that crows live nine times the ordinary life of men, and the raven twelve times as long as the crow, while disbelieving the statement.

23. *are at hoste with*] The phrase usually means 'are the guests of'; cf. iii. 190. 18, but in Preston's *Cambyses*, ed. Manly (*Pre-Sh. Dr.* ii.) l. 187, 'A, ye slaves! I will be with you at oste!' it appears to be equivalent to 'be revenged on'; so too in Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, vi. 504, l. 39 (= be even with), and there may be some such sense here. The Latin has 'persequi'.

P. 41, 3-4. *washeth his braines*] Cf. *Ant. and Cleo.* II. vii. 105-6, 'It's monstrous labour, when I wash my brain, And it grows fouler'. Mr. Crawford sends me several examples of similar expressions: *Ev. Man Out.* V. iv. (Fol. 3669) 'I le wash my temples with some on't presently'; Fletcher, *Loyal Subject*, IV. v. 1-2 'Many a washed pate in wine'; Lodge, *Rosalynde* (ed. Greg, p. 54), 'washing their heads well with wine.'

36. *Phago*] So far as I am aware, the sole authority for Phago is Vopiscus in his life of Aurelian (*Hist. Aug. Script.*, ed. 1671, ii. 591), where he states that the emperor 'vehementissime deflectatus est Phagone, qui usque eo multum comedit ut uno die ante mensam eius aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem, et porcellum comedederet'. Phago is referred to by Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 4. 64 under 'Edax currus', and, with Milo, by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* (in the Latin only), cap. 89, but neither of these limits his capacity, as Nashe does, to a sheep. 'Tagon (the belly-god)' who is mentioned, together with Milo, in Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, 1596, N 1^v, is an evident error for the same.

37. *Milo*] He was much better known than Phago, and is frequently referred to in connexion with the story that he trained himself to carry a bull by first carrying a calf; cf. Lyly's *Euphues, Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 187. 18-19 (Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* i. 9. 5; cf. Petron. *Sat.* cap. 25). For his eating a whole ox see Athenaeus x. 5 § 4. See also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 3. 10, under 'Bovem in faucibus portat', where other authorities are given.

Pp. 42, 11-43, 26] I suspect that most of this is borrowed, but I have been unable to find any general source.

23-30. *Let his reading be temperate . . . abuse*] From the epistle of Pelagius *ad Demetriadem*, see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 33 (August. 2), col. 1,115 'Sit autem ipsa lectio temperata, cui finem consilium non lassitudo imponat. Nam ut immoderata iejunia, et ardor abstinentiae, et enormes inordinataeque vigiliae, intemperantiae coarguantur, idque nimietate sui pariunt, ut haec ipsa postea nec mediocriter quidem fieri possint; ita studium lectionis in reprehensionem intemperans cadit, quodque laudabile est in tempore suo, fit de nimietate sui culpabile.'

P. 43, 8-10. *choose him to be thy teacher . . . hearest*] Seneca, *Epist.* 52. 8 'Eum elige adiutorem, quem magis admireris quam videris quam quum audieris.'

10-11. *Quid faciendum sit . . .*] Seneca, *Epist.* 98. 17.

15-16. *Chrisippus saith in his proverbs . . . thee*] I have been unable to find this, or, indeed, any 'proverbs' of Chrysippus.

22-4. *those thinges are not to be contemned . . . stand*] See St. Jerome, *Epist.* 107 § 4, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 872 'Non sunt contemnda quasi parva sine quibus magna constare non possunt—but is it not there a quotation?

26. *Nil assequitur qui omnia sequitur*] Not found, but possibly based on Cic. *De Off.* i. 31. 110 'Neque enim attinet repugnare naturae, nec quidquam sequi, quod assequi non queas.'

33-4. *Alexanders Maister . . . the Parisian Kings Professor*] A reference to an important controversy, which divided the students and professors of Cambridge from about the year 1580 onwards,—as it had previously divided the schools of the continent,—as to the relative merits of the logical systems of Aristotle and of Ramus (Pierre La Ramée). The latter, born in 1515, leapt into sudden fame—or, at least, notoriety—in 1536, when a young student at the College of Navarre at Paris, by putting forward for his doctorate the astonishing thesis 'Quaecunque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commenticia esse'. Such was the position of Aristotle—and his commentators—that such an attack seemed almost sacrilegious, but nevertheless the comparative

simplicity of the system of logic which Ramus soon after propounded, and its greater apparent common sense, won for it many adherents both on the continent and at Cambridge, where during the time of Nashe's residence at St. John's it was a subject much to the fore. The Logic was translated in 1574 by Rollo Mac Ilmaine, but the Latin edition with notes by G. Temple, published at Cambridge in 1584, would seem, there at least, to have attracted more attention. As a general rule the older men, who had studied according to the Aristotelian method, were opposed to the new doctrines, partly perhaps because those who have been at the pains to master a difficult subject naturally dislike its presentation in a simpler form, but by many of the more widely read men of middle age, such as the Harveys, and by the Puritan party generally, it was received with favour. Into the question of how it differed from the older logic I cannot here enter, but it may be said briefly that the reform consisted largely in simplification by the cutting away of much more or less extraneous matter, together with a great deal which had been added by the commentators but which had come to be looked upon as forming a necessary part of the Aristotelian system itself. An account of the controversy, from which the above is partly taken, will be found in Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 404-13.

The chief works of Ramus were his *Dialecticae Partitiones* (or *Institutiones*), and his *Animadversiones in dialecticam Aristotelis*, 1543, which are, I suppose, the 'large inuestiue *Scolia*' referred to by Nashe, and his treatises on Greek, Latin, and French grammar. A chair of eloquence and philosophy was created for him at the College of France in 1551, but later the strong Calvinistic views which he entertained caused him to be deprived by the University, and he found it necessary more than once to leave Paris. In 1568 he made a tour in Germany and Switzerland, being very well received at the universities which he visited. He returned to France in 1570, and there perished two years later in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

P. 44, 8. *the rude Cobler*] This well-known story comes from Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 36. § 12. Cf. 21. 18.

8-9. *contemptible Pan*] Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 146, &c.

10. *indagation*] i.e. investigation, searching out. This is the first instance of the word recorded in *N. E. D.*

31-5. *that knowing not howe to speake . . . Schollers of the learned*] Slightly altered from St. Jerome. *Epist.* 130. § 17, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 1,121 'cum loqui nesciant, tacere non possunt: docentque Scripturas quas non intelligunt; et cum aliis persuaserint, eruditorum sibi assumunt supercilium: prius imperitorum magistri quam doctorum discipuli'.

P. 45, 3. *Cherillus*] A worthless poet who wrote in praise of Alexander the Great; see Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 232-4 and *A. P.* 357-8. It seems to me just possible that the classical names here used may veil contemporary allusions. If so, I would suggest—but only in the most doubtful manner—that the person here pointed at may have been Churchyard, and that this may be the attack referred to in *Strange News*, i. 309. 8. The identification might, of course, depend upon some current epigram.

4. *Hortensius*] Unless this conceals the name of some contem-

porary, it is difficult to understand the passage: the Roman orator was, of course, especially famous for the grace of his diction; cf. Cic. *Brutus*, 88. 303, and *Orat.* 38. 132; also Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xi. 3 8. Surely Nashe cannot have regarded one so described as 'tipsie by his stammering'. Neither can I suggest any name for which this can be an error. Saving Demosthenes, who of course cannot be meant here, the only stammering orator of whom I can learn is M. Aquilius Regulus, whom the younger Pliny, in *Epist.* iv. 7, describes as 'os confusum, haesitans lingua'.

5. *Ramus*] See note on 43. 33-4.

12. *obloquie*] i.e. reproach, disgrace; cf. *All's Well*, IV. ii. 44 (*N.E.D.*).

16-17. *some there be who woulde seperate Arts from Eloquence*] Perhaps no special writers are referred to; see, however, C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 6, where much is said in dispraise of rhetoric and eloquence. In an oration of Ramus, *De Studiis Philosophiae et Eloquentiae coniungendis*, 1546, we find a similar protest to that of Nashe.

17-18. *whose censures we oppugne*] It would evidently have been better to read 'censure' than 'censures' on account of the 'it' in the next line. I took this, probably wrongly, to refer to the idea of separating arts from eloquence.

34. *humming and hawking*] The more usual form is 'hemming ...' The 'humming and hawking' referred to is presumably that of the auditors, not the speaker. In 1602 the authorities at Cambridge issued a manifesto against the 'uncumly hemminge and hawkinge at holie exercises and at the preaching of God's word'. They referred to the conduct of the congregation at the University sermons at Great St. Mary's, which was marked by considerable levity. Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 429.

P. 46, 1-36.] The whole of this page has the air of being borrowed. It contains several reminiscences of the classics, and I suspect that it is little more than a string of quotations. Possibly Nashe took it in a piece from some sixteenth-century Latin writer.

5-8. *ouershoote . . . breefelinie*] Cf. Cicero, *Inv. Orat.* i. 20. 28 'Ac multos imitatio brevitatis decipit, ut, quum se breves putent esse, longissimi sint; quum dent operam, ut res multas breviter dicant.'

9-11. *that which . . . life*] Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 75. 2 'Haec sit propositi nostri summa: quod sentimus, loquamur; quod loquimur, sentiamus; concordet sermo cum vita'.

35. *Fountaines . . . Riuers*] Perhaps suggested by Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 27. 117 'Tamen et tardi ingenii est rivulos consectari, fontes rerum non videre'.

P. 47, 1-9.] All this is taken, with a slight change in order and some omissions, from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 4, trans. 1569, fol. 13, 'There are moreouer most greeuous contentions emong Poetes, not onlie for the Carracter of the verse, for the feete, for the accentes . . . but also for these theire trifles, faininges, and lies, that is, for the knot of Hercules, for the Chaste tree, for the letters of *Hiacinthus*, for the children of *Niobes*, for the trees, vnder whiche *Latona* broughte foorth the *Diana*. In like manner for the Countrie of *Homer*, and for his Sepulture, and whether *Homer* and [ed. 1575 or] *Hesiodus* were firste,

whether *Patroclus* were before *Achilles*, in what state of bodie *Anacharsis Scitha* did sleepe: whye *Homer* did not giue honoure to *Palamedes* in his verses: whether *Lucanus* is to be reckened in the number of Poetes, or Historiographers: of the rubberie [de furtis] of *Virgil*, and in what moneth of the yeere he died.'

1. *Homers Country*] This question is mentioned by Seneca, *Epist.* 88. 32, as one of those discussed by Didymus in his 4000 books of grammar. The whole epistle is on the subject of trivial inquiries of this nature. See also Aul. Gel. iii. 11, where is the well-known couplet on the seven cities; also Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 20, and *Demosthenis Encomium*, 9.

2. *whether Homer or Hesiodus were older*] The question is mentioned by Seneca, *Epist.* 88. 5, as is also the one which follows, touching Achilles and Patroclus, and is discussed by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 11. In xvii. 21 he says that most people consider them to have been contemporary, or nearly so.

3-4. *Anacharsis the Scithian*] The point of the inquiry may be ascertained by a reference to Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, 7, or Lyly's *Euphues*, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 279. 27-30.

4. *Lutan*] See Servius, *ad Aen.* i. 386 'Lucanus namque ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia videtur historiam composuisse non poema'. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* x. 1. 90, says that he is rather an orator than a poet: cf. also Martial, *Epig.* xiv. 194.

5-6. *in what Moneth . . . Virgill died*] I can find no difference of opinion as to this. All authorities seem to agree that he died on Sept. 22.

7. *Letters of the Hiacinth*] The hyacinth was supposed to bear on it the word AI, the point of the question about it being apparently whether these represent al, alas, with reference to the death of Hyacinthus, or the first two letters of the name Aias, from whose blood the hyacinth, by an alternative story, is said to have been produced. See Pliny, *H. N.* xxi. 38, and Ovid, *Metam.* x. 207-16 and xiii. 394-8.

the Chestnut tree] I do not know of any question regarding the chestnut. Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 18. 7, has some discussion of the 'castaneas nuces' of Vergil, *Ecl.* ii. 52, but this is rather an explanation than a problem. It is, however, almost certain that the word 'chestnut' here is an error. Agrippa, in the passage from which this is taken, has 'de casta arbore', i.e. the vitex (*άγνος*), a kind of withy or willow, also called Abraham's balm—the *Vitex agnus castus* of Linnaeus. The plant was supposed to preserve chastity, to drive away serpents, and to have other virtues, but it is not clear what peculiarity is alluded to in the present passage. See Pliny, *H. N.* xxiv. 38, Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ii. 7. 2 (2), Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* ix. 26; cf. also the proverb 'vitex floret et botrus maturuit' in the *Adagia* of Hadr. Junius (Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1574, ii. 270).

7-8. *the children of Niobe*] See Aulus Gellius, xx. 7, where the disparity in the number of children attributed to Niobe by various writers is remarked on: Homer counts twelve, Euripides fourteen, Sappho eighteen, Bacchylides and Pindar twenty, others only three. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 36 has a similar discussion.

8. *the trees where Latona brought foorth Diana*] See Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 335-6:

Illic incumbens cum Palladis arbore palmae
Edidit invita geminos Latona noverca.

Also Aelian, *Var. Hist.* v. 4. The tree of Pallas was the olive, but I do not understand what the problem was; perhaps merely the special virtue of these trees in aiding parturition.

12-22. *Innumerable such vnnecessary questions . . . vertue?*] From Seneca, *Epist.* 88. 29-31 'Innumerabiles quaestiones sunt de animo tantum: unde sit? qualis sit? quando esse incipiat? quamdiu sit? aliunde alio transeat, et domicilia mutet, ad alias animalium formas aliasque coniectus? an non amplius quam semel serviat, et emissus vagetur in toto? utrum corpus sit, an non sit? quod sit facturus, quem per nos aliquid facere desierit? quomodo libertate sua usurus, quem ex hac effugerit cavea? an obliiscatur priorum, et illic nosse se incipiat, postquam de corpore abductus in sublime secessit? . . . Non dabit se in has angustias Virtus.' The last words 'what do al these things auail vnto vertue?' may, however, be rather a reminiscence of 'Quid horum ad Virtutem viam sternit' in § 3.

29-32. *Socrates . . . good & euill thinges*] See Seneca, *Epist.* 71. 7 'Socrates, qui totam philosophiam revocavit ad mores, et hanc summam dixit esse sapientiam, bona malaque distinguere'.

P. 48, 19. *with Themistocles*] I cannot find precisely this stated of Themistocles, but there is something not unlike it in Val. Max. viii. 14. ext. 1 and Cic. *Tusc. Quaest.* iv. 19. 44, where we are told that his desire to equal or surpass the glory of Miltiades rendered him sleepless; see also Plutarch, *De Profect. in Virt.* 14, perhaps the true source. The idea of taking a great man to imitate, or a good man in whose imagined presence to live, is frequent; cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 11. 6, and the note on the passage in Bouillet's (Lemaire) edition. Also Lipsius's *Politica*, 1589, i. 6, p. 16 'tanquam in speculo, ornare et componere vitam tuam ad alienas virtutes', referred to Plutarch in *Timoleon*, but I cannot find it there. Compare i. 211. 5-7.

23. *Rams horne rules*] I have not met with this phrase elsewhere; it has allusion presumably to Joshua 6. 4, 6.

24. *Mulcasters Positions*] Richard Mulcaster (1530?-1611) after being educated at Eton, King's College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford, became a schoolmaster in 1559, and in 1561 the first head master of the Merchant Taylors' School. His *Positions wherein those primitive Circumstances be examined, which are necessary for the Training up of Children, either for Skill in their Book or Health in their Body*, appeared in 1581, and was several times reprinted.

27. *Aschame*] The reference is, as appears below, to the *Schoolmaster*, first published in 1570. Nashe refers again to Ascham in *Lenten Stuff*, iii. 181. 15.

28. *Maister Grant*] Edward Grant (? 1540-1601) prefixed a memoir of Ascham to the collection of his *Familiares Epistolae* published in 1576 and again in 1590.

P. 49, 1-4. *dwell not so long in Poetry . . . Atheisme*] Possibly suggested by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 6 end, trans. 1569, fol. 20, 'so there be many . . . whiche geuen to Eloquence, whilst that they are desirous to be *Ciceronians*, are made Pagans, and they whiche ouer diligently studie *Aristotle* and *Plato*, they become superstitious, and these wicked'.

A COVNTERCVFFE GIVEN TO MARTIN IVNIOR.

1. *Date of Composition and Publication.*

The piece is dated at the end 'From *Grauesende Barge* the eight [or, in another edition, 'the sixt'] of *August*', (64. 22) and there seems no reason for rejecting this date as that of the actual composition of the work (cf. p. 52 'Note on the Editions'). We may suppose that it was printed and first issued within a few days of these dates. The year (1589) is given on the title-page. Cf. note on 64. 22, 'sixt.'

2. *Authorship.*

The question of whether this work should be attributed to Nashe is discussed in the Introduction. It seems impossible to arrive at certainty on the point, but the arguments against Nashe's authorship seem to me stronger than those in favour of it. Cf. i. 121. 31—122. 2.

P. 57, 2-3. *Martin Iunior*] The pseudonym under which one of the Martinist tracts was written, namely *Theses Martinianae: That is, Certayne Demonstratiue Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned Clarke, the reverend Martin Marprelate the great . . . Published and set foorth as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by a pretie stripling of his, Martin Iunior . . . Printed by the assignes of Martin Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps.* This pamphlet, which followed *Hay any work for Cooper*, was printed at Wolston Priory, and bears the date July 22, 1589. There is no reason for supposing that its authorship is any different from that of the other Martinist tracts. The intention of the change of name seems merely to have been to create an impression that some of Martin's followers were at work, and possibly to add interest by giving the appearance of some sort of controversy or rivalry between the leaders.

4. *Pasquill*] Pasquillo or Pasquino was the name given to a mutilated statue, said to represent a gladiator, which was disinterred at Rome in 1501, and set up by Cardinal Caraffa near the Piazza Navona. It became customary to dress up this statue on St. Mark's Day to represent some personage of antiquity and to affix to it copies of Latin verses in which 'Pasquin' was saluted. These verses tended to become satirical, and often took the form of attacks on the authorities, and in course of time the term 'pasquinade' came to be applied to satirical compositions and lampoons generally, and 'Pasquin' to be a common pseudonym for the writers of such compositions. Numerous Collections of Pasquinades were published from 1509 onwards.

In England the name was used by Sir Thomas Elyot in his *Pasquill the Playne*, 1540, a dialogue between Pasquillus, Gnatho, and Harpocrates; in *Pasquyl of Rome declarynge sertayne wronges done . . . by the Frensh King*, 1543, a translation from Latin; in Bishop Bonner's *Recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome*, 1570; and in *Pasquine in a Traunce*, translated from the Italian of C. S. Curio,? 1550 and 1584, besides several later works.

The origin of the name is uncertain, but the traditions seem to agree that it was borrowed from that of a certain sharp-witted fellow who

lived in the neighbourhood of the statue—some say that he was a school-master, others a tailor, or shoemaker, others a barber, see *N.E.D.* s. v. Pasquin, which refers to L. Morandi in *Nuova Antologia*, 1889, i. 271, 755, D. Gnoli, *ibid.* 1890, i. 51, 275, *Storia di Pasquino*.

7. *rise vp Sir Peter and Sir Paule*] Alluding to the fact that in the *Epistle* Martin generally speaks of Peter as 'Sir Peter' (cf. *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 15, 6, 20, 26). Cooper in his *Admonition*, answering the *Epistle* says, 'In the course of their whole Libell, when they speake of Peter, Paul, or the Blessed Virgin Marie, &c.: whome other iustlie call Saintes, their phrase in derision is, Sir Peter, Sir Paule, Sir Marie' (ed. Arber, 3). Martin, replying in *Hay any Work*, explains that 'Sir Peter was the ouersight of the printer, who omitted this Marginal note vñ. He was not Saint Peter which had a lawfull superior authority ouer the vniuersal body of the church. And therfore the priest wheroft Deane Iohn speaketh was Sir Peter' (ed. Petheram, 18). As to Sir Paul, Martin denies that he has him in all his writings. Sir Mary (see *Epist.* ed. Arber, 30, 22) was applied to 'Saint Mary Oueries', who was nothing akin to Mary the Virgin (*Hay any Work*, loc. cit.). Pasquil evidently took his facts from Cooper, not directly from Martin.

12. *Printed . . .*] The form of the imprint is imitated from those used by Martin; compare that of the *Epistle* 'Printed oversea in Europe within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate gentleman'.

14. *Within a myle of an Oake*] Mr. Fleay states, in his *Biog. Chron.* ii. 125, that this book 'was probably printed by N. Okes for R. Field; "within a mile of an Oak and not many Fields off, &c.'" But Nicholas Okes did not begin to print until c. 1606. See note on the Printer at p. 55. Since this was written, I see that Mr. C. Sayle also attributes these tracts—or the second of them at least—to Charlewood in his *Early Eng. Printed Books in Univ. Lib., Cambridge*, iii. 1610. The phrase 'within a mile of an oak' is used for a vague 'somewhere or other', or perhaps rather 'not far off': cf. *Two Angry Wom. of Ab.* IV. iii (ed. Gayley, xi. 220), 'Coomes: Where be your tools? Nicholas: Within a mile of an oak, sir; he's a proud horse will not carry his own provender, I warrant ye' (*Nero*, &c., Mermaid ed. p. 177). The 'tools' are Nicholas's sword. He evidently means that he has it with him, for they at once begin to fight.

P. 59, 6-7. *If the Monster be deade*] The publication of the *Theses Martinianae*, as if a collection made out of the works of Martin by a successor, gave rise to the idea that Martin was dead. *Martin's Month's Mind*, issued a little later than the *Countercuffe*, to which it refers in the Dedication, professes to be *A certaine report, and true description of the Death, and Funeralls of olde Martine Marprelate*. It appeared afterwards that he was not dead; cf. *Return*, 101. 22-4.

10. *like a Dolphin before a tempest*] See Pliny, *H.N.* xviii. 87. Nashe has the same thing of porpoises in *Christ's Tears*, ii. 9, 9-11.

11. *in a famous place of late*] This evidently refers to some refutation of Martinism which had produced considerable effect, probably, I think, to Bancroft's sermon at Paul's cross on Feb. 9, 1588-9, a very intolerant discourse which was directed not only against the Martinists but against all forms of Puritanism.

13. *The Anotamie latele taken of him*] Perhaps referring to Cooper's *Admonition*, which from its detailed examination of Martin's *Epistle* might be called an anatomy in the sense in which the word was generally used (cf. 92. 11). It is, however, possible that it should be taken with what follows as referring to some play. The form 'anotamie' is nearly as common as 'anatomie'.

15. *upon the common Stage*] It is clear from numerous allusions that one or more plays, or rather, perhaps, shows, having Martin as their subject, were performed, but we have very little precise information as to them. In the *Return of Pasquil* (92. 12-19; cf. 100. 16-21) such a performance is described, while Martin's being 'attired like an Ape on y^e stage' is referred to in *An Almond for a Parrot* (iii. 354. 21-2): cf. *Martin's Month's Mind*, E 3^v, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 175. There are also allusions to them in the Martinist tracts, see *Theses Martinianae*, D 2^v 'The stage-players, poore seelie hunger-starued wretches, they haue not so much as an honest calling to liue in the common-wealth: And they, poore varlets, are so base minded, as at the pleasure of the veriest rogue in England, for one poore pennie, they will be glad on open stage to play the ignominious fooles, for an houre or two together. And therfore, poore rogues, they are not so much to be blamed, if being stage-players, that is, plaine rogues (sauing onely for their liueries) they in the action of dealing against Maister Martin, haue gotten them many thousande eie-witnesses, of their wittelesse and pittifull conceites': also D 1^v, 'Feare none of these beastes, these pursuants, these Mar-Martins, these stage-players, these prelates...' and D 2 'There bee that affirme, therimers and stage-players, to haue cleane putte you out of countenaunce, that you dare not againe shew your face'. Martin also refers in the *Protestation*, D 1, to 'the rimers and stage plaiers, which my Ll. of the cleargy had suborned against me'. Plays of this kind seem to have been on the stage for several months, perhaps getting more extreme in style, for in November, 1589, the Master of the Revels, Mr. Tylney, made representations to Lord Burleigh, in consequence of which the latter ordered the Lord Mayor to prohibit all theatrical exhibitions within his jurisdiction. The Lord Mayor, answering Lord Burleigh on Nov. 6, said that he could only hear of two companies, the Lord Admiral's and Lord Strange's. The former had obeyed him dutifully but the latter 'departed from him in very contemptuous manner' and went and played at the Cross Keys the same afternoon: whereupon he had committed two to the Counter (MS. Lansdowne 60. 47, reprinted in Collier's *Hist. of E. Dr. Poetry*, 1831, i. 272). A few days after this, on Nov. 12, 1589, the Privy Council recognizing the inconvenience caused 'by comon playes and enterludes in and about the Cyttie of London, in [that] the players take upon them to handle in their plaies certen matters of Divintie and of State unfitt to be suffred' ordered that a person learned in divinity should be chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury and another by the Lord Mayor to assist the Master of the Revels in judging what plays were fit to be performed (*Acts of the P. C., New Ser.* xviii. 214-15, quoted in Collier, u.s. 1831, 276-7).

The prohibition of the Antimartinist plays is alluded to by Lyl in *Pap with a Hatchet, Wks.*, ed. Bond, iii. 408. 18-20 'Would those

Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he [i.e. Martin] would be decyphered, and so perhaps disengaged.

25. *thy Father*] i.e. Martin Marprelate.

26. *his Conclusions*] Not the so-called '*Mineral Conclusions*', issued about Feb. 20, but the '*Demonstrative Conclusions*' (supposed of Martin himself) forming the first part of the *Theses Martinianaæ*.

thy Epilogue] Martin Junior's Epilogue to the *Theses*.

P. 60, 3-4. *put them in Moode and Figure*] i.e. arrange them as formal syllogisms. Cf. *Epitome*, ed. Petheram, 47. 1, &c.

5-6. *The Owles Almanacke*] This projected work is referred to again in *The Return of Pasquill*, 74. 14, &c., *Martin's Month's Mind*, A 2^v, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 146. It never appeared.

18. *Pasquill hath taken vp your Gloue*] In his Epilogue to the *Theses Martin* Junior challenges any one of the side of the bishops either to write or dispute against him on the points set down by his father, 'heere I do by these my wrtinges, cast you downe the Gloue, in my fathers name, and the names of the rest of his sonnes' *Theses* D 2^v.

23. *Topicks*] i.e. fundamental arguments. The reference is to the books of 'common-places' for the use of theologians, such as those of Musculus and of Peter Martyr.

26-35.] According to Maskell (*Hist. of the Marprelate Controversy*, 1845, p. 175, note), the places here mentioned were well known as strongholds of the Puritans. This is fairly clear from the text, but precise evidence on the point seems wanting. Cf. iii. 368. 20-2.

30. *the Christopher*] I can learn nothing of any tavern of the name at St. Albans.

34-5. *Saint Michaels*] There was, and is, a church of St. Michael situated in the north-west of St. Albans. I presume that the congregation were notoriously Puritan, but can find no record of this.

P. 61, 1. *The Lives of the Saints*] This book, which from the title page of *The Return of Pasquill*, where it is called 'the golden Legende of the lies of the Saints', would appear to have been intended as a sort of travesty of the *Legenda Aurea*, giving in a humorous form the lives of the chief Puritans, was never published. It is referred to in *The Return*, 71. 29-30, and elsewhere, *Martin's Month's Mind*, A 3, u.s. i. 147: the author of *Pap with a Hatchet* says that it was about to come out and that he himself intended to add marginal comments (Lylly, ed. Bond, iii. 413. 14-15), while that of *An Almond for a Parrot* marvelled at its non-appearance, considering that the date of the promise was more than expired (iii. 374. 24-6).

2. *your five hundred favorites*] See *Theses*, C 3^v 'I am sure he [i.e. Martin] hath 500. sonnes in the lande, of good credit and abilitie, with whome hee might haue other gates welcome, then with any Catercap o them all': cf. also quotation from the *Epitome* in note to 62. 7.

5. *the Bride-well house of Canterbury*] This was founded c. 1240 by Stephen Langton for the relief of poor clergy. In 1574-5 it was surrendered by its master and the Archdeacon of Canterbury to Queen Elizabeth, by whom it was granted to the town for the use and benefit of the poor. It took its name from its being used for some time as a

house of correction. I can learn nothing of the circumstances here referred to.

14-15. *Latine . . . Tinker*] Punning on 'latten', cf. i. 182. 13.

15-16. *than ever your Father made for the Cooper*] Martin's *Epistle* was answered by Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, in his *Admonition*, to which Martin replied in *Hay any Work for Cooper?*

19. *betweene Byfield and Fawseley*] Byfield is about seven miles south-west of Daventry in Northamptonshire, Fawsley about four miles south of Daventry, somewhat east of the Byfield road. It was at Sir Richard Knightley's house at Fawsley that the *Epitome* was printed.

21. *Filch-man*] See Awdeley, *Frat. of Vagabonds*, N.S.S., p. 4, 'An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filtchman'; also Dekker, *Belman*, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 92.

swapping] i.e. great (cf. modern slang 'whopping').

Ale-dagger] 'one worn for use in ale-house brawls' *N.E.D.*, which gives as earliest example *Pappe*, Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 394. 28. Otherwise called 'Alehouse dagger'; cf. i. 208. 14 and B. Rich's *Irish Hubbub*, 1617, F 2^v, 'the fourth had a short sword, like that which we were wont to call an *Ale-house Dagger*, and that was trussed close to his side with a scarfe'.

23. *hyltes*] *N.E.D.* has many examples of the plural use, as *Hen. V*, II. i. 68, but the singular seems to have been more usual.

chape] i.e. the metal tip of a scabbard.

27. *the Goates iumpe*] Nashe has the same expression in *Lenten Stuffe*, iii. 189. 29. It is equivalent to 'goat's leap' in Florio '*Capriola*, a capriole, a sault or goates leape that cunning riders teach their horses' *N.E.D.*

27-8. *ranne the ring . . . retrive him*] By 'him' is apparently meant the palfrey.

29. *manages*] i.e. paces or action.

32. *is nowe gone*] i.e. would be gone by the time the pamphlet was issued. It is dated from Gravesend Barge (64. 22).

37. *kindly*] i.e. characteristically or by nature, but the sense is often rather vague; cf. Greene, *Card of Fancy*, Wks., ed. Grosart iv. 63-4, 'Valericus . . . thought himselfe halfe satisfied, that he hadde thus kindlie toucht her to the quicke,' where the sense seems to be rather 'successfully' or 'effectively', a meaning which would do here.

P. 62, 2. *a Free-mason out of Kent*] Unidentified. Cf. i. 89. 1, &c., where Pasquil's visit to Kent is alluded to.

5-6. *preacheth . . . ouer a Joynd-stoole*] The exact point of this and similar expressions concerning a joint stool is lost; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. and example '1638 Baker tr. *Balzac's Lett.* (vol. III.) II. xii, Fitter to be read upon a Joyne-stoole, than pronounced at a Tribunall'.

7. *greene-heades*] i.e. young fellows. In the *Epitome* Martin had said that the Puritans 'will affirme that the author of the Learned Discourse, and 500. green heads more that are on their side, within 2. Syllogismes, would set the deane of Sarum at a flat *non plus*, and answer his whole worke in a threepenie booke.' *Epit.*, ed. Peth., 9.

13. *the Athenians*] After the destruction of Thebes by Alexander (not Philip) in B.C. 335 he demanded of the Athenians that they should

give up to him ten persons, including Demosthenes and Lycurgus, who had by their orations incited the people against the Macedonians. After some discussion the demand was refused and Alexander seems not to have pressed it; see Diod. Sic. xvii. 15.

P. 63, 8-9. *your ffe hundred Brethren*] cf. note on 61. 2.

20. *barter the awaie for newe Broomes*] Mr. C. Crawford compares *Westward Ho*, II. i. (Webster, ed. Dyce, 217^a; Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 299): 'worse then the conscience of a Broome-man, that carreyes out new ware, and brings home old shoes.' Cf. also Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 10. 15-17.

25. *at the Persian Banquets*] I have found no special source.

P. 64, 5-6. *Can you... haue a pride in your Pistle making*] Cf. *Theses*, D 3^v-D 4: Martin Junior says 'though I bee but young, yet I beginne prettily well to followe my fathers steppes; for I promise yon, I am decieu'd, vnlesse I haue a prety smattering gift in this Pistle-making, and I feare [in] a while I shall take a pride in it.'

11-13. *a Glosse... with certaine Hayes, Jigges... seruing for Epitaphes*] This seems to refer to *Martin's Month's Mind*, which has at the end 'The true Copie of such Epitaphs as were made by old Martins fauorites, and others for him.' But this pamphlet can hardly be called a 'Glosse and a Commentarie' upon the *Theses*, with which it has, save that it takes the idea of Martin's death from them, little to do.

16-17. *the Winde and the Tide will staie for no Man*] Given in J. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 11, as 'the tide tarieth no man', the more usual form.

17. *at the making heereof*] A common phrase in letters in such expressions as 'Trusting in God, good Master Eumenides, that you are in so good health as all your friends were at the making hereof', Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, ed. Gummere in Gayley's *Repr. Engl. Comedies*, II. 661-2, where, however, it does not occur in a letter but is used with ludicrous intention in ordinary speech. So frequently; cf. *The Two Angry Women of Abington*, II. i. (ed. Gayley, iii. 380; *Nero*, &c., Mermaid ed., p. 126, l. 7).

The allusion is to a letter to 'Maister Iohn Canturburie' in the *Theses*, C 2^v, where occur the words: 'The cause of my writing vnto you at this instant, is, to let you vnderstand, first, that I was somewhat merry at the making heereof...'

21. *line and... leading*] i.e. direction; for the sense of 'line' see N. E. D. *line, sb.²* 5. I have not met with the phrase elsewhere.

22. *Grauesende Barge*] The starting point for all voyages was Gravesend, and the first stage was by the barge from London Bridge. Thus Greene speaks of some persons setting out 'to see *Jerusalem* or *Constantinople*', 'and so downe to *Grauesend* they go,' *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 75.

22. *footnote, sixt*] A copy of B in the possession of Mr. T. J. Wise has 'the eyght of *Augusti*', evidently a correction. This, as Mr. Wise says, would support the view that B was the original edition, and A a reprint designed to be uniform with *The Return*.

22-3. *the first and last yeere of Martinisme*] Probably suggested by the concluding words of the *Epistle*, 'Anno pontificatus vestri Quinto, and I hope *ultimo* of all Englishe Popes.'

THE RETVRNE OF PASQVILL

Date of Composition and Publication.

'Pasquils Protestation Vppon London Stone' is dated Oct. 20 (101. 15), and there is, I think, no reason to doubt that this gives the actual date of composition. We may therefore suppose that the pamphlet was issued at the end of October or beginning of November, 1589.

P. 68.] For some further notice of the variations between the copies I may refer to a brief article in the *Library*, Nov. 1903. This does not, however, add much to what I have already said here.

P. 69, 1-2. *The Returne*] In the *Countercuffe*, dated from Gravesend Barge, Pasquil is supposed to be going abroad in order to commit to the press his volume of the *Lives of the Saints* (61. 32).

4. *Marforius*] Marforio was the name of an ancient statute which stood near the palazzo Braschi. This owed its name to having been found in the Forum of Mars (Martis foro). It became customary to affix to it replies to the libels on the Pasquil statue.

4-5. *vpon the Royall Exchange*] The Exchange was built by Sir T. Gresham in 1566-7 and the name of the 'Royal Exchange' given to it in 1570 by Elizabeth. Is the constant use of *upon* for *in* the Exchange due to the fact that there were at first two stories of shops or offices in it, of which only the upper floor was used? See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 135 b.

12-13. *by Pepper Allie*] i. e. at or near the alley so named, which was close to the Southwark end of London Bridge, the landing-place called Pepper Alley Stairs being immediately above the bridge. The alley is, according to R. Blome in Stow's *London*, 'a narrow, ordinary Place both as to Buildings and Inhabitants,' ed. Strype, 1720, bk. 4, p. 29. It is mentioned, but not described, in the ed. of 1603 (Thoms' repr. 152^b, foot). So far as I am aware the only point of the present reference to it lies in the name.

P. 71, 3, &c.] The opening of the piece is similar in character to that of the *Pasquino in Estaci* of C. S. Curio, translated about 1550 by W. P. as *Pasquine in a Traunce*. I do not see, however, that 'Pasquil' has borrowed from that work more than the general idea of the dialogue.

7. *at Grauesende*] Cf. 64. 22.

28-9. *thicke and threefolde*] A common phrase for in great quantity or numbers.

29-30. *the liues of the Saints*] See note on 61. 1.

30. *state man*] i.e. statesman; the form occurs in Penry's *Treatise of Reformation*, B 1, l. 18, and in *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth., 43. 27.

P. 72, 2. *as bigge as Surius*] Laurentius Surius, born at Lubeck in 1522, was a Carthusian monk. A voluminous writer, his chief works were a series of Councils in four folio volumes 1567, and a collection of the lives of the Saints, in six volumes, 1570-5. He died in 1578.

3. *a Barbour in Rome*] See note on 56. 4.

9. *as shrill as a Bason*] The basin hung out by a barber as his sign seems also to have served the purpose of a gong or bell to summon him when required; cf. *The Kt. of the Burning Pestle*, III. iv. 12-13. On

barbers' signs see an article by Mr. J. H. Mac Michael, in *The Antiquary*, xli (1905), p. 346. He quotes, from the Barber-Surgeons' books, an order dated 1556 that 'none do make any shewe of Barborye one Sonndaires or other holy days' nor 'hange upp any bason or pott or potts uppon his poule Racket [? pole-rest], shoppe windowes, or otherwise on Sundays or holy days.' A basin was of course used as a sort of gong at the carting of incontinent women.

10. *Battus*] Cf. note on i. 15. 23.

12-13. *blest me into*] This example is given in *N.E.D.* s. v. Bless, v.¹ 2 c. I have met with no exact parallel—the sense is of course 'metamorphosed by a charm.'

25. *paper liueries*] Alluding to the libellous verses, &c., which were posted on the statue.

30. *Iacomo*] I cannot explain the allusion.

32. *white bearde*] There must have been some special reason for correcting the 'white head' which appears in some copies by means of a cancel. Probably the expression might have been taken as a scoffing allusion to some person or other. I can only suggest that as Martin, in his *Protestation*, C 4, had referred to 'those shamelesse speeches of that woorthye grayhead, Mistress Coopers husband,' and as there was much scandal about this same Mistress Cooper, it may possibly have been thought that the passage somehow lent itself to ribald jesting.

33. *a feard*] It is doubtful how far such forms as this were considered as misprints at the date. Earlier they were common, and allowable; see, for example, Sir T. Elyot's *Governor*, ed. Croft, i. 47, ii. 247, 307. This is, however, in all probability a mistake, and it might have been better to correct it.

P. 73, 1. *the English Seminarie*] The Jesuit college in Rome founded in 1551 and re-endowed by Gregory XIII in 1579.

7-8. *Springnols shop*] I know nothing of him. Again at 95. 24.

19. *the bottome*] i.e. paper or card on which thread is wound. Nashe has 'thread-bottom' frequently. The word was used as we should now use 'reel'; cf. *Plain Perceval*, ed. Peth., 36. 4-5 'Cast me the bottome of browne threed hither'.

20. *Pruritane*] The form is used also in *Mar-Martin* (in Lyl, ed. Bond), l. 123 'yee route of Pruritan Asses'. This is the earliest example known to me; the latest is in the *Referee* of June 30, 1907, p. 4 d below mid., apropos of 'living statuary' at Music Halls, 'There was doubtless a beating up of Pruritan votes for Tuesday's division.'

27. *Ænulatum*] I presume that the writer means 'cure for pain'. A decoction of the herb *helenium* or *inula* in wine, called *vinum enulatum* or *inulatum* was supposed to produce gaiety of spirit and forgetfulness of all sorrow. See Pliny, *H.N.* xxi. 91, and the commentary of Arnaud de Villeneuve on the *Schola Salernitana*, cap. 68 (ed. of 1649, p. 303); also Gratarolus, *De Vini Natura*, 1565, pp. 259-61.

29-33] The figures 1. 2. 3. in the margin indicate the 'Three marks of a Puritan' as given in the text.

30-4. *They take . . . father*] The reference should be to Prov. 30. 11, 12, 13. 'There is a generation . . . father' comes first.

P. 74, 3. *father Sware*] This must, I think, mean Cypriano Soares or Suarez, the author of a well-known book on rhetoric, which, first

printed c. 1560, passed through an immense number of editions. (See de Backer, *Bibl. de la Comp. de Jésus*). Born in 1524, in Spain, he became a Jesuit in 1549, and was afterwards head of the colleges of Braga and Evora in Portugal. He died at Plasencia in 1593 (Ribadeneira and Alegambe, *Bibl. Scr. Soc. Jes.*). I cannot, however, learn anything as to his residence in Rome.

Had the date of this book been a few years later it would have been natural to identify 'Sware' with the famous Francisco Suarez (1548-1617); but, though at this time he had apparently visited Rome, he can hardly have been well known in England.

4. *Father Augustine*] i. e. Antonio Augustin (1516-86), a Spanish scholar. He spent several years at Rome, and wrote much on Roman law and on antiquities, especially coins. From 1574 until his death he was archbishop of Tarragona. There seems to be no special allusion in 'sifted Greeke witte'.

14. *The Owles Almanack*] See note on 60. 5-6.

18. *the seauen capitall heresies*] I cannot learn that any particular seven heresies were regarded as 'capital', but see next note.

19. *executed . . . in Suffolke*] I do not know who are here referred to. Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 685^a, mentions the execution of Mathew Hamont in 1579, at Norwich, and gives a list of seven heresies which he was charged with having published; John Lewes was also burnt there in 1583, and Francis Ket in 1589 (see iii. 47. 29). I cannot learn of any executions in Suffolk.

22-3. *many faces in one hoode*] Cf. the more usual 'two faces in a hood' at i. 278. 12-13.

28. *Bernardin Ochin*] Born at Sienna in 1487, Ochin joined the Capuchin Order in 1534, and quickly coming to the front by his great eloquence as a preacher was elected general of the order in 1538, and again in 1541. Having, however, become imbued with Protestant ideas he quitted the order in 1542, went to Geneva and there married. He visited England in 1547, but returned to the continent on the accession of Mary. The statement made by Pasquil that he was the founder of the Capuchins is an error, though, it would appear, not an uncommon one (cf. Migne, *Encyclo. Théol.* 20 (Ordres Relig. 1), col. 628 top). The order was in reality founded by Clement VII in 1525, at the instigation of Mattheo da Baschi, a Franciscan. Ochin's apostasy has caused him to be one of the numerous supposed authors of that famous work the *De Tribus Impostoribus*.

36, &c. *hee fell into the biace of Rome*] Ochin's religious opinions seem to have been more emphatic than definite. Soon after his return from England to Geneva in 1553, he had a disagreement with Calvin, and had to migrate to Basle. From Basle he went to Zurich, and from there too he was banished, the cause of the trouble being, apparently, his views upon polygamy. He next tried to take refuge in Poland, but being nowhere received he was forced to wander from place to place until he reached Moravia, where he died in 1564. According to a writer in the *Biog. Générale*, the Capuchins, unwilling to condemn one who had held so important a position in their order, gave out that he had reverted to the Roman church and that this was the reason of the persecution to which he was subjected. There seems, however, to have been no foundation for the claim.

P. 75, 12-13. *Martinisme hath mightie freends]* In the *Epitome*, ed. Petheram, p. 2, Martin claims that he has 'bene entartayned at the Court', but the extent of this 'entertainment' is uncertain. Among the nobility the Puritans were favoured by the Earl of Essex, or it was at least supposed that they were. The story of his showing a Marprelate tract to the queen is well known (Maskell, *M. M. Controversy*, 123-4, and *D. N. B.* xiv. 427), and it was to him that Udall applied for help when imprisoned on a charge of being concerned in the Martinist publications. His reported inclination towards Puritanism is ironically referred to in *The Just Censure*, A 4 'And in faith I thinke they doe my Lord of Essex greate wrong, that say, he fauours Martin: I do not think he will be so vnwise, as to fauour these, who are enemies vnto the state. For if hee doe, her Majestie, I can tell him, will withdraw her gratiouse fauour from him'.

The Earls of Leicester and of Warwick seem also to have been well disposed toward the Puritans, though perhaps not toward the Martinists. They both gave help to Thomas Cartwright, and the Earl of Warwick is mentioned in *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth. 70, as supporting the Puritan Evans against the Bishop of Worcester.

23-4. *Quid prodest . . .]* I cannot trace the quotation in these exact words, though the idea is of course common.

P. 76, 2. *till they grew to be factious]* This instance of the Jewish factions was often cited as a warning. So Lodge in *Wit's Misery*, 1596, K 2^v, says 'one of the hastners on of the destruction of Ierusalem was the seditions and factions within the cittie: as *Iosephus* witnesseth'. The margin has 'Lib. 4. tripart. hist. cap. 32', which, if intended as a reference to the work of Cassiodorus, is apparently wrong.

33. *two colours, Blewe and Greene]* The quarrel between the two parties at Constantinople, of Βέροια and of Πράσινοι, came to a head in 532, about five years after Justinian became emperor. The rival factions derived their names from the two parties in the chariot races, but the dispute was a religious and political one—not of course 'about the credite and aduancement of two colours'. More than 30,000 persons are said to have perished in the disturbances.

P. 77, 4. *the Bianchi and the Neri]* Florentine factions at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Neri were the aristocratic party, the Bianchi that of the wealthier merchant class. Originally both were Guelf, but the Bianchi finally passed over to the Ghibelline party.

6. marg.] Either 'Note, gentle Martin' or 'Note :—Gentle Martin' may be meant.

11. *Church apparrell]* Cf. Maskell, *M. M. Controversy*, p. 41 and note. The question of the dress of the clergy is discussed in a very reasonable manner by Stubbes in the *Anatomy of Abuses*, Part ii, 1583. He speaks of some who object altogether to the clergy having any distinguishing dress, on the ground that Peter dressed as other people, a deduction from the fact that he was known to those in the house of Pilate by his speech, not by his dress (Matt. 26. 73), and says that some have even given up their livings rather than wear distinctive costume: these Stubbes considers 'more curious than wise'. Another class object to such vestments as a surplice, a tippet or forked cape, and the like, on the ground that they are popish. Stubbes says that

one must not wear them as being ordered by the Pope, but if they are commanded by a Christian Prince, one may wear them without scruple ; at the same time one must on no account ‘repose any religion, holinesse or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papists doe’. A man ‘is neither better nor worse, for wearing or not wearing of them’ (*Anatomy*, ed. Furnivall, for N.S.S., ii. 110–12). The view of Stubbes is that of the moderate Puritan party. The extremists, with, of course, the Martinists, went much further, disapproving altogether of ecclesiastical vestments ; see A. Gilbey’s *Pleasant Dialogue*, given by Mr. Arber in his *Introd. Sketch to M. M. Controv.* p. 32. The Martinist tracts being chiefly concerned with Church-Government have few references to this point, but one of the ‘Conditions of Peace’ at the end of the *Epistle* is that no one shall be suspended or silenced for refusing to wear the vestments (*Epistle*, ed. Arber, 35).

16. *the Tynkers budget*] i.e. the bag in which he carries his tools ; cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 131.

17. *Tarboxe*] Tar was, and is, used for dressing wounds on sheep. Hence the tar-box was the traditional attribute of the shepherd.

25. *which was acquitted of accusations*] In allusion to the publication of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549. Holinshed says of the Parliament of Nov. 4, 1548, to March 14, 1548–9 ‘in this parliament, the vse of the masse was clearlie prohibited, and a booke for the vuniformitie of diuine seruice, and right administration of the sacraments, was set foorth and established’ (*Chron.*, 1807–8, iii. 906). Nevertheless in this Prayer Book the Communion is said to be ‘commonly called the Masse’. The alternative name was dropped in the Prayer Book of 1552.

36. marg. *Math.* 12] Verse 25 ‘Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation’, &c.

P. 78, 3. *a logge*] i.e. weight, load, more usually a piece of wood tied to a man’s or beast’s leg to hinder his movements (cf. *N.E.D.*), used much as ‘clog’ in ii. 269. 23.

8–9. *the very often, and very miraculous preseruations of her sacred Majesties roiall person*] Again referred to at 84. 4–5, and 116. 11–12. Numerous as were the plots against Elizabeth, there seem to have been few, if any, actual attempts upon her life. One or two madmen or fanatics, such as John Somerville seems to have been, are mentioned as trying to approach her with murderous intent, but none appears to have succeeded in reaching her presence. Only once does she seem to have been in personal danger, namely on July 17, 1579, when, as she was in her barge near Greenwich, a certain Thomas Appletree fired a gun in her direction and wounded one of the crew who was within six feet of her (Holinshed, *Chron.*, 1807–8, iv. 425). The affair, which may have been a pure accident, is frequently referred to ; cf. *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 207. 31–7 and *England’s Mourning Garment* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N.S.S., pp. 96, 103.

14. *visor*] Outward pretence, as at 95. 4 margin. Martin claims to have pulled off the ‘vizards’ of the bishops, *Epitome*, ed. Peth. 5.

31. *buz*] The usual word for to insinuate privily ; cf. ‘Neither would the Queen believe what some buzzed in her Ears, that be [i.e. Appletree, who nearly shot her on the Thames] was purposely set on’ (Camden, quoted in Mr. Bond’s note on Lyly, ii. 207. 32).

P. 79, 5. *Secretarie Machiauelli*] Machiavelli was First Secretary, or Chancellor, of the Second Chancery of the Florentine Republic, i. e. that of the Ten, from 1498–1512; he never, as is sometimes stated, held the First Secretariate of the Republic, an office which belonged to the Secretary of the Signoria (see Villari, *Machiavelli*, undated Eng. trans., i. 225–7, and note 2 on the latter page). Villari shows that in his youth Machiavelli's opinion of Savonarola was unfavourable, but that he modified his judgement considerably in later years (*Savonarola*, undated Eng. trans., p. 302, note to ch. v, and p. 620 note).

6. by the example of Fryer Sauanaroll] See *Il Principe*, cap. vi, near end; but it is rather as an example of the uselessness of introducing innovations without the support of sufficient force to compel their acceptance that he is mentioned. Pasquil's attack upon Savonarola seems to have given offence to some; cf. 112. 19, &c.

8–9. when Spayne, Fraunce, . . . entred a league] The writer is apparently thinking of the League of Cambrai, 1508, made by Spain, France, the Emperor, and the Pope, ostensibly against the Turks, but really against the Venetians. At this date, however, Savonarola had been dead more than ten years. It was in connexion with the enterprise of Charles VIII and Ludovico il Moro, of Milan, against Alfonso, king of Naples, in 1494, that Savonarola played such an important part.

12. Martin brags hee is a speciall man] I have not found this claim. Possibly a passage in *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth. 34, where Martin claims that his purpose 'was and is to do good', may be referred to.

15. *Sauanarola made a bragging proffer*] The history of this remarkable incident is given in detail by Professor Villari in his *Life of Savonarola*, bk. iv, ch. 7. According to this account Savonarola was challenged by Frà Francesco di Puglia, a Franciscan and a bitter opponent of his, to prove the truth of his doctrines by submitting, with himself, to the ordeal by fire. Frà Domenico da Pescia, one of Savonarola's most enthusiastic supporters, accepted the challenge on his own account, but Frà Francesco who, Savonarola having refused several previous suggestions of such a challenge, seems never to have expected that it would be taken up, refused to make the attempt with any but Savonarola himself. The interest of the Florentines had, however, been so much aroused by the proposed contest that they would not allow it to be dropped, and the Signory, who wished to get rid of Savonarola, itself assumed direction of the matter with the determination that it should be carried through. Neither Frà Francesco nor Savonarola seem to have been at all inclined to submit in person to the trial, but it was arranged that it should take place between Frà Domenico on the one side and Frà Giuliano Rondinelli, a Franciscan, on the other. On April 7, 1498, everything was prepared, a huge stack of combustibles eighty feet long was erected in the Piazza with a passage in the middle of it, through which the rival champions were to pass. When, however, the time came for the ordeal, delay after delay occurred, the Franciscans having ever new pretexts for putting off the moment of beginning the trial, until at last it became so late that the Signory declared that it was no longer possible for the ordeal to take place. The opponents of Savonarola managed, however, to create an impression that it was through his fault that all the delays had occurred, and he and his Dominicans had great difficulty in escaping from the

fury of the populace and regaining their convent. It was said that even if the champion of the Franciscans had not entered the fire, Savonarola himself should have done so with his disciple, and the incident led to the speedy fall of his power, and, finally, to his being put to death in May of the same year.

17–18. *Martin hath vaunted he wyll seale his opinion with his hart blode*] In the *Protestation* Martin does indeed say that he will give his life for his cause (see the passage quoted in Mr. Arber's *Introd. Sketch*, 192), but this had not yet been published. The same is, however, implied, though not directly stated, in *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth., 46, where he says 'I cannot, I will not, I may not be silent . . . come what will come of it', and on p. 41 where he speaks of being hanged.

26. marg. 1 Cor. 2. 12] The reference appears to be wrong. Possibly 1 Cor. 12. 12 is meant, 'For as the bodie is one, and hath many members, and al the members of the body, which is one, though they be manye, yet are but one body : euen so is Christ' (G. V., 1582); several verses in the same chapter might be referred to as bearing on the point. The expression 'in the vnitie of faith' occurs in Eph. 4. 13.

34. *Deos peregrinos ne colunto*] I have not found this. Livy (iv. 30) records an instruction to the aediles of such a nature in A. U. C. 327.

P. 80, 33. *the English house*] The establishment of English merchants at Antwerp.

a Gentleman] i.e., I suppose, Henry Killigrew; see the article on Travers in *D. N. B.* for an account of the matter.

P. 81, 1. *Trauards*] Walter Travers (1548?–1635), Puritan divine. Studied at Cambridge, and afterwards went to Geneva, where he wrote the *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae Explicatio*, 1579, by which he quickly became well known. He was ordained by Cartwright at Antwerp in 1578, but the validity of the ordination was challenged by Whitgift. See Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 304 and note 2, and *D. N. B.*

9. *deuiding of the word*] See 2 Timothy 2. 15. The expression is again used at 120. 21.

11. *quem oneris causa nomino*] Perhaps jesting at an expression of Martin Senior's in the *Just Censure*, B2 'the honourable mention that my father (my father, I saie, *Quem honoris causa nomino, quoties nomino, nomino autem sæpissime*) made of me in his writings.'

33. *the graund Prior of Fraunce*] i.e. chief of the French section or 'language' of the Knights of Malta. François de Lorraine (1534–63), a younger brother of François, duc de Guise, is presumably meant. He was Grand Prior and Commander of the French Galleys, in which latter capacity he escorted Mary Queen of Scots on her return to Scotland in 1561. I have been unable to find the poem referred to, or indeed any other mention of it.

P. 82, 18. *cast*] i.e. consider, wonder.

21. *ympes*] The word means 'to engrافت feathers in the wing of a bird, so as to make good losses or deficiencies, and thus restore or improve the powers of flight' (*N. E. D.*). Cf. *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 34. 4 (quoted in *N. E. D.*).

P. 83, 1. *The May-game of Martinisme*] Another book which never appeared.

2. *defflie*] A frequent form of 'deftly'.

5. *Paris-garden*] See Collier, *Hist. E. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 278, &c.; a paper by W. Rendle in Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S., Pt. iii, apx. I; Mr. Ordish's *Early London Theatres*, cap. 5, and *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, pt. ii, p. 35. The whole subject of Paris Garden is somewhat complicated, but it seems fairly safe to say that originally bear-baitings were held within the manor of Paris (or Parish) Garden, a district of considerable size, and that when later—though many years before Nashe wrote—they were transferred to the Bear Garden, an amphitheatre on the Bankside, near, but not within, the manor, the name of the Parish Garden baitings still clung to them. Thus, at the end of the sixteenth century, 'Parish Garden' generally meant the Bear Garden, and not—except in topographical writings—the manor properly so called; cf. i. 281. 6-8. Besides the bear-baiting there seem to have been other entertainments. Among these an ape which rode a dwarf pony is frequently mentioned: cf. iii. 104. 6 and note. Of the owl I know nothing.

Penry] John Penry (or ap-Henry), born in 1559 in Brecknockshire, matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1580, B.A. 1583-4, M.A. 1586, is said at one time to have held Catholic opinions, but before he left Cambridge became an extreme Puritan. He did not take orders but travelled about in Wales preaching. Being greatly impressed with the spiritual destitution of the country, which he attributed to the non-residence and incompetency of the clergy, he published in 1587, at Oxford, a *Treatise... containing the Aequity of an Humble Supplication in the behalfe of... Wales*, urging the necessity of immediate reform of the clergy of that country. This work roused the resentment of Whitgift, who caused the books to be seized, and had Penry imprisoned for a month. His treatment seems, however, to have rendered him still more determined to persevere in his efforts for reform, and that not only in the Welsh Church but in the Church of England also. It being now, of course, no longer possible to get his works licensed and printed in the ordinary way, he determined to start a press of his own, and with the assistance of Waldegrave the Martinist press was founded. It cannot be stated with certainty what share Penry had in the actual composition of the Martinist tracts; there is, however, evidence that part of the copy was in his writing, and that he corrected a passage in one of them to which the compositor objected as being without sense (Arber, *Introd. Sketch*, II. 117. 10-11; 127. 29-35: but cf. 134. 24-31), and it is further said that in the MS. of *More Work for Cooper* there was in two or three places a slip into the first person where the writer was referring to Penry (*I. S.*, II. 18-20). Without wishing to speak positively, I may say that after reading all the 'Martinist' publications and several of those issued under Penry's name I see so little resemblance in the style that I can hardly believe them to be the work of the same author, and further, that I do not think anything in the conduct of the Martinists justifies us in disregarding the very definite statement made by 'Martin Senior' regarding Penry, Sharpe and Waldegrave: 'I dare sware for them, [they] did neuer medle nor make at anie time, with the metropoliticall writings of our renowned father,' *Just Censure* B 2.

In January, 1589-90, an attempt was made to apprehend Penry at Northampton, but he escaped to Scotland, where he was well received

by the Presbyterian clergy, and where he remained until September, 1592. In this month he returned to London, apparently with the intention of proceeding to Wales and renewing his preaching there. Delaying in London, he was, however, recognized, arrested in March, 1592-3, and committed to the Poultry Counter. In May, 1593, he was brought to trial on the charge of having, by works written at Edinburgh, attempted to excite rebellion and insurrection in England, the charge being based on certain manuscripts found in his rooms. He was not, however, charged with complicity in the Martinist publications, possibly because the evidence was insufficient, or rather perhaps because, the controversy having subsided, the bishops feared to arouse it again. He was sentenced to death and hanged a week later on May 29, 1593. (Chiefly from *D. N. B.*)

5-22. *Penry the welchman is the foregallant of the Morrice . . . markt]* This passage was apparently suggested by one in *The Just Censure*, where 'Martin Senior' proposes various persons for offices in Whitgift's household: John Bridges, dean of Sarum, is to be his fool, Doctor Underhill his almoner, Bancroft and drunken Gravate the yeomen of his cellar; 'Anderson parson of Stepney, should make roome before him with his two hand stiffe, as he did once before the morrice daunce, at a market towne in the edge of Buckingham or Bedford shires, where he bare the Potters part. His two supporters always to leade him by the armes, must be sir Lenard Wright, and sir Tom Blan o Bedford, the one whereof also must carrie his bable, and the other a looking glasse for their Maister, to see whether his catercappe doth euery way reach ouer his eares, and so stand according to his calling. As for Mar-Martin, and Iohn Fregueile, they *alterius vicibus*, shall be the groomes of his stoole' (C 2^v). To Anderson's name there is a marginal note: 'This chaplein robbed the poore mens box at Northampton, played the Potters part in the morrise (*sic*) daunce, and begotte his maide with child in Leicestershire: and these things hee did since he was firste Priest.'

6. *foregallant of the Morrice*] As to the morris-dance see Mr. E. K. Chambers's *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 195, &c. The 'foregallant' is, I presume, the leader, probably the lover of Maid Marian; but details of the dance are almost entirely wanting. Most of the performers wore bells attached to a strap or garter below the knees.

7. *Woodcocks bill*] I do not understand this; but a woodcock was of course proverbial for foolishness. Possibly there is some sort of jesting allusion to one William Woodcock, whose 'divinity' is twice referred to in the *Epitome*, ed. Petheram, pp. 22, 25. From the allusions one might suppose that the 'divinity' was a printed book, but I can learn nothing of it.

9. *Metheglin*] The Welsh drink of the period, 'whereof', as Harrison says, 'the Welshmen make no lesse accompt and not without cause if it be well handled than the Greekes did of their Ambrosia or Nectar' (*Descr. of Engl.* in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. Furnival, for N.S.S. i. 161). It was a kind of mead, but the 'swish swash' they called mead in Essex and elsewhere differed from it as chalk from cheese. (Harrison, loc. cit.)

13. *a Kercher of Dame Lawsons*] Dame Margaret Lawson is frequently referred to in the Martinist controversy, but, so far as I am

aware, there is nothing known of her save what can be gathered from such references. In the *Epistle* she is called 'the shrew at Pauls gate and enemie to all dumb dogs and tyrannicall Prelates in the land', and speeches of hers to the Bishop of London and to the Archbishop of Canterbury are reported (ed. Arber, II, 12). See Cooper's reply to this in the *Admonition*, ed. Arber, p. 33. From *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth. 62, it appears that her husband's name was Thomas. She is mentioned in *Martin's Month's Mind*, G IV, as Martin's 'deare Sister' to whom he bequeaths his scolding and railing, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 189; cf. also *Almond for a Parrot*, iii. 344. 9-12; 348. 12-15; 351. 5-7. Nashe refers to the mention of her in the *Almond* in *Strange News*, i. 268. 15-17.

17. *Wiggenton*] Giles Wigginton (fl. 1569-92), a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, vicar of Sedbergh in Yorkshire, 1579, deprived on account of his Calvinistic views in 1586 but reinstated in 1592 (*D. N. B.*). So far as I am able to discover he had nothing whatever to do with the Marprelate controversy, though it seems to have been assumed by the anti-Martinists that, as a well-known extreme Puritan, he must have had. He is mentioned in *An Almond for a Parrot*, iii. 350. 13; 363. 2, &c.; 364. 21-3. His deprivation is, however, referred to in the *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 26, 27; Cooper's *Admonition*, ed. Arber, 37; and *Hay any Work*, ed. Petheram, 69.

18. *Leatherne pudding*] Presumably some form of the bladder which was carried by fools. For the ladle cf. iii. 240. 199 note.

19. *Paget*] Eusebius Pagit (1551?-1617) studied first at Oxford, then at Christ Church, Cambridge, B. A. 1567. He was rector of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, 1574-85, when he was deprived for non-conformity to the Anglican ritual (*D. N. B.*). He is mentioned in the *Just Censure*, D2, as living at Hounslow, and it is clear from the context that he was looked upon as one of the most prominent of the Puritan party, but I find no evidence that he was associated with the Martinists. He is referred to several times in the course of the controversy, in the anti-Martinist tracts almost always with jeers at his lameness; cf. 85. 25-9, and *Almond*, iii. 347. 18-19; 350. 13; 362. 9-11, 25-6.

20. *another [club] in his head*] There is not the least need to read 'hand' for 'head', as Grosart did. The allusion is to 'club-headed', meaning 'blockhead'; cf. 'a club-headed companion', *Anatomy*, i. 7. 27.

24-5. *stocke-keeper of the Bridewel-house of Canterburie*] Cf. *Countercuffe*, 61. 3-8.

33. *Seruaunt of Elisha*] See 2 Kings 6. 17, but nothing is said about any water. Possibly the allusion is to the cure of the blind man in Mark 8. 23.

P. 84, 4. *These wonderfull preseruations*] See note on 78. 8-9.

13. *participate with*] The construction with 'with' was usual; see index for other examples.

14. *sette downe your reste*] See note on i. 384. 35-6.

22. *jumpe*] i. e. exactly agreeing, coincident. A line in *Misogonus* (c. 1560), ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, III. i. 177 'doe not our Alison and I agree in one tale jum[pe ?]' seems to supply an earlier instance of this sense than is given in *N.E.D.*

24-5. *the trueth . . . founde*] See the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus in Erasm. *Adag.*, ed. 1574, ii. 467 'Veritas in profundo'.

34. *ouer our shinnes*] Cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 41 'For privy nips or casts overthwart the shinnes He shall leese the maistry that with her beginnes'. It seems to mean violent scolding.

P. 85, 4. *juggling cast*] i.e. trick; cf. T. Churchyard, *Sparke of Friendship*, 1588, in *Harl. Misc.*, 1808, &c., iii. 264. 18 'juggling casts, or ledger-de-maine, to purchase favour, and deceive the lookers-on.'

11. *Core*] The form used in the New Testament (Jude 11) for Korah, who with Dathan and Abiram rebelled against Moses and Aaron (Num. 16. 1, &c.).

14. *Donatistes*] This was the earliest important schism of the Christian Church. The point at issue was not in any way doctrinal, but was, in the first instance at least, merely the question of the legality of the election of one Caecilianus as bishop of Carthage. His election in A.D. 311 was violently opposed by Donatus, bishop of Casa Nigra in Numidia, who with his followers refused to acknowledge Caecilianus or to recognize as belonging to the Christian Church any one who did acknowledge him. They looked on salvation as restricted to themselves, excommunicated every one else, subjected to purification the places of worship which had been contaminated by the presence of their adversaries, and even cast the bones of the Catholics out of their cemeteries (Smith, *Class. Dict.*).

14-15. *Quod volumus sanctum est*] Pasquil was probably borrowing from Cooper's *Admonition*, ed. Arber 33 'quia quod volumus sanctum est, as Augustine said of their predecessors the *Donatists*'. St. Augustine cites the expression as from Tychonius, a Donatist, in *Epist. 48*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 33 (August. 2), col. 342; again in *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, iv, Migne, *P. C.* 43 (August. 9), col. 572. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 2. 15 end, and chil. iv, cent. 7. 16.

18. *Maister John Foxe*] There is special point in the reference to Foxe, as he was claimed by the Martinists as supporting their views. See *Theses Martinianae*, B 2^v, No. 53, 55.

26-7. *whelpe whose worme was not taken out of his tongue*] The 'worm' is a vermiform cartilage under the tongue of a dog and other carnivora. It was, and I believe by some still is, considered to be a parasite which, if allowed to remain, would cause the dog to go mad. See Pliny, *H.N.* xxix. 32 'Est vermiculus in lingua canum, qui vocatur a Graecis lytta, quo exempto infantibus catulis, nec rabidi fiunt, nec fastidium sentiunt'; also Gratius Faliscus, *Cynegeticon*, 383-98. Allusions to the practice of removing the 'worm' are numerous.

30. *dogged*] The word generally, if not always, in Elizabethan English means discontented or envious, not, as now, obstinate; see other examples in index.

P. 86, 5. *Aquitanicus Prosper*] A saint, born in Aquitaine in 403, died about 463. He wrote against the Semipelagians.

7. *Seipsis ducibus vtebantur*] Not found.

15. *in his Proem*] See the *Theses Martinianae*, A 2^v.

16. *cokish*] i.e. like a cock, arrogant, self-assertive.

17-18. *for saying, I am not of opinion that . . .*] See Cooper's *Admonition*, ed. Arber, 104.

19. *fetcheth his feas*] i. e. takes a short run before jumping; see *N.E.D.* s. v. *feeze sb.*

26. *every Goose . . . must goe for a Swan*] The earliest instance of the phrase in *N.E.D.*; later it is common.

27. *Canoniali*!] Perhaps merely a misprint for 'Canonical' as in *g*: *N.E.D.* has, however, examples of this form in 1225 and 1502.

33. *coateth*] A variant form of 'quoteth', here used for the sake of the play on the other sense of 'coat' or 'cote', to pass by (as in *Hamlet* II. ii. 330, where numerous parallels are given by the *Variorum* editors). For the sense 'quote' cf. *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 93. 32-3 'from thy booke to beastlines, from coting of y^e scriptures, to courting with Ladies', and Richard Baines's well-known 'Note containing the opinion of on Christopher Marly', where Harl. MS. 6848 has 'He saith likewise that he hath quoted a number of contrarieties oute of the scriptures', while the copy in Harl. MS. 6853 instead of 'quoted' has 'coated', Kyd, ed. Boas, cxvi. See also Greene, ed. Grosart, vii. 108. 12. The word also frequently means 'comment upon', as in Lyly, ii. 51. 28.

34-6. *Qui in Euangelio . . .*] I have not found the source of this.

P. 87, 21. *the fish Sæpia*.] Pliny, *H.N.* ix. 45; also Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix. 37 (25). 9, and Plutarch, *De Solertia Anim.* 26. 5.

24. *Appio*] Or Apion, an Alexandrian grammarian who flourished c. A. D. 35, chiefly known for his work on Homer. The story here alluded to is told by Pliny, *H.N.* xxx. 6. Apion did not dare to make known the answer which he had received from Homer.

32. *Clara Vallis*] Clairvaux, on the Aube, the site of the celebrated Cistercian monastery of which St. Bernard was first abbot (1115).

33. *last will and Testament of S. Bernard*] See Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 185 (Bern. 4), col. 520, but the form there given is very much shorter. I do not know whence Pasquil obtained his text.

P. 88, 20. *a pricke in his eye*] See Numbers 33-55.

22. *while*] i. e. till. It may be noted that Nashe nowhere in his acknowledged works has the word in this sense. R. Greene has it frequently; cf. Grosart's Index, and add xi. 15. 11, 343. 8, and xii. 219. 21. Cf. iii. 384. 37 'while noon'.

25. *edge of his tuske*] Apparently point is meant, but *N.E.D.* has no example of the word in this sense. Cf. ii. 375. 22 'edged sting'.

26-7. *Infelix lolum . . .*] Verg. *G.* i. 154.

31. *May-game*] Cf. 83. 1, &c.

33. *William Dyke*] Doubtless a Puritan preacher, but I know nothing of him. Perhaps a member of the same family as Daniel Dyke, minister of Coggeshall in Essex, who was suspended in 1583.

P. 89, 1-2. *a Student of Cambridge*] It has been suggested to me by Prof. G. C. Moore Smith that if these tracts are the work of Nashe it is not impossible that the 'Student' might be Marlowe, whose home was of course at Canterbury (see I. 32). It should, however, be noted that he had probably left Cambridge two years or more before the date of this pamphlet, though this is not an insuperable objection. Mr. Bond thinks that this student is probably Lyly; see his edition, i. 51.

28. *Ouids fiction*] *Metam.* ii. 1, &c.

31. *a double rest*]. A term of horsemanship which I cannot explain; cf. the 'manege with whole rest' in Grisone's *Art of Riding*, KIV-2.

P. 90, 7. *Cooper at Paules chayne*] See *Just Censure*, A 3^v, where in a mock oration of Whitgift to the pursuivants, he bids them 'Let three or four more of you or your substitutes be every day at the Blacke Friars, Lincolnes inne, White-chappell, Paules chaine, as often as Charke, Gardiner, Egerton, or Cooper do preach'. Paul's Chain was a street running from Knyghttrider Street to Paul's Churchyard. Cooper is also referred to in *Almond*, iii. 348. 17.

13. *Dike*] Cf. note on 88. 33.

18. *Mouit Cornicula risum*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 3. 19 'moveat . . . '

28. *Coronels*] The spelling with *r* was the more common until about 1630. See *N.E.D.* s.v. colonel.

P. 91, 9-10. *noted in the Ecclesiastical Histories*] Perhaps suggested to Pasquil by Bancroft's *Sermon* of Feb. 9, 1588, pp. 16-18, where the story of Aerius is related (cf. 132. 10-15). He had desired to become a bishop, but the honour fell to his rival Eustathius. His jealousy on this account is said to have caused him to formulate the doctrine that there was no difference by the word of God betwixt a priest and a bishop. Bancroft refers (correctly) to Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.* lib. iii, tom. I, haeres. 75.

10. *were sette beside the cushion*] i.e. passed over. See *N.E.D.* The origin of the phrase is not altogether clear, but 'cushion' does not mean a mark. It is of frequent occurrence, as also the similar expression 'to miss the cushion', for which see *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, in *Quellen*, IV. i. 98. Both occur in Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 165.

15-16. *The Sworde . . .*] Zechariah II. 17 'the sworde shalbe vpon his arme, and vpon his right eye'.

19. *Like people, like Priest*] Hosea 4. 9.

21. *a motion*] i.e. puppet play.

23. *graggle*] i.e. cackle; cf. '1614 T. Adams Devil's Banquet 58 These are . . . the Geese in the Capitall, to gaggle at Statesmen in the Common-wealth'. *N.E.D.* A 'gaggle' was the proper term for a flock of geese; see Scot's *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 338.

24-5. *Beautie and Bandes*] Zechariah II. 7 'For I fed the sheepe of slaughter, even the poore of the flocke, and I tooke vnto me two stauies: the one I called Beautie, and the other I called Bandes, and I fed the sheepe', G. V., which explains 'Beautie' as 'the most beautifull order of government', and 'Bandes' as 'the bands of brotherly vnitie'.

P. 92, 5-6. *Billes of endightment against her*] The allusion is, I suppose, to Penry's *Viewe of some part of such publike wants & disorders as are in the seruice of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales, togither with an humble Petition, vnto this high Court of Parliament for their speedy redresse*, printed at Coventry early in March, 1589. Parliament was dissolved on March 29.

7. *Daniell*] See *Susanna* 45.

12. *Vetus Comedia*] See note on the *Countercuffe*, 59. 15. The use of the expression 'Vetus Comoedia' implies that the production was rather a show, perhaps of the nature of an interlude, than a regular play.

33. *Scorners Chayre*] Psalm I. I.

P. 93, 3. *whose mouthes were as Quiuors*] Apparently not a quota-

tion, but suggested by what follows, taken from Jerem. 9. 8 'Their tongue is as an arrow shot out'.

9-10. *Bulles of Bashan . . . Firie-ouens*] See Psalm 22. 12; (?) Psalm 63. 10 or Luke 13. 32; Jerem. 8. 17 or Matt. 23. 33; Matt. 3. 7, 12. 34, 23. 33; Matt. 7. 15; (?) Isaiah 59. 5; John 10. 1; Psalm 21. 9, cf. Hosea 7. 6, 7. Pasquil may, however, be referring to these expressions as applied by the Fathers to the enemies of the Church.

10. *False-oyes*] Not found.

15. *dosse*] i. e. push with the horns; cf. '1583 Golding, *Calvin on Deut.* xx. 119, [These] doe dosse with their hornes like madde bulles against all good Gouvernment and policie'. N. E. D.

19. *Sampsons Foxes*] Judges 15. 4.

23. *teare open the bowels of theyr owne Damme*] See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 24, cf. xv. 16; cf. Pliny, *H. N.* x. 82; Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* v. 34 (28).

28-9. *Spyders . . . sucke out theyr mallice from very good hearbes*] This is a constantly occurring commonplace; cf. T. Wilson, *Rule of Reason*, 1551, sig. S 4^v 'for out of one and the same floore the Bee sucketh hony, and the spider draweth poison': *Soliman and Perseda* (Kyd, ed. Boas), II. i. 130 'As in the Spider good things turne to poison . . .': *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 128. 9-10 'conuerting like the Spider a sweet floore into a bitter poysen', where I cannot agree with the interpretation given in the note; also Chettle, *Kind-Heart's Dream* in *Shaks. Allusion Books*, N. S. S. 65. 19-20; Greene, ed. Grosart, xii. 180. 1-2, &c., &c. See i. 30. 22.

P. 94, 3-4. *a hundred thousand in the Lande*] See the *Just Censure*, C4. Martin Senior proposes a supplication to her Majesty against the abuses of the Church, and says 'I can tell thee there would be gotten an hundred thousand hands to this supplication, of knownen men in the land, all her Majesties most loyall and trustie louing subjects'.

6. *Magna componere paruis*] Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* i. 24 'sic parvis componere magna solebam'.

15. *Brownist, Barowist*] Practically the same. They were the sect which later became the Independents or Congregationalists. Their chief tenet was the independence and self-government of each congregation. Cf. notes on iii. 47. 30.

15. *Anabaptist*] The sect began to appear in England about 1534, and had numerous followers in the eastern counties. Its chief tenets were inspiration, the visible kingdom of Christ, baptism of adult persons, and community of goods.

16. *Familie of Loue*] The followers of David George or Joriszoon; a section of the Anabaptists, who interpreted the Scriptures in a fantastic and mystical manner. Cf. iii. 47. 27.

23-4. *cloilde with the clowted shoe*] i.e. appealed to the lower classes. Cf. i. 202. 13 and Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 237. 8.

27. *great upholders*] Cf. 75. 12-13.

29. *Grasse upon the house*] Psalm 129. 6-8; cf. 2 Kings 19. 26, Isaiah 37. 27.

32. marg. *Psal. 34*] Possibly meant for Psalm 37. 2.

36. *When Symon . . .*] The story follows closely the original in 2 Maccabees 3. 4-29.

P. 95, 4. marg. *Martins Visor*] i.e. Martin's pretext—that he wishes reformation; for visor cf. 78. 14.

12. *Froes*] i.e. women (properly Dutch women=Du. *vrouw*), here Bacchanals; cf. Dekker, *The King's Entertainment, Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 293 'the Mart, where as well the *Froe*, as the *Burger*, are buying and selling'. A note refers to Fletcher's *Wit at several Weapons*, V. i end:

Buxom as Bacchus' froes, revelling, dancing,
Telling the music's numbers with their feet.

17. *barbed*] i.e. in armour.

24. *are Apocrypha*] The placing of the Apocrypha on the same, or almost the same, level as the canonical books by having them read in church was a frequent object of Puritan attacks. In Lent, 1588, an order had been issued by the Archbishop that no Bible should be bound without the Apocrypha (Strype's *Whitgift*, ed. 1822, i. 590). On this Martin says 'Monstrous and vngodly wretches / that to maintaine their owne outragious proceedings / thus mingle heauen and earth together / and woulde make the spirite of God / to be the author of prophane booke'. *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 34. II-14. Petheram in a note on the passage in his edition (47. 24) gives other quotations which illustrate the Puritan attitude.

25-6. *a new Barbar in London*] This evidently refers to some new translation or abridgement of the Scriptures which was projected, but I can learn nothing of it.

27-8. *I will deale . . . euasions*] i.e. I will cite Scriptures which they cannot challenge as Apocryphal.

35. *open such a windowe to the deuill*] i.e. give the devil an opportunity.

P. 96, 10-11. *at the halfe sword*] i.e. at close quarters; cf. 1 Hen. IV, II. iv. 182.

26. *Celce the Constable of Gertrund*] i.e. Celsus, who was Patricius to Gontran, seventh king of Burgundy (b. 525, a. 561, d. 593). This story of him is related by Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* iv. 24. The prophet referred to in 1. 29 is Isaiah (5. 8).

35. *the great*] i.e. 'le Gros' (b. 1078, a. 1108, d. 1137).

36. *the Conte de Clerimont . . .*] I do not know from what book Pasquil derived his history. For the first three names see the *Grandes Chron. de France*, in Bouquet, xii. 139-40. I am not sure who is meant by the Lorde de Beauieu.

P. 97, 7. *full*] One would rather expect 'pill' or 'poll'; cf. 'being pilled and pould too vncconscionably', ii. 152. 6-7.

10. *glue ouer*] The phrase, which is now vulgar, was not uncommon, both transitively and intransitively; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, in *Quellen*, II. iv. 185 'Prist, downe with that ruddake or Ile glue over' [i.e. if you do not stake, I shall not play any more].

18-19. *the Bishopricke of Ely*] The see of Ely was vacant from the resignation of Richard Cox in 1580 to the consecration of Martin Heton in 1600.

35. marg. *Psal. 12. 14*] The reference should be Psalm 12. 4 'With our tongue will we preuale: our lippes are our owne: who is Lord ouer vs?'

P. 98, 3. *Feuer of Eutydimus*] Euthydemus is meant; see Plato, *Euthyd.* 298.

16. *S. Bernards discipline*] Apparently an error: I cannot learn that St. Bernard either practised or recommended flagellation. It would be more naturally associated with St. P. Damien or St. Dominic Loricatus. See Baronius, anno 1056, vii.

22. *Let the Court alone*] I have not found the passage referred to.

P. 99, 3. *whust*] Qy. whist, or husht. Referring to the *Just Censure*, A 2 'Thou sawest wel enough, that Martins doings were now almost forgot & huisht'.

4. *The lives of the Saints*] See note on 61. 1.

6. *Th. Cartwright*] However much Martin approved of Cartwright, Cartwright by no means approved of Martin; see *D. N. B.* Cartwright, p. 229^a foot. Nevertheless, as a prominent Puritan, he was constantly associated with the Martinists in the attacks upon them.

8. *with him to bring*] The phrase, which is common, seems generally to mean 'to get even with one', though in some cases its exact force is not at all clear; cf. *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth. 61 foot, 'but ise be with you all three to bring one day'; *Spanish Trag.* (*Kyd*, ed. Boas), III. xii. 22, and *Tr. and Cres.* I. ii. 305, quoted in the note; Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, V. iv. 68, and Dyce's note; Heywood, *Wise Woman of Hogsden*, I. ii, towards end. It is again used by Pasquil at 124. 12.

9. *that hee payd for purchasing*] It does not seem that any specific charge of this nature was ever brought against Cartwright.

13. *toe*] i.e. to. Apparently a misspelling induced by the previous word.

14. *Rogers of Byfield*] i.e. Simon Rogers, who was minister of Byfield in Northamptonshire in this year (see *State Papers, Dom.*, 1581-90, p. 594). I cannot, however, discover any reference to his Puritanism, and it seems not impossible that Pasquil may have confused him with the much better known Richard Rogers, who in 1583, when lecturer at Wethersfield in Essex, was suspended for petitioning against Whitgift's three articles (see *D. N. B.*).

Fen of Couentry] i.e. Humphrey Fenn (d. 1634), M.A. of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1576, vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, 1578-84, when he was suspended for refusing to subscribe Whitgift's three articles. He was restored in 1585, but again suspended in 1590.

17. *Patent*] In *N.E.D.* 'paten', the form which appears in the Q., is given for 1500-1700, and may therefore perhaps be considered allowable. On the other hand, among a large number of quotations of the word both as substantive and as adjective, the present passage is the solitary example of the absence of the final *t*.

23-4. *the siluer forke and the tosted cheese*] I do not know whether there is any special allusion here, or merely a joke on the traditional fondness of Welshmen for cheese; cf. Day's *Humour out of Breath*, III. i. mid, and Dekker, ed. Pearson, iii. 38.

27. *Text-pen*] A pen used in writing the large and formal writing known as text-hand.

27. *Zelus domus tux . . .*] Psalm 69. 9 and John 2. 17.

33. *Comentarie*] See 64. 11.

P. 100, 1. *a verie golden wit*] The author of *Pap with a Hatchet* is

probably meant; though this deals, not with Martin Junior alone, but with his 'father' and 'brother' as well. It had not yet appeared, for, about the middle, there is a reference to Martin's *Protestation* (*Lylly*, ed. Bond, iii. 410. 21, 29), which, as we see by 101. 23, was issued just as the present work was completed. 'Pasquil' may well, however, have read *Pap* in MS., or at least have been familiar with its general plan.

5-6. *Dame of Rochester*] I know nothing of her.

10. *passe & repasse*] A juggling term, used as 'Hey presto!'

16. *Vetus Comœdia*] Cf. 92. 12.

17-21. *this is she that called . . . yere*] Evidently an allusion to a scene in one of the plays on the subject of Martin.

28. *London stone*] Before the Great Fire London Stone stood in Cannon Street, opposite to St. Swithin's Church. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 193, where is a discussion as to its origin. It was afterwards embedded in another stone for protection, and is now in the wall of the Church. It was regarded as the centre of the City, and it was upon this stone that Jack Cade struck his sword in token of his being master of London.

P. 101, 5. *a beetle and a bucking tub*] i.e. a kind of pestle used for beating linen while washing it, and a wash-tub. Some burlesque ceremony of knighting is evidently referred to.

15. *Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo*] Cf. Wilson, *Art of Rhet.*, ed. 1560, fol. 83^v 'Dated at my Dome, or rather Mansion place, in Lincoln shire, the penulte of the moneth Sextile. *Anno Millimo, quillimo, trillimo. Per me Iohannes Octo*'. This is the ending of a letter given as an example of inkhorn speech. Also as a burlesque date on the title-page of J. Taylor's *Essence, Quintessence . . . of Nonsense upon Sense* [1653], 'Anno, Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, Daffadillimo, Pulcher.'

21. *very busie . . . about Martins death*] The reference is, of course, to *Martin's Month's Mind*, which professes to describe his death and funeral, and is written under the pseudonym of 'Marphoreus'.

23. *olde Martins Protestation*] i.e. 'The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat Wherin notwi[t]hstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known unto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap. . . .' 8^o, A-D⁴.

24-5. *I see . . . hee languisheth . . . more and more*] This may refer to the extreme roughness of the printing of this tract, which shows marked traces of the difficulties under which it was produced.

P. 102, 5-6. *a tale of a dry Sommer*] Apparently a proverbial expression; not from Martin.

6-8. *you seek not to staunch . . .*] See *Protestation*, C 1^v-C 2. Not an exact quotation.

9. *shettle*] i.e. weak; cf. 'Beare with my shittle remembrance', *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 14. 18.

11-12. *urge the spoyle of the Church for the maintenaunce of wars*] See *Epitome*, ed. Peth., 36 'Let the Queen haue the rest of your temporallities and other landes, to maintaine these warres which you procured, and your mistresse left her'. But Pasquil seems not to have noticed that Martin is quoting from Aylmer's *Harborowe* for

faithfull and trewe Subjects, a book written long before he became Bishop of London, and strongly Puritan in tone (sig. O 4-4^v). Martin frequently refers to it, pointing out how much Aylmer's views had changed since he became a dignitary of the Church.

14-15. *exhorting . . . Court*] I have been unable to find any such exhortation in the *Just Censure*.

16. *Pasquill is not so blind*] See note on l. 28.

23. *will neuer be determined but by blood*] See *Protestation*, A 2^v 'For in deed in this one point they are of my mynd vz. That reformatio can not well cum to our church witheout bloud.'

28. *so blind a bob as Blind Asse*] Martin, in the *Protestation*, D 4 speaks of 'that blinde asse Pasquill'.

31-2. *affixes . . . concourse*] See the *Protestation*, B 3.

34-5. *Don Diego di Martin*] Don Diego is a mere term of abuse; cf. note on i. 305. 24.

35. *You brag you haue giuen . . .*] See *Protestation*, D 1^v 'some-where it was [in one of Martin's writings which had been seized at the discovery of his press], that I so sliued Dick Bancroft ouer the shulders, as his chaplainship is neuer able to recover his credite, if that Pistle of mine be once published.'

P. 103, 6-7. *his honourable Maister*] Qy. Whitgift. It is, however, stated in *D. N. B.* that Bancroft became chaplain to Whitgift in 1592. He was at this time canon of Westminster.

13. *your Dialogue*] I do not know what is meant by this. Among the works promised in the *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 37, were some Dialogues. Perhaps the *Dialogue wherin is plainly laide open, the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishopps* is meant.

14. *you tell me you are yet unmaried*] See *Protestation*, B 4 'the very truth is, that hitherto I neuer had wife nor childe in all my life'; also D 4^v 'as I protested vnto thee without all fraud and ambiguitie, I was neuer as yet married in my life.'

THE FIRST PARTE OF PASQVILS APOLOGIE.

Date of Composition and Publication. The date given at the end, July 2, 1590, may well be accepted as authentic. It agrees well with the reference to 'this scorching wether' at 123. 7, and with the statement at 109. 10 that it is 'nowe almost a full yeere' since Pasquil's first attack upon Martin, in the *Countercuffe*, Aug. 6-8, 1589.

P. 107, 2. *First parte*] No second part was ever published.

6. *Treatise of Reformation*] i. e. *A Treatise wherein is manifestlie proved, that Reformation and those that sincerely fauor the same, are vnjustly charged to be enemies, unto hir Maiestie, and the state, 1590* (4to. (?)⁴, T², B-H⁴, I²). Probably printed at Edinburgh, where Penry seems to have settled after his flight from England in January (see note on 83. 5). At the end of the work is a notice that 'The second part of this book remaineth behinde, which shalbe published as soone as the Lord wil graunt me opportunitye'. It never appeared.

11. *May-game of Martinisme*] See 83. 1.

P. 109, 10. *almost a full yeere*] Cf. 64. 22.

12. *other Bookes*] Namely *The Owl's Almanac*, *The Lives of the Saints*, and *The May-game of Martinism*; see 60. 5-6; 61. 1; and 83. 1.

23. *in his learned works*] Whitgift seems to have written nothing at all during the progress of the Marprelate controversy. The reference must be to his earlier works in the controversy with Cartwright about the *Admonition to the Parliament*. See note on 117. 14.

24. *at Paules-crosse*] The chief printed Paul's-Cross sermon dealing with Martinism is J. Bancroft's of Feb. 9, 1588-9, but no doubt there would be some reference to the controversy in most of the sermons preached at the time, as there is in those of W. James, Nov. 9, 1589 (pr. 1590), C 3, &c., and R. Temple, Nov. 21, 1592, B 8, &c. A list of Paul's-Cross sermons is to be found in Mr. W. S. Simpson's *Catalogue of the Cathedral Library*. For the Cross see note on ii. 121. 33.

28-9. *their madness... hath so encreased*] The last book published under the name of Martin was the *Protestation* of Sept. or Oct., 1589, but other Puritan works had appeared, such as the *Treatise of Reformation*, to which the present work is an answer.

P. 110, 13. *brimse*] i.e. gadfly.

13-14. *the last August*] The reference is to the *Countercuffe*.

18. *since the last Michelmas Tearme*] i.e. since the publication of the *Return of Pasquil*, dated Oct. 20. Michaelmas term was from Oct. 9-Nov. 28. (See list of terms in Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.* ii. 9, in Holinshed's *Chronicle*.)

34. *bysop of my soule*] See 1 Peter 2. 25.

36. *Some small rubs*] I can learn nothing of these, but there is known to have been considerable opposition among the moderate clergy against the controversial methods employed in these tracts.

P. 111, 1-2. *a student at the Lawe*] The work which would best suit the description is Francis Bacon's *Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England*, which was written in 1589 or 1590, though not published until long after; but Bacon could perhaps hardly be called a student of the law at this date. *Plain Perceval* and *A Mirror for Martinists*, both of which attempt a reconciliation, or at least attack both sides, will not do, as they were (the first certainly and the second probably) by clergymen, and already in print.

20. *Bucer*] Martin Bucer (1491-1551) a German Protestant divine, who was invited to England by Cranmer in 1549 and appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The story of the exhumation and burning of his body, together with that of his friend Paulus Fagius, who had been reader in Hebrew, under the vice-chancellorship of Perne in 1557, and the restoration of their degrees and titles three years later under the same vice-chancellor, is well known. For his work at the University and the controversies in which he became involved see J. B. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 117, &c.

Peter Martyr] i.e. Pietro Martire Vermigli (1500-1562), a Florentine, was at one time an Augustinian monk, but later becoming Protestant he fled to Strasburg. Invited to England by Cranmer he arrived in 1548 and was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. At the accession of Mary he left England and went to

Strasburg and later to Zurich, where he died (see *D. N. B.*). His *Loci Communes*, translated in 1583 by A. Marten as *The Common Places of ... Peter Martyr*, was a standard text-book of divinity.

21. *Entellus*] The boxing-match between the aged Entellus and the youthful Dares in *Aeneid* v. 387-484 is often referred to in a similar connexion; cf. St. Augustine, *Epist. 73*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 33 (August. 2), col. 245 'unde iam me arbitror rescriptis tuis, velut Entellinis glandibus atque acribus caestibus, tanquam audacem Daretum coepisse pulsari atque versari'. He is replying to a mention of Entellus and Dares in a letter of St. Jerome; cf. col. 238 mid.

21-2. *the B. of Sarisburie*] i.e. John Jewel, bishop 1560-71. See note on 121. 27.

35-6. *the ierke which I gaue to Fryer Sauanarol*] By comparing him to Martin in the *Return*, 79. 6-21.

36. *quoth one*] I have not identified him.

P. 112, 4. *excrement*] i.e. outgrowth.

13. *the skyrtle of a Iewe*] Cf. Zechariah 8. 23.

19. *Minew*] i.e. minnow. I have not met with this form elsewhere, though the word was spelt in many ways. 'Minnow' occurs in iii. 80. 34.

19-20. *Benzaes Icones*] i.e. *Icones, id est Verae Imagines Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate illustrium . . . 1580*. The book is a series of brief notices of eminent scholars and divines of the Reformed Church, in many cases with portraits. At the end is a collection of emblems. The notice of Savonarola on B 4 begins as follows: 'Quis vero non miretur tam miseris temporibus tantam in homine cucullato, et quidem sub Dominici, professi iam olim piorum hostis, nomine, pietatem tanto cum zelo coniunctam, quanta haec in te, Hieronyme Sauonarola, extitisse plurima tua scripta testantur?'

22. *Perceuall the plaine*] i.e. *Plaine Perceuall the Peace-Maker of England. Sweetly indeuoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother . . . [1590]*, which, as we learn from *Strange News* (i. 270. 17-19), was written by Richard Harvey. Pasquil had perhaps seen a manuscript copy of this in which there was some criticism of his remarks upon Savonarola. In the printed text neither Beza nor Savonarola is mentioned.

27. *M. Foxe*] See *Acts and Monuments*, anno 1499, ed. Townsend, iv. 8-10.

31. *Petrarche*] His sixth and seventh Eclogues are said to be directed against Clement VI, and his twelfth against the court at Avignon.

32-3. *the Sermons that spunne him a halter*] I suppose that the Lenten sermons of 1498 are meant. The last preached by Savonarola was on March 18; see *Prediche xxii sopra l'Esodo e sopra alcuni Salmi*, Florence, 1498. But possibly Pasquil is simply referring to his sermons in general.

37. *sixt Sermon . . .*] See *Prediche del Rev. P. F. Hieronymo Sauonaruola (sic) dell' ordine de predicatori sopra alquanti salmi & sopra Aggeo Profeta fatte del mese di Nouembre, & Dicembre L'anno Mcccclxxxviii . . . 1544*, p. 46, note at end of 'Predica sesta dove fu finita & serrata l'arca': 'Nota chel predicatore finito che hebbe qui la predica disse queste parole. Io ui uoglio rivelare uno secreto':

[&c. as in text]. The quotation is accurate save for l. 5 'cognoscesse . . . Gioanni', and 'hauuto' as corrected. The note ends, 'Orate pro eo: lui fu tardo a non uenire alla religione in uita sua: come era spirato: & pero e in purgatorio.'

This is not one of the series of 'Prediche sopra l'Arca di Noé', which had been completed (Villari, *Savonarola*, undated Eng. trans. 185, 188, note 2). See Villari's remarks on this reference to Pico, op. cit. 244, note 3.

P. 113, 20-1. *S. Ierom commendeth Origen*] The reference may be to any one of numerous passages in his works. Jerome was in his youth an enthusiastic admirer of Origen; see for example the preface to his translation of Origen's homilies on the *Song of Solomon* (Migne, *Patr. Curs. 23* (Hieron. 3), col. 1117); but later, at the time of his quarrel with Rufinus, he attacked Origen's views with the greatest violence. Possibly 'Pasquil' did not accurately distinguish these two periods.

29. *Machiavellian*] The epithet is used, so far as I know, invariably, throughout the Elizabethan period as equivalent to treacherous and irreligious. For a discussion of the opinions regarding *Il Principe* see Villari's *Life and Times of Machiavelli*, Eng. trans., n. d., vol. ii, cap. 5. Among the earliest of his assailants was Cardinal Reginald Pole, from whose *Apologia super Lib. de Unitate* (in his *Epistolae*, 1744, i. 152) Villari quotes; but it does not appear that this work was known during its author's lifetime. Most of the attacks upon him came from the Jesuits, to whom Machiavelli incarnated the opposition of the state to the Church.

33-4. *such a peaze may be drawne through the noses of . . .*] I do not understand the phrase.

P. 114, 1. *I heard a byrd sing*] i. e. some one, whose name I cannot mention, told me. Precisely the same in meaning as the modern nursery expression 'a little bird told me'. Cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, V. v. 113.

3. *he would owe neuer a pennie*] I cannot explain the allusions in this passage.

21. *Acerbum est . . .*] Cf. *Publ. Syr.*: 'Heu quam miserum est ab eo laedi de quo non ausis queri.'

25. *the garment of Christ is torn in peeces*] The metaphor is of frequent occurrence; cf. Erasmus, *Coll. Fam.*, 'Puerpera,' 21st speech, 'periculosis factionibus collabitur ecclesiae domus: hinc atque hinc distrahit illa Iesu tunica inconsutilis.' Cf. 172. 12-13.

34. *in a graue Oration . . .*] This oration is unknown to me.

P. 115, 13. *Maister vaine*] Perhaps the 'two vaynes called oryginalles for y^t they haue y^e course & habundaūce of all y^e blode y^t gouerneth the body of mā', which 'ought not to be leten blode without the counceyle of the surgyen', *Kalender of Shepherdes*, 1506, Li^v, ed. Sommer, iii. 104. From the picture the jugular vein must be meant. See also quotations in *N.E.D.* s. v. master-vein.

27-8. *the Libell at Fawsley*] The Martinist press was at Sir Richard Knightley's at Fawsley from about Nov. 20, 1588, to Jan. 6, 1588-9. It was while it was here that the *Epitome* was printed. See Note on the Marprelate Press in Appendix.

28. *John of Wales*] As to the question of Penry's authorship of the tracts, see note on 83. 5.

28-9. *corrector to the Presse at Couentre*] Soon after being removed

from Fawsley the press was sent to the 'White Fryers' at Coventry, where it remained from about the end of January to some time in May. There the *Mineral Conclusions*, Penry's *Supplication to the Parliament*, and *Hay any Work for Cooper* were printed.

P. 116, 1. *points of warrel* Military signals; cf. 2 Hen. IV, IV.i. 52.

8. *in the Epistle*] An Epistle 'To all those that sincerelie loue the Lorde Iesus' is prefixed to the *Treatise of Reformation*. It consists of about nine pages of small print and is largely an attack upon Whitgift, cf. (?) 4; all those who persecute the Puritans are charged with being enemies to her Majesty, (?) 4^v.

9-10. *would fayne proue that Puritans be no Traytors*] See *Treatise of Ref.*, B iv 'For although within these 31. yerers, there haue bin many seditious and treasonable attempts, vndertaken against her Majestie and the state, by men of all sortes and degrees: yet by the goodnes of God it cannot be shewed, that any one hath had a hande in any of these practises and conspiracie, who euer opened his mouth for reformation, or any wise fauored the same'.

11. *the treasonable attempts*] Cf. note on 78. 8-9.

12. *these 31. yeeres*] i.e. since Elizabeth's accession. Eliz. 31 ended on Nov. 17, 1589.

24. *You that are Oxford men*] It might perhaps be argued from this that the writer was himself at Cambridge.

Walpoole] I suppose that Henry Walpole must be meant, though he does not seem to have had any connexion with Oxford, nor ever to have been a Puritan. Born in 1558, he entered St. Peter's Coll., Camb., in 1575, left the University without a degree, became a student of Gray's Inn, wrote in 1581 a poem in praise of the Jesuit Campion, at whose execution he had been present, and, determining to carry on his work after him, became a Jesuit in 1584. He was imprisoned by the English garrison at Flushing from the autumn of 1589 to Jan. 1590. He entered Eng^tland on a mission in 1593, but was almost immediately arrested, and after a long series of trials and tortures put to death in April, 1595.

29. *the Counsel*] i. e. not understand what is meant. One would suppose Pasquill to be referring to the published proceedings of the Council of Tyrent; but there is, so far as I am aware, no 'oath' at the end of these. Can he possibly allude to the 'Acclamaciones patrum in fine Consilii', a sort of litany, in which those monarchs who keep the Roman faith are blessed and heretics are cursed? But if this be all, his allusion seems to have little point.

33. *the English Cardinal*] i.e. William Allen (1532-94). He became Regius Professor of Divinity at Douay in 1570 and had much to do with the foundation of the English college at Rome. He was made cardinal by Sixtus V in 1587 at the request of Philip II, whose title to the crown of England he maintained. With the Jesuit Robert Parsons he was the centre of the Spanish party of English Romanists. From 1587 to his death he resided at Rome. (D.N.B.) Migne, in *Encyclo. Théolog.* (Dict. des Cardinaux), states that he was called 'Cardinal d'Angleterre'.

P. 117, 2-5. *Popish traytors hold...obedience*] This is taken from the *Answer to the Abstract*, p. 194 foot. See next note.

9-10. *the first treatise of the Aunswer to the Abstract*] In 1583

appeared an anonymous Puritan work, *An Abstract, of Certain Acts of parliament: of certaine her Maiesties Injunctions: of certaine Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles prouinciall: established and in force, for the peaceable government of the Church, within her Maiesties Dominions and Countries, for the most part heretofore unknownen and unpractized.* The purport of the work is sufficiently clear from the title: it is an attempt to show that the reforms desired by the Puritans are in accordance with laws already in force, though not obeyed. This was replied to by R. Cosin in '*An Answer to the two first and principall Treatises of a certeine factious libell, put forth latelie, . . . under the title of An Abstract . . .*' 1584. The marginal reference is correct. There is an important bibliographical note on the *Abstract* in Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 639-41.

10. *Law of Tenures*] See the *Answer to the Abstract*, 194-5 'Wherby they would falslie gather by the Feudall law, or of tenures (as we call it) that the vassall is deliuvered from his allegiance and oth, of fealtie or homage, which he hath taken to his souereigne lord, if he be once excommunicate'.

13. *a learned Civilian*] Richard Cosin (1549?-97). He was fellow of Trinity Coll., Cambridge, Dean of the Arches, 1583, a Master in Chancery, 1588. He wrote on Ecclesiastical Law.

14. *the defence of the Aunswer to the Admonition*] In 1572 there appeared, under the title of *An Admonition to the Parliament*, an explanation and defence of the Puritan standpoint. It is anonymous, but is said to have been the work of two of the London clergy, John Field and Thomas Wilcox. Claiming that the Church had been far from thoroughly reformed, it urges all the Puritan views as to Church government, 'popish' ceremonial, the lack of sufficient preaching, non-residents, &c., which are familiar to us from the later controversial literature. Thomas Cartwright, the well-known Puritan, approved the book and supported it by the issue shortly afterward of *A seconde admonition to the Parliament*. To both of these Whitgift replied in *An answere to a certen Libell intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament*, 1572, reissued with amendments in 1573. A long controversy followed. Cartwright answered Whitgift in *A replie to an answere made of M. Doctor Whitegife, agaynst the Admonition to the Parliament*, 1593 (two editions in the same year), to which Whitgift again replied in *The Defence of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T.C.*, 1574, which is the work referred to in the present passage. This, however, though a ponderous folio of 823 pages, by no means brought the controversy to an end, for there was a *Second replie of T.C.* in 1575, and *The rest of the second replie* in 1577, besides several other related publications.

My references are to the 1573 edition of Whitgift's *Answer*, and to the edition of Cartwright's *Reply* designated at Brit. Mus. 108. b. 4.

It may be remarked that the *Defence* is by far the most useful work for the study of the controversy, for Whitgift cites in full from the *Admonition* and the *Reply*, as well as from his own *Answer*, the passages which he is discussing, and it thus forms an admirable exposition of the views of both parties. Pasquill apparently relied on this work alone for his knowledge of those which preceded it.

23. *Reformation*] i. e. the *Treatise of Reformation*, to which the present work is an answer; cf. note on 107. 6.

24. *for a preaching Ministerie*] Cf. *Treat. of Ref.* B 3, especially the passage quoted in note on 120. 32-3 below. The want of sufficient preaching and the practice of supplying its place by the reading of the Scriptures and of homilies were constant subjects of the complaints of the Puritans; cf. *An Admonition to the Parliament* A 3-A 3^v, *An hundred pointes of Poperie*, in Arber's *Introductory Sketch*, p. 33, and Martin's *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 40. 6-20, though Martin made less point of this than he did of questions of Church government. See also Stubbes's *Second part of the Anat. of Abuses*, N. S. S., p. 71 foot, 72. Stubbes takes the moderate point of view that preachers are better than readers, but readers are better than nothing. See also Latimer's *Sermons* in Dent's 'Everyman's Lib.', pp. 174, &c., 253, 267.

31-2. *challengeth the Archb. for affirming reading to be preaching*] *Treat. of Ref.* D 2 foot, and D 2^v foot. Penry is referring to the *Defence*, pp. 570, 574.

33. *packs under-boord*] i. e. acts in an underhand manner, does not argue fairly. The reference is to cheating at cards.

P. 118, 10-18. *the testimonies of S. Cyprian*. . .] See the *Defence*, pp. 574-5.

11. *Ma. Foxe*] Cited in the *Defence*, p. 575 'And if you had beene disposed to haue called to remembrance, that which you say you haue so diligently read in M. Foxe, you might haue knowne that diuerse in the beginning came to the light of the Gospell onely by reading, and hearing the newe Testament in English read.'

12. *S. Augustine*] See Augustine, *Confessiones*, viii. 12, which is referred to by Whitgift in the *Defence*, p. 574. The passage read by St. Augustine was Romans 13. 13, 14.

13-15. *Cyprian saith . . . read*] From the *Defence*, p. 575 'For we must thinke it to be true that Cyprian sayth, *When we reade the Scripture God speakest unto vs.*' I have not found this in Cyprian, though frequently elsewhere; cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 22 § 25, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 411 'Oras, loqueris ad Sponsum: legis, ille tibi loquitur'; Augustine, Migne, *P. C.* (August. 4), col. 1086; Isidore of Seville, Migne, *P. C.* 83 (Isid. 6), col. 679.

20. *Fifie-boate*] A light, swift sailing-boat. The word is used by Nashe in *Strange News*, i. 289. 23.

23. *takes his heele*s] The expression, for which we should now say 'takes to his heels', was quite usual. Cf. *Com. of Errors*, I. ii. 94, and R. Bernard's *Terence in English*, p. 168, ed. 1607 'till they take their heele's' (cited in N.S.S. *Transact.* 1875-6, 424); also the similar phrase, 'he snatched vp the purs, and toke his legges and to go [i. e. went]', *Merry Tales, Witty Questions, &c.* (in Hazlitt's *Shaks. Jest-Books*, i), p. 30. See also *Club Law*, ed. Moore Smith, l. 1067 and note. Again at ii. 228. 19-20.

24. *a deceiuer*] *Treat. of Ref.* C 4^v, l. 22.

to haue his right eye blinded] *Treat. of Ref.* D 2, l. 14.

25. *deserue to be condemned*] *Treat. of Ref.* D 3, ll. 16-22.

Tantara] Cf. ii. 310. 1, and note.

26. *Sakar*] One of the smaller pieces of artillery with a calibre of three and a half inches. Here, of course, a shot is meant.

27-8. *Moses is preached*] See Acts 15. 21 (G. V.) 'For Moses of old time hath in every citie them that preach him, seeing [when-B. V.] he is read in the Synagogues euery Sabbath day,' a passage which played a considerable part in the discussions on the distinction between reading and preaching and on the relative importance of the two.

36. *no better then Swines blood*] *Treat. of Ref.* C 3 foot, 'Can these thinges going alone without the word preached, be any thing effectuall to that worship in spirit and trueth, . . . without which, all exercises of true religion are but swines-blood before his Majestie.' The reference is to *Isaiah* 66. 3.

P. 119, 8-9. *emptie feeders . . . haruest*] See the *Defence*, p. 579, and the quotation there from the *Admonition*.

13. *bable*] i. e. toy, bauble.

14. *margin*] The reference should properly be a line lower; it refers to 'as feare is taken for a reuerence'.

28-9. *the Aunswer to the Admonition*] See ed. 1573, p. 132 top; cf. *Defence*, p. 569.

34. *snorting*] Here, as generally, 'snoring.'

P. 120, 4-5. *where will you finde sufficient men*] The same point is urged in the *Almond*, iii. 371. 33-372. 12. The subject is referred to by Harrison, *Descr. of Eng. N. S. S.* pp. 35, 21, and see notes on the latter.

8-9. *to say he looked for help from the Innes of Court*] See *A Replye to An answere made of M. Doctor Whitgift*, 26. 4-7, 'For besides numbers that the Vniuersities would yeede/which sygh for the repairing of the decayes of the church/to helpe forward so great a worke /the Innes of Courte/and other the gentrie of the realme/Galene/and Iustinian/would bryng their tenthes/and (as it were) pay their shotin this reckening.' Quoted in the *Defence*, p. 140.

11. *the Gentleman*] Cf. III. 1-3.

17. *before he gapes*] i. e. before he opens his mouth to speak.

21. *deuiding the word*] Cf. 81. 9.

27. *Contradicentes redargueret*] See *Titus* 1. 9. Thus Latimer opens his *Third Sermon before Ed. VI* by declaring the office of a preacher to be twofold, 'Exhortari per sanam doctrinam' and 'Contradicentes convincere.'

29. *as thicke as hoppes*] This is the earliest instance given in *N. E. D.*, which explains the phrase as '? referring to the plants when grown in rows, or to the crowded catkins of flowers'. Cf. *Two Ang. Wom. of Abington*, IV. iii, ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.* xi. 173, 'the water drops from you as fast as hops.'

32-3. *as farre as possibly they might be prouided*] *Treat. of Ref.* B 3, 'by reformation we meane the placing in euerie congregation within England (as far as possiblie able men can be provided) of preaching pastors and Doctors, gouerning elders, & ministring Deacons . . .'

P. 121, 5. *writing against an erroneous Bishop*] i. e. John, bishop of Jerusalem, who being charged with Origenism, was attacked by Jerome in the book *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum*. The passage referred to will be found in Migne, *Patr. Curs. 23* (Hieron. 2), col. 365. The work is again quoted at 132. 16-30.

10-11. *the Apostles aunswer, I knew not . . .*] *Acts* 23. 4, 5. The

incident is also referred to in *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 31. 5-12, and by Nashe at ii. 236. 3-7.

26-7. *as to say the B. of Sarisburie . . .*] See *Replye to An answere*, p. 91 (misnumbered 79), ll. 32-7. Cartwright is referring to 'The Judgement of that reuerende father Iohn late Byshop of Sarum, auouched by his owne hande' in Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition*, 1573, pp. 323-5. The judgement ends 'As for these reasons, in my iudgement, they are not made to builde vp, and they are to weake to pull downe. *Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, & virga disciplinæ fugabit illam*, Proverb. 22. It is but wantonnesse, correction will helpe it.' Also in the *Defence*, pp. 422-35.

27. *D. Iuell*] John Jewel (1522-71), of Merton and Corpus Christi, Oxford, M.A. 1545. Having come much under the influence of Peter Martyr, he was obliged to leave England in 1555, and went to Frankfort. He returned to England in 1559, and was consecrated bishop of Salisbury in 1560. His *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*, against the Church of Rome, published in 1562, was long recognized as the standard exposition of Anglicanism, and is so referred to in Cooper's *Admonition*, ed. Arber, p. 51. Among the boys educated and maintained at the University by him was Richard Hooker.

31. *P. 122, 2.*] It does not seem to have been noticed that this passage implies that the writer of the present tract had been maintained by Jewel in his house and supported by him at the University. Now manifestly this cannot have been true of Nashe, who at Jewel's death was only four years old.

34. *of the nature of the Elephant*] Not, so far as I know, classical.

P. 122, 4. malepart] A variant of 'malapert'. See *N.E.D.* s.v. malapert, where 1633 is the earliest instance quoted. It occurs also in *Menaphon*, Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. 73. 11.

19. *Bishops of our soules*] Cf. 110. 34.

26. *dogged*] i.e. envious, discontented; cf. Index.

33. *venue*] i.e. thrust.

34. *wipe ouer the shinnes*] Cf. 84. 33-4.

Non Residents] *Treat. of Ref.* E 2 foot, 'The next bane of our Church are non residents, whereof all our Ll. Bb. are guilty . . .'

37-123, 1. *dubble Geldings*] Geldings carrying two persons; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. double adj. A 1 c.

P. 123, 2. iaunsling] The word does not appear to be in *N.E.D.* under any form, but is clearly allied to 'jaunce' or 'jounce', the first of which means '? To make (a horse) prance up and down', and '? To prance as a horse'. Cf. '1598 *Rom. & Jul.* II. v. 53 (2nd Qo.) Beshrewe your heart for sending me about To catch my death with iaunsing vp and downe'; also, s. v. jaunce, sb. '*Rom. & Jul.* II. v. 26 (2nd Qo.) Fie how my bones akae: what a iounce [1st Qo. and 1st Fol. iaunt] have I?' See also quotation under 'jounce v.' '1581 *Mulcaster Positions* xxiv. (1887) 96 Set him . . . vpon a trotting iade to iounce him thoroughly . . .' The meaning of the two words is very similar, but according to *N.E.D.* they can scarcely be phonetically connected. It is, of course, by no means impossible that the / in the present word may be a misprint.

8. *with a wette finger*] i.e. easily. Several explanations of this very common expression have been proposed but none is satisfactory.

It has been suggested that it may refer to Ovid, *Amores* i. 4. 20 and *Heroid.* 17. 88.

11-12. *a pad in the straw*] i.e. a toad in the straw. A common figurative expression, for a lurking or hidden danger; see examples in *N.E.D.* from 1530; also *Gam. Gurt. Needle*, V. ii. 83.

13. *the Wise*] Ecclesiastes 3. 7.

31. *more sacks to the Myll*] A not uncommon phrase; cf. *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 10. 16-18, 'if wind doe not faile thee, thy late Customers, which play more sacks to the mill, haue brought greists or iessts at least wise to be ground.'

P. 124, 12. *with vs to bring*] See note on 99. 8.

13. 1. *Peter*. 5. v. 2.] See *Treat. of Ref.* E 3 foot.

15. *Hoe Ball' hoe*] Properly a bowler's cry—equivalent to 'whoa!'—when the howl appears to be going too far. To 'cry "ho!"' in the sense of bid stop is very common. 'John Ho'ball' seems to have been used in a contemptuous sense; cf. Bernard's *Terence*, ed. 1607, p. 17, 'Se deludi facile haud patitur. You cannot easily make him a foole. He is none of Iohn whoballs children'; also *Jyl of Breynfords Testament*, ed. Furnivall, I. 328 'folysy syr Hoball'. Again at iii. 55. 3.

15. *bird eyed*] The word evidently means quick to perceive a danger. The present is the only instance in *N.E.D.*

19. *Acts* 20. v. 18, 19, 20] *Treat. of Ref.* E 3^v mid. What follows, about 'all' and 'every', is in answer to Penry's remarks.

30. *Rom.* 5. v. 8.] The reference should perhaps be Rom. v. 18, and the 'next verse' 19. The quotations, however, seem rather to point to verses 12, 14 and 15.

P. 125, 10-13. *he washeth... before*] *Acts* 20. 26-7.

P. 126, 4. *curse... causeles*] *Proverbs* 26. 2.

8. *Motus in autorem reddit*] Not found. Can it be a perversion of 'Metus in auctorem reddit' in Seneca, *Oed.* 706?

11-13.] See *Treat. of Ref.* E 3^v, 'Well, whether these cursed mockers will scorne at these godlye examples and labours of the blessed Apostles, or no: & goe about to answere the matter by their childisue vnlearned distinctions, it is not greatlie material.'

20-1. *S. Augustine...*] See Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 40 (August. 6), col. 237-8; *P.C.* 44 (August. 10), col. 943, and cols. 759, 760.

26-7. *take sentrie in the Hospitall of Warwick*] I suppose that the meaning is—appeal to the arguments of Cartwright, who was master of a hospital founded by the Earl of Leicester at Warwick.

27. *shift of descant*] i.e. 'change of tune'.

27-8. *That Paule was an Apostle*] This is one of the stock arguments; cf. Udall's *Demonstration of Discipline*, ed. Arber, 25, also in general the *Defence*, pp. 224-5, 229.

P. 127, 6. *age*] See v. 13. So G. V. and B. V.: 'stature' A. V.

17. *in the defence of the Aunswere*] See p. 236 of this. The reasons justifying a minister's absence here recited in ll. 12-16 are substantially as given in the *Defence*.

25. *in his treatise of Reformation*] See D 2 top; also generally the three preceding pages.

27. marg. *Pag. 126. line 14*] See Cartwright's *Replye to an answere* (B. M. 108. b. 4), 126. 16, '[preaching] is the excellentest and moste ordinarye meanes to worke by in the heartes of the hearers.' Pasquil

evidently took the reference from the *Defence*, p. 570, where the passage, with two earlier lines, is quoted.

P. 128, 2. marg.] See *Replye*, 49 last par.; quoted in *Defence*, 245.
4. *purchasing*] Pasquil has already brought this charge against Cartwright at 99. 9. I know no foundation for it.

5-10. *John Penrie... telleth vs... under them*] *Treat. of Ref.* E 3, l. 3, &c.

13-16. *T. C... teacheth vs... man*] *Replye*, 50 top; *Defence*, 245.
21. *a leafe on his shinne*] Is the sense merely 'without sufficient protection'?

30-1. *ab autoritate negative*. In the *Defence*, pp. 22-31, is a general criticism of Cartwright's controversial methods, in which several logical fallacies are defined. Thus the argument *ab autoritate negative* is explained as of the type 'it is not commaunded in the scripture to be done, nor there expressed *Ergo* it ought not to be done' (p. 24), 'that it is no good argumēte all Logicians confesse' (p. 26). The term is frequently used in the *Defence*; cf. index s. v. *argumentum* and add pp. 332, 374, 589, 718.

P. 129, 3-5. *Bishops, sayth he,...*] *Treat. of Ref.* F 3 foot-F 3^v, F 4^v foot, 'Concerning the puritie of the Gospell, their callings pollute the same 2. maner of wayes, and infringe the libertie of the church by as many. Firste they will be Ministers, and civill magistrates too ... [and they corrupt the purity of the church also] in the tyrannous superioritie, whiche they vsurpe both ouer their fellow Ministers, and also ouer the reste of the churche.'

35-6. *Thys is Caluins iudgment upon that place*] In his *Commentary* on St. John (vol. ii, p. 209 of Pringle's translation).

P. 130, 8. *They that abused thys place*] i.e. certain of the Anabaptists; cf. ii. 233. 21-6. They did not, however, always practise their theories of non-resistance.

23. *Bounse*] Commonly used for the noise of a gun; cf. Dekker, *Hon. Whore* I, V. ii, 'Bounce go the the guns'; also for knocking upon a door or any similar noise; cf. *Faustus*, sc. xii (ed. Breymann (1616), l. 1651), S. D. 'The Clowns bounce at the gate within.'

29. *clapper-claw*] i.e. thrash. Cf. *Merry Wives*, II. iii. 67.

P. 131, 8-10. *requested Timothie as a Judge...*] 1 Tim. 5. 19.

13. *The B. of Sarisburie iudgeth to become Ecclesiastical*] See his 'Judgement' at the end of Whitgift's *Answer to the Admonition* (cf. 121. 26-7 note); the answer to the 'fourth reason' is the one referred to. In the *Defence*, p. 434.

31. *Alder-men*] i.e. elders. The word is so used by Bancroft in his *Sermon* of Feb. 9, 1588-9, p. 96.

35. *crow*] i.e. boast, swagger, but the expression is somewhat curious.

P. 132, 11. *Aerius*] A heretic, fl. 360-70. He refused to recognize any difference between a bishop and a priest, rejected prayer for the dead, and the observation of Easter and certain other fasts as being of Jewish origin.

12. *Doctor Bancroft in his Sermon*] Edition of 1588, pp. 17-19.

17-30. *For the Bishop of Ierusalem...*] See St. Jerome, *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum, ad Pammachium*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*

23 (Hieron. 2), col. 389 et sqq. The quotation in ll. 23-5 comes from the same work, Migne ii. s. col. 390. This work is in some editions counted as an *Epistola ad Pammachium*.

31. *as S. Ierom noteth*] See *Epist. 146*, Migne, *Patr. Curs. 22* (Hieron. 1), col. 1194 'Quod autem postea unus [e presbyteris] electus est, qui caeteris praeponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est : ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi Ecclesiam rumperet'; cf. also *P. C. 26* (Hieron. 7), col. 562 foot. Pasquil was perhaps following the *Defence*, p. 385.

P. 133, II. *the conclusion of Penries prayer*] *Treat. of Ref. (?) 3-3^v*, 'I will say no more in this place but this . . . O thou that hearest the prayer . . . with speed thrust these caterpillers as one man out of our Church, and let the memory of them be forgotten in Israel for ever.'

37. *That if a man . . .*] Proverbs 26. 2.

P. 134, 14. *the wilde Asse*] Jeremiah 2. 24.

18-19. *What soever . . .*] Jeremiah 44. 17.

23. *a bugge*] Generally a terrible apparition, 'bogey'; cf. *Lazarillo de Tormes*, 1586, A 6^v, where the child of a Moor and a white woman, on seeing his father, is so frightened at his black face that he runs in fear to his mother 'and stretching foorth his finger, cried *Mamma, ye bugge*'; also Coverdale's well-known translation of Psalm 90 [i]. 5 'Thou shalt not nede to be afraied for eny bugges by night' (from *N.E.D.*), where G. V. has 'Thou shalt not be afrayd of the feare of the night', B.V. and A.V. '... for any (the) terror by night'. Also used for a person or thing looked on with terror. 'He brings with him that great Egyptain bng, Strong Tonombey, Usan-Cassano's son' (*Selimus*, ed. Grosart, 1898, 2427-8).

P. 135, II. *signet*] This is one of the numerous forms of the word 'sennet', 'a peculiar set of tones on a trumpet or cornet' (see Nares, *Gloss.*), but here it seems equivalent to 'signal'.

P. 136, I. *as the Reformer hath made proclamation*] Alluding to a notice 'To the Reader' which follows the Epistle in the *Treatise of Reformation* (¶ 2^v), inquiring for the book mentioned. It was in Latin and was 'committed by the house [i.e. Parliament] to be translated vnto the said M. Haddon, M. George Bromely, M. Norton, &c. If thou canst good reader help me, or any other that labour in the cause vnto the said book: I hope (though I never saw it,) that in so doing thou shalt doe good service vnto the Lord and his Church.' This book must, I suppose, be the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1571, compiled by T. Cranmer and others and translated into Latin by W. Haddon and Sir John Cheke. But, if so, it is surely odd that the ecclesiastical authorities for whom Pasquil was working could not tell him of its existence.

18. *Almond-tree*] i. e. gray hairs: alluding to Ecclesiastes 12. 5.

23. *London stone*] See 100. 28.

PIERCE PENILESSE HIS
SVPPPLICATION TO THE DIVELLI. *Date of Composition and Publication.*

Internal evidence of the date of composition of the work is scanty, but sufficient. The reference at 169. 13-14 to one whose 'spade peake is as sharpe as if he had been a Pioner before the walls of Roan' places it later than December, 1591, the date of the commencement of the siege, and 'this Summer' mentioned at 209. 20 must therefore be the summer of 1592. The allusion at 187. 2 to the Pope 'that is now' is not altogether clear, but probably Clement VIII, elected early in 1592, is meant. On the whole, we may, I think, safely date the composition of the work as June-August, 1592.

Pierce Penilesse was entered in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 8, 1592, to Richard Jones, and the first edition was published during the author's absence from London (150. 4). Prefaced to the second edition, printed by Abel Jeffes for John Busby, we find an epistle to the printer in which Nashe states that his book was issued uncorrected and unfinished and was abroad a fortnight ere he knew of it. There is, however, no reason whatever for supposing that there was anything surreptitious, as has sometimes been maintained, about the first edition, for if Nashe had had any cause of complaint against Jones we should doubtless have heard of it, while had the transfer of the rights to Busby been other than amicable, the Stationers' Register would probably have borne some trace of the dispute in the form of the cancellation of the entry or, at the least, of a regular transfer of rights. The original entry was, however, allowed to stand, and the copyright thus technically remained in the hands of Jones, who would surely have tried to enforce his claims had he had any ground for dissatisfaction with Busby's proceedings. As to Nashe's ignorance of the publication of the work, it need only be pointed out that he seems to have been equally surprised by the forward state of the second edition (153. 5-7, 14). That he was detained in the country on account of the plague is a sufficient reason for his ignorance of what was being done.

The date of the entry in the Stationers' Register is not, of course, indisputable evidence of the date of publication. Books were certainly sometimes entered long before their appearance; see, for example, the first entry of *The Terrors of the Night*; while it is not proved that they were never entered after their appearance. In the present case there seems good reason for dating the publication of the work about a month after the entry. There is, I think, no cause to doubt the substantial truth of Nashe's statements in the epistle prefixed to the second edition, and from these we learn that he had prepared for the original publication certain letters to orators and poets, including one to the ghost of Robert Greene, telling him what a 'coyle' there had been with pamphleting on him after his death (153. 14-20; cf. 239. 9-11). We are not, indeed, bound to take this about Greene quite literally, for to suppose that the first edition of *Pierce Penilesse* was deferred until any considerable number of pamphlets on Greene had actually appeared, and until the news of them had reached Nashe in the country, would place it altogether too late; but it seems reasonable

to assume that Nashe had at least heard of Greene's death before he learnt that his own work was on the market, and had probably heard at the same time some rumours of pamphlets to be written on him. Now, seeing that Greene died on Sept. 2 or 3, we can hardly suppose that the news of these intended pamphlets would reach Nashe until about the 8th or 10th of the month; we should not indeed expect him to have any definite plan in his mind of this Epistle to Greene's ghost until a day or two later. Let us put it, very roughly, at about Sept. 15. But Nashe tells us that he did not hear of the publication of *Pierce Penilesse* until a fortnight after it had taken place. This gives us Sept. 1 as the earliest possible date—or perhaps a few days later, as we may fairly look for a little exaggeration in the time the news took to reach him. Let us now see how this accords with the evidence which may be derived from Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*.

In the third of the letters, dated from London on Sept. 8 and 9, occurs the following passage: 'Flourishing M. *Greene* is most-wofully faded, and whilst I am bemoaning his ouer-pitteous decay; & discoursing the vsuall successe of such ranke wittes, Loe all on the suddaine, his sworne brother, M. *Pierce Penni-lesse* (still more paltry, but what remedy? we are already ouer shoes, and must now go through) Loe his inwardest companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe, cruelly pinched with want, vexed with discredite, tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouerwhelmed with his own misery; in a rauing, and franticke moode, most desperately exhibith his supplication to the Diuell' (D3^v, *Wks.* ed. Grosart, i. 193-4).

In Harvey's previous letter, dated Sept. 5, there is no mention at all of *Pierce Penilesse*, and the only reference to Nashe is as one of Greene's friends, 'a proper yong man if aduised in time' (u.s. B3, 170. 12). Harvey especially says, 'I spare his name, and in some respectes wish him well', and the tone is so different from that of the violent attack in the next letter that we are, I think, perfectly safe in assuming that, when he wrote this, Harvey had not seen Nashe's book. But Harvey was, as we know, in town, especially occupied in writing against Greene; he seems, indeed, to have been living in a printer's house (iii. 87. 5-8). It cannot be supposed that *Pierce Penilesse* would have been on sale for many hours before he heard of it and saw a copy. I think, then, that we shall not be far wrong if we place the publication of the work between the 5th and 8th—probably indeed on the 8th—of September, 1592, a date which, as I have tried to show, accords well with the indications given us by Nashe himself.

The later editions belonging to the same year cannot be dated with any attempt at accuracy, but the second can hardly have appeared before the middle of October, for the reference in the prefatory letter (154. 10-12) to the *Groatsworth of Wit*, entered S. R. Sept. 20, forbids us to place it much earlier. The *Groatsworth* was copied and edited by Chettle (*Kind-Heart's Dream in Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S. 38. 24-6) after Greene's death on Sept. 2 or 3, and hence the date of entry seems the earliest at which it is likely to have been issued. Allowing for a rumour to arise of Nashe's authorship and for this to come to the ears of Nashe in the country, we can hardly suppose his letter to the printer to have been composed before the end of September. At this time the second edition of *Pierce Penilesse* was

'hasting to the second impression' (153. 7), whatever precisely this may mean. If we allow another week for the completion of the printing we arrive at Oct. 7 as the earliest possible date of issue, but Oct. 15 seems much more likely.

Of the third edition it seems impossible to say anything definite. It may have come out any time before March 25, 1593.

It does not appear why the edition of 1595 was by a different publisher, namely N. Ling, for Busby was still in business, and there is no record of any transfer of the copyright. It may, however, be noted that Busby and Ling had published several books in partnership between 1592 and 1595; so we may suppose the arrangement to have been a friendly one. Possibly it had something to do with Abel Jeffes being in trouble at the time; on Dec. 3, 1595, he had his press and type destroyed (*Stat. Reg.* ed. Arber, ii. 825). Still, trouble of this sort was no new thing to him, for he seems to have been in jail from Aug. 7 to Dec. 18, 1592, while the second edition of *Pierce Penilesse* was presumably being printed (Ames, *Typog. Antiq.* ed. Herbert, ii. 1160 note).

2. General Character of the Work.

After a poem in which is lamented the slight value attached to wit and learning, the author announces his determination to present a supplication to the devil (161), and describes his search for a suitable messenger (162). He finds a 'knight of the post' who will undertake to deliver it, and hands him the supplication to read (164). The petition itself, that Pierce may be granted the fees which he deserves and that gold be set at liberty from the strong-boxes of the rich, occupies but a page (165-6), and the work then becomes a general attack upon abuses of all kinds. The chief subjects are Greediness, or Avarice (166)—Niggardize (167)—Pride (168)—An attack on Antiquaries (182)—Envy (183)—Murder (186)—Wrath (187)—The enemies of poetry (192)—An attack on Richard Harvey (195)—Gluttony (199)—Drunkenness (204)—Sloth (208)—A defence of plays (212)—Lechery (216). The supplication is followed by a discussion of the nature of hell and of devils (217-39), in which is inserted a tale, apparently allegorical, of a bear, a lion, and other animals (221-6). The work closes with an address to the reader (239) and a eulogy of 'Amyntas' (243).

3. Sources.

There is little to say under this heading. Harvey in his *Four Letters* D4 (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 194. 13-17), calls the *Supplication* 'not Dunsically botched vp, but right-formally cōueied, according to the stile, and tenour of Tarletons president, his famous play of the seauen Deadly sinnes'. We do not know enough of Tarlton's play to say whether there is any foundation for Harvey's charge of plagiarism. Nashe himself in *Strange News*, i. 304. 20, &c., vehemently denies it, pointing out that the mere treatment of his subject under the headings of the seven deadly sins is no imitation of Tarlton.

For the source of the discussion about devils at the end of the book (p. 227. 3—239. 2), which is practically all a translation, see note on these pages.

Nashe seems to have been reading Sextus Empiricus about the time of writing *Pierce Penilesse*, for we find a number of reminiscences of his *Hypotyposes*; see notes on 173. 25; 174. 15; 188. 29, &c.

Lastly, certain resemblances may be noticed between this work and Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, but they do not in any case amount to borrowing. Nashe had doubtless read the *Quip*, and some similarity is inevitable in different satirical treatments of the same abuses.

4. After-history.

Pierce Penilesse seems to have been the most popular of Nashe's productions, and he himself refers to it as one of the 'most saleable' (iii. 35. 18).

Apart from works written in direct reply to it, references to the book are very numerous. I can only mention a few. In Greene's *Disputation between a He-conycatcher and a She-conycatcher*, 1592 (*Wks.* ed. Grosart, x. 203), we find the following passage, 'Faire Nan well met, what newes... hath your smooth lookes linckt in some yong Nouice to sweate for a fauour all the byte in his Boung [i. e. money in his purse], and to leaue himselfe as many Crownes as thou hast got good conditions, and then hee shall be one of Pierce penilesse fraternitie'. If the name 'Pierce Penilesse' was the invention of Nashe—and I have failed to find any earlier example of it—it is evident that this is a reference to the book, which Greene probably saw in manuscript.

Henry Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream*, entered *S.R.* December 8, 1592, is described on the title-page (W. Wright's ed. in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N.S.S.) as 'Conteining fife Apparitions, with their Inuictiues against abuses raigning. Deliuered by seuerall Ghosts vnto him to be publisch, after Piers Penilesse Post had refused the carriage'. One of the 'five apparitions' is Robert Greene, from whom we have a letter to Pierce Penilesse, urging him to revenge himself upon his enemies (ed. u.s. 60-1). See also 44. 31—45. 8, where the knight of the post who carried the Supplication is referred to. Another allusion is to be found at 66. 28-9.

The work is also referred to in *Tell-Troth's New-year's Gift*, 1593, ed. Furnivall for N.S.S., 26. 23-5, 'But as they [the parliament of devils] were a rising, there came one in sweating, with a supplication from Pierce-Pennilesse, inforcing them thereby to a newe labour.'

In 1595 appeared a work called *Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship* by one H. C., who is generally identified with Henry Chettle; the name 'Piers Plainnes', but, so far as I can discover, nothing else, may have been suggested by *Pierce Penilesse*.

Later allusions are numerous, but I can only refer to one in a dialogue between a Gentleman and a Stationer's prentice at the beginning of S. Rowland's *'Tis Merry when Gossips meet*, 1602 :

Gentleman. What's that with *Nashes* name to it there?

Prentice. Marry sir, tis *Pierce Penny-lese*, sir; I am sure you know it: it hath beene a broad a great while sir.

Gentleman. Oh, I thou say'st true, I know 't passing well: is that it.

We may now turn to the attempts to provide a sequel, or reply, to the work.

In the letter to the printer of the second edition Nashe speaks of certain 'obscure imitators, that goe about to frame a second part to it, and offer it to sell in Paules Church-yard, and elsewhere, as from mee' (153. 28-30). He says that he has no intention of composing another part, but that he may later write 'the retурne of the *Knight of the Post* from hel, with the *Devil's answer to the Supplication*'.

What this pretended second part was cannot now be determined, for so far as we know it never got into print. Perhaps indeed it was no more than the figment of some needy hack seeking an advance from a credulous stationer.

Nashe himself never wrote the 'Return of the Knight of the Post', though, as we shall see from a preface quoted below (p. 84), he seriously discussed doing so; but after his death three works appeared which in various degrees attempted to fill the place of this unwritten book, and which therefore require some notice here.

The first is the tract by T. M., attributed, on no very certain evidence, to Thomas Middleton, and called *The Blache Booke*, printed by T. C. for Jeffrey Chorlton in 1604. In this work the Devil is represented as visiting London in disguise, partly in order to see how his affairs in general are going, and partly in order to require the author of the *Supplication*. In a verse prologue, he says :

‘ I rise now to breath my Legacie :
And make my last Will, which I know shall stand,
As long as Bawde or Villaine strides the Land.
For which Ile turne my shape quite out of Verse,
Mou'd with the Supplication of poore Pierce,
That writ so rarely villanous from hence,
For spending money to my Excellence :
Gae me my Titles freely, for which giuing,
I rise now to take order for his Liuing ’ (B2).

The tract itself is in prose. The Devil tells us that 'no sooner was Peirce-Pennilesse breathed forth, but I the Light-burning Seriant Lucifer, quencht my fire shape, and whipt into a Constables night-gowne, the cunningst habite that could be, to search Tipsie Tauerns, roosting Innes, and frothy Ale-houses' (B3). In the company of a sumner he visits certain houses of ill repute, describing what he sees there, and is presently reminded, as he says, 'of him for whom I chiefly changed my selfe into an officious Constable, poore Pierce-Pennilesse : when presently I demaunded of this Leuetenant [Leinetenant Q] the place of his abode, and when hee last heard of him (though I knew well enough both where to heare of him, and finde him) to which hee made answere. Who ? Pierce, honest Pennilesse ? hee that writ the Mad-cappes Supplication ? why, my very next Neighbour, lying within three leane houses of mee, at olde Mistresse Siluer-pinnes, the onely doore-keeper in Europe. Why ? we meete one another euery Terme time, and shake hands when the Exchequer opens, but when we open our hands, the Diuell of Penny we can see' (C4v).

They therefore go together to seek the poor author, and the account of their visit, though somewhat long, is not without interest. It is

responsible for the idea that Nashe was alive as late as 1603, and that he died in extreme poverty at Picthatch (see, for example, Pinks, *Hist. of Clerkenwell*, ed. Wood, 1881, p. 696). The Devil continues his story: [D1] ‘marching forward to the third Garden-house, there we knockt vp the Ghost of mistresse *Siluer-pin*, who suddainly risse out of two white sheetes, and acted out of her tyring-house windowe, but hauing vnderstood who we were, and the Authoritie of our office, shee presently, euen [eneu *Q*] in her Ghosts apparell, vnfolded the Doores, and gaue me my free enterance, when in policie I chargde the rest to stay and watch the house belowe, whilst I stumbled vp two payre of stayres in the darke, but at last caught in mine eyes the sullen blaze of a melancholy lampe, that burnt very tragically vpon the narrow [narrow *Q*] Deske of a halfe Bedstead, which descryed all the pittifull Ruines throughout the whole chamber, the bare priuities of the stone-walls were hid with two pieces of painted Cloth ; but so ragged and totred [tottreb *Q*], that one might haue seene all neuernetes, hanging for all the world like the two men in Chaynes betweene *Mile-end & Hackney*; The Testerne or the shadow, ouer the bed, was made of foure Elles of Cobwebs, and a number of small Spinners Ropes hung downe for Curtaines ; the Spindle-shanke Spyders which shoud like great Leachers with little legges, went stalking ouer his head, as if they had bene conning of *Tamburlayne*. To conclude, there was many such sights to be seene and all vnder a Pennie, beside [D1^v] the lamentable prospect of his hose and doublet, which being of old *Kendall Greene*, sitly resembled a Pitcht Field, vpon which trambled many a lusty Corporal : in this vnfortunate Tyring-house lay poore *Pierce* vpon a Pillow stuft with Horsemeate, the Sheetes smudged so durtily, as if they had bene stolne by night out of Saint Pulchers Church-yard when the Sexton had left a Graue open, and so laide the dead bodies wool-ward : the Couerlet was made of pieces a blacke Cloth clapt together, such as was scatterd off the railes in *Kings-Streete*, at the Queenes Funerall : vpon this miserable Beds-head, lay the old Copy of his Supplication in foule [soule *Q*] written hand which my blacke Knight of the Post conueyed to Hell : which no sooner I entartaynd in my hand, but with the ratling and blabbing of the papers, poore *Pierce* began to stretch and grate his Nose against the hard Pillowe, when after a Rowze or two, he muttered these reeling words betweene drunke and sober, that is, betweene sleeping and waking.

I should laugh yfaith, if for all this I should proue a Vsurer before I die, and haue never a Penny now to set vp withall, I would build a Nunnery in *Pickt-hatch* here, and turne the walke in *Powles* into a Bowling Alley ; I would haue the *Thames* leaded ouer, that they might play at Cony-holes, with the Arches vnder *London-Bridge* [Bride *Q*]. Well, and with that he wakte, the diuell is a mad Knaue still.

How now *Pierce*, (quoth I) doest thou call mee Knaue to my face ? Whereat the poore slauie started vp with his haire a tip-toe, to whom by easie degrees, I [D2] gently [genlty *Q*] discouered my selfe, who trembling like the treble of a Lute, vnder the heauie finger of a Farmers daughter, craued pardon of my damnable Excellence, and gaue me my Titles as freely, as if he had knowne where all my Lordships lay, &

how many Acres there were in *Tartarie*: but at the length hauing recovered to be bold againe, he vnfolded all his bosome to mee, told me that the Knight of Periurie had lately brought him a singed Letter, sent from a damned Friend of his: Which was thus directed, As followeth. [D2^v]

*From Stix to Woods-close,
OR
The Walke of Pickt-hatch.*

After I sawe poore *Pennilesse* grow so well acquainted with me, and so familiar with the villany of my humour, I vnlockt my determinations, and laide open my intents in particulars, the cause of my vprising being moued both with his penetrable petition and his insufferable pouerty, and therefore changed my shape into a litle wappereid Constable, to winke and blinke at small faults, and through the policy of searching, to finde [sinde Q] him out the better in his cleanly Tabernacle, and therefore gaue him encouragement now to be frolike, for the time was at hand like a Pickpurse, that *Pierce* should be cald no more *Pennilesse*, like the Maiors bench at *Oxford*, but rather *Pierce-Penny-fist*, because his palme shall bee pawnde with Pence. This sayd, I bad him be resolute, and get vp to Breake-fast, whilst I went to gather my Noyse of Villaines together, and made his lodging my Convocation-house: with that in a resulting humour, he calde his Hose and Dublet to him (which could almost goe alone, borne like a Herse vpon the Legges of Vermin) whilst I thumpt downe staires with my Cowe-heele, imbraced Mistresse *Siluer-pinne*, and betooke me to my Bill-men.

The only other passage of the work which is of interest to us is that describing the Devil's legacy to the author of the *Supplication*. [F2^v] 'Lastly, not least, I giue and bequeath to thee *Pierce-pennelesse*, exceeding poore Scholler, that hath made cleane shooes in both Vniuersities, and bene a pittifull Batler all thy life time, full oftē heard with this lamentable cry at the Buttry-hatch: Ho *Lancelot*, a Cewe of bread, and a Cewe of beere, neuer passing beyond the confines of a farthing, nor once munching commons, but onely vpon Gaudy dayes: To thee most miserable *Pierce*, or pierced through and through with miserie, I bequeath the tythe of all Vaulting Houses, the tenth deneere of each heigh passe come a loft: beside the playing in & out of all wenches at thy pleasure, which I know as thou maist vse it, wil be such a fluent pension, that thou shalt neuer haue need to write Suppli-cation againe.'

In 1606 appeared a more regular attempt to supply the place of Nashe's unwritten work. The anonymous author of this has adopted the exact title indicated by Nashe, the work being called *The Returne of the Knight of the Poste from Hell, with the Diuels aunswere to the Supplication of Pierce Penilesse, with some Relation of the last Treasons*. It was printed by John Windet for N. Butter, 1606, and is in quarto, A-F⁴. The most interesting part of the work is the preface, in which the author tells us of his intimacy with Nashe, and explains how he came to write the work. This epistle it seems desirable to reprint in full.

To all Fauourers of Learning or the Learned.

About some tenne yeares agone, when the *Supplication of Pierce Pennilesse* was published; the Gentleman who was the author thereof, being mine intimate and neare companion, as one with whome I communicated both my loue, mine estate, and my studies, and found euer out of his disposition an equall, or if possible a more fervent sympathie of like community and affection, so as I cannot chuse but still take much delight in his memory; would many times in his priuate conference with me, vnofolde his determination touching the concluding and finishing vppe of that moral and wittie Treatise, which for as much as it colde beare no second [A 3^v] parte by the same title (as hee publikelie did protest in an Epistle to the Printer ioynde to the same treatise) his resolution was to accomplish his desire by writing *the returne of the Knight of the Poste*, & therin did many times at large, discourse the maine plot and drift, wherein hee meant to bestow great arte, witte and laborious studie. Now death who many times by an vncharitable or cruell *Anticipation* preuenteth those deseignes, which might administer much matter of regarde and commoditie, by taking him too earelie frō the world, who had he lined, woulde hane enricht it with much wittinesse, left that vneffected, which had it beene by him taken in hand, would doubtlesse hane satisfied many learned expectations. Now my selfe who euer challenged most interest in his loue, and nearest alliance to his counsailes, seeing the turbulencie of this last age, and the frantike madnesse wherewith the Denil infecteth the minds of most trayterous and wicked persons, I tooke in hand (albeit as vnfit as *Patrocles* [A 4] for *Achilles* armor) to finish vp what hee in former times had intended, wherein if I hane neither the wittie pleasantnes of his conceites, nor the gaulye bitternes of his pens sharpenes, to the first imagine me of a more solide and dull composition lesse affected to delight and variation of humors, and to the latter think it is a bōd whereto *I* haue bound my selfe euer since my first nativitie, rather to wish my selfe dumbe then by foule speech, vncomely parables, or fantasticall taxations to win either publicque note, or else brutish commendations, and if in this I haue either preuented or vnwittingly taken in hand that which peraduenture some far better *Genius* may think fit to bestow vpon some of their wel labored howers, let mine inacquaintance, ignorance, and the reasons before repeated be mine excuses, & let th̄e follow on their learned determinations, with this encouragement, that mine as a foile hath no ambition, but to giue lustre to their more pure Diamondes.

Farewell.

The work itself is of little interest; well enough in plan, it needed Nashe's hand to touch it into life. It begins much in the same strain as the *Supplication* itself, of which the first few paragraphs display many verbal imitations; for example, after some verses beginning 'Say gentle Muse, what course of life is best' and evidently inserted in imitation of those on pp. 157-8, the author says 'After I had in this rude manner rymed out my passions . . . I began to tosse my thoughts vp and downe a thousand seuerall wayes, and to thinke with my selfe

what new course were best for mine vndertaking' (B 3); compare 158. 13-15. The author feigns himself to have retired to the country and to return to London on Nov. 5, 1605, the day following the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The writer visits St. Paul's and there in the 'Intelligencers gallerie' he meets a hunger-starved, envious-looking man in a thread-bare cloak, with whom he falls to discussing the conspiracy. Presently the fellow informs him that he is that Knight of the Post who some years before had conveyed to the devil Pierce Penilesse's Supplication, and that he had received an answer, which he hands to the author to read. This, which begins on C 4^v, is headed 'The aunswere of the high and mighty Prince [&c. as on p. 165] . . . Limbo, to the Supplication of Pierce Pennilesse,' and consists of a tedious discussion of what Pierce has said, arranged as in the *Supplication* under the headings of the various sins. It contains, however, so far as I can discover, nothing which affords us the slightest information either as to Nashe himself or as to his works.

The remaining work based on *Pierce Penilesse* is Thomas Dekker's *Newes From Hell; Brought by the Diuell's Carrier*, 1606, the head-title of the text of which is 'The Deuill let loose, with His Answere to Pierce Pennylesse', and the running title 'The Deuils Answere to Pierce Pennylesse'.

In the Epistle to the Reader Dekker says: 'A supplicatio was sent to him [i.e. the Devil] long since by a poore fellow one *Pierce Pennylesse*. But the Diuel being ful of busines, could neuer til now haue leasure to answeire it: Mary now (since Christmas) he has drawne out some spare howres, & shot 2. Arrowes at one mark, in 2. seuerall Bowes: and of two contrary flights: Wherein hee proues himselfe, a damb'd lying *Cretan*, because hee's found in two Tales, about one matter. But it may be, the first Answere, that hee sent by the Post was in the Morning, (for he striues to speake soberly, grauely, and like a Puritan). The other (sure) in the afternoone, for hee talkes more madly: But so farre from *Those fantasticall Taxations &c.* Which the Gentleman that drew that forenoones piece, (whom I know not) seemes aloofe off (like a Spy) to discouer, that euen in the most triuiall and merriest Applications, there are *Seria Iocis*, how soever it bee, sithence wee both haue had to doe with the Deuill, and that hee's now (by our meanes) brought to the Barre, let him plead for himselfe.' Dekker, ed. Grosart, ii. 90.

The passage is not particularly lucid, but evidently means that another had anticipated him—namely the author of *The Returne of the Knight of the Poste*, whose book is serious and like that of a Puritan, while Dekker's own is more merry and written in a lighter vein, but yet free from those 'fantasticall taxations' which the author of the *Return* condemns (see p. 84, l. 33).

Dekker's work is really hardly to be considered as an answer to the *Supplication*, though it was evidently written with that book before him, and contains a very large number of reminiscences of it. By far the greater part is taken up with a description of the visit of the author, or transcriber of the answer, to Hell, while the answer itself occupies but three pages (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 131-4). Part of it will be found in the note on 165. 29.

In *Have with You*, iii. 33. 7-12, Nashe speaks of *Pierce Penilesse*

being translated into the 'Macaronicall' tongue, and also 'maimedly' into French. The former translation is not at all likely to have got into print, but we may suppose that the French translation did so. However, it seems now impossible to find it. Grosart notes that he was aided by Taine and Prof. Saintsbury in his search for it (Nashe, vi. xix), but without success. A question in *Notes and Queries* as long ago as 1902 has brought no reply, and considerable search in a variety of bibliographies, &c., has not led to the discovery of it. One may be pretty certain that it was issued without the author's name and probably with a different title; indeed it is by no means impossible that all which is meant is, that part of *Pierce Penilesse* is incorporated in the form of translation in some French work, in which case the discovery must be a matter of chance.

P. 149, 1. *Pierce Penilesse*] So far as I am aware, unless possibly in Greene's *Disputation between a He-conycatcher and a She-conycatcher*, referred to on p. 80, the combined name is not found earlier. 'Piers' seems, from Langland's poem, to have come to mean a plain-spoken country fellow, as in a work preserved at Lambeth which has for title 'I playne Piers which can not flatter A plane man men me call . . .' (Mr. Hazlitt's *Coll. and Notes*, ii. 476). Compare also the title of R. Harvey's *Plain Perceval the Peacemaker*, where 'Perceval' seems to be similarly used. It was perhaps regarded as a form of the same name, as 'Percy' certainly was (cf. 219. 22; 226. 29). Mr. H. C. Hart in his notes on *Love's Labour's Lost* (Arden ed.), IV. ii. 77-81, remarks that Pierce was pronounced 'purse'; cf. 1 *Hen. IV*, V. iii. 59, 'if Percy be alive, I'll pierce him'; and says further: 'The name of Nashe's tract is more significant with this pronunciation (purse), a note, *en passant*, which I have not met with.' But I doubt if 'Pierce' was at this date pronounced as 'purse' then was. The pronunciation of both words must have changed. Nevertheless it may be noted, as supporting Mr. Hart's view, that the phrase 'purse pennilesse' seems to have been current at the date (cf. Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, D 3, 'braue gallantes, that haue spente their purses penniles' and N. Breton's *Pasquil's Pass and Passeth not*, 1600, B 3^v, 'if . . . he passe purse pennilesse'), and that this may possibly have suggested Nashe's title.

4-9. *Describing . . . reproofes*] Nashe objected to this 'long-tayled Title'; cf. 153. 24-7. Harvey derides it, *Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 195. 3-7, a fact which shows, if proof were needed, that he read the work in the first edition.

10. *Gentleman*] A vain title 'intailed' to his name by the printer; see i. 312. 1-2.

10-11. printer's mark] The motto is given, in a fuller form, in W. O. Pughe's *Welsh Dict.*: 'Heb Dduw heb ddim, a Duw a digon, Without God without anything, with God with (having) enough.'

P. 150, 4. *In the Authours absence*] Nothing certain is known of where he was at this time or with whom. See 153. 20-2.

13. *Dedication*] i.e. the address to 'Amyntas'; see 243. 2, &c.
Epistle] See 239. 17, &c.

14. *Proeme*] Pp. 157-64 are apparently the proem, but it is not 'inserted conceitedly in the matter'.

P. 151, 4. *Barbaria grandis habere nihil*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 4 :
 Ingenium quondam fuerat pretiosius auro,
 At nunc barbariast grandis, habere nihil.

Though Nashe, as we have seen, gave directions to the printer about the title-page (153. 24-7), he says nothing about any motto. Are we to suppose that this too might be chosen by the printer, as much of the laudatory wording of title-pages probably was? They were really advertisements, and were apparently posted up as such; see i. 343. 6-7.

8. *I. B.*] i. e. John Busby.

P. 153, 17. *Pace*] John Pace (1523?-90?): see A. à Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, 1813, i. 69, 'I find one John Pace, who, from Eaton school, was elected scholar of Kings Coll., in Cambridge, 1539, or thereabouts, went away fellow, became jester to K. Hen. 8, for a time, and afterwards to the duke of Norfolk.' Later he was about the court; see *D. N. B.* He is again referred to in *Have with you*, iii. 10. 12.

20. *pamphleting on him*] It is possible that many pamphlets on Greene may have been projected but never written. There are, of course, a number of references to him in literature of the time, but so far as I can learn the only works directly concerned with him published after his death were the following: *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* (ent. S. R. Sept. 20); *The Repentance of Robert Greene* (ent. S. R. Oct. 6), claimed for Luke Hutton (Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook* 289) or for Greene (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 151-5); *Greene's Vision*; G. Harvey's *Four Letters* (ent. S. R. Dec. 4). All these were published in 1592, with the possible exception of *Greene's Vision*, which is not dated. Later were *Greene's News both from Heaven and Hell*, commanded to the Press by B. R., 1593 (ent. S. R. Feb. 3), and *Greene's Funeralls* by R. B., 1594.

21-2. *the feare of infection*] From the *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxiii, p. 118, it appears that the plague was 'daily increasing' in London by August 13, 1592, while on Sept. 6 it was sufficiently bad to cause serious alarm (u. s., p. 177-8).

22. *my Lord*] Ingleby, in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, xliv. states positively that at this time Nashe 'was the guest of Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon, whither the household had retired for fear of the plague'. He remarks that this was unknown to Dyce, but unfortunately omits to tell us whence he himself derives the information. There is indeed evidence to show that *Summer's Last Will* was performed before Whitgift at Croydon in the autumn of 1592 (see introductory note on that play); but to infer from this that Whitgift spent the whole autumn at that place, and Nashe with him, seems absurd. The *Acts of the Privy Council* show indeed that he was several times at Greenwich and at Hampton Court (see note, as above). It seems likely that Nashe would dedicate his work to the patron with whom he was living at the time, and hence it would not be unreasonable to identify the lord here spoken of with 'Amyntas' (243. 7), whoever he may be. The 'ornaments of war', if nothing else, in this dedication make it certain that he was not Whitgift. See the introduction for the little that I have been able to collect as to Nashe's patrons.

29. *a second part*] Nothing is known of this.

P. 154, 6-7. *the returne of the Knight of the Post*] See p. 81 above.

ii. *Greens groats-worth of wit*] Entered S. R. on Sept. 20. According to Chettle, in the Epistle to the Readers before his *Kind-*

Heart's Dream, this was left at Greene's death in the hands of a bookseller, and was then copied out by himself, with omission of a few passages which might be offensive. He mentions its having been attributed to Nashe, and says, 'I protest it was all *Greenes*, not mine nor Maister *Nashes*, as some vniustly haue affirmed,' *Sh. Allusion-Books*, pt. i. N. S. S., 37. 20, &c.; 38. 26-8; 39. 5-6. It does not appear whether Nashe had seen the book or only spoke of it by report. In the former case it is difficult to understand the very strong terms in which he alludes to it, unless indeed it contains references which we cannot now recognize.

20. *mis-interpreting*] Complaints of the habit of seeing an allegorical meaning where none is intended are frequent in Elizabethan literature. Nashe himself recurs several times to the subject; cf. especially ii. 182. 1-15. Similarly Jonson in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* bids the spectators not to conceal 'any state-decypherer, or politic picklock of the scene, so solemnly ridiculous as to search out who was meant by the gingerbread-woman, who by the hobby-horse man, who by the costardmonger, nay, who by their wares'.

22. *Knight of the Post*] See note on 164. 8.

25. *Antiquaries are offended*] I suppose by 182. 16-183. 15.

P. 155, 1. *caveat emptor*] An old legal maxim, which is very commonly quoted; cf. Stubbes, *Second Part of Anat. of Abuses*, ed. N. S. S., 24, '*Caveat emptor* (as the old saieng is) Let the buiers take heed.'

5. *the Blache Booke*] In his *Disputation between a He-conycatcher and a She-conycatcher* Greene several times mentions a work which he had in preparation, called 'the Black Book', which was to attack a number of scoundrels by name, and unrip their villainies; see Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 236-7, also 225. 9; 226. 2. A tract issued shortly after, called *The Blache Bookes Messenger. Laying open the Life and Death of Ned Browne . . . 1592*, is, as appears from the opening words of the address to the reader, quite distinct from it. The 'Black Book' itself was never published, probably never completed. A pamphlet of the name, attributed to T. Middleton, appeared in 1604; see p. 81.

12. *if the sicknesse cease*] The plague continued with great violence until the winter of 1593-4, and it does not appear that Nashe returned to London during this period. He was in the Isle of Wight at Christmas, 1592, 'and a great while after'; cf. iii. 96. 2.

14. *the latter ende*] i. e. the epistles mentioned in 153. 15, &c. They were never added, and we are ignorant whether they were written or not.

P. 157, 3, &c.] Gabriel Harvey's attack on *Pierce Penilesse* in his *Four Letters* (D 3^y, &c., *Wks.*, i. 194, &c.) is discussed in the general Introduction. It is impossible in these notes to call attention to all Harvey's criticisms of the work, but some which seem of special interest, will be referred to.

The works inspired by the present tract have, as we should expect, many reminiscences of its ideas and language; especially is this the case with Dekker's *News from Hell*. The recording of such borrowings belongs, however, to notes on these works rather than to notes on Nashe, and I shall therefore only mention a few of the most important.

12 marg. *Discite . . .*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 25-6, but 'non quae nos' instead of 'non (cum *Q*) haec quae' and 'castra', not 'bella'.

The large number of marginal quotations which appear in the first edition of *Pierce Penilesse* was ridiculed by Harvey: 'He tost his imagination a thousand waies, and I beleuee searched euery corner of his Grammar-schoole witte (for his margine is as deeplie learned, as *Fauste precor gelida*) to see if he coulde finde anie meanes to relieuve his estate' (*4 Let. D 4, G. H.* i. 195. 15-19). Nashe refers to this in *Strange News*, i. 306. 29-30; 307. 19-22, 34, &c. In the second of these passages, alluding apparently to these marginal notes, Nashe says, 'With one minutes studie Ile destroie more, than thou art able to build in ten daies,' and seeing that in the third edition of *Pierce Penilesse* a large number of these notes are omitted, it would appear that he actually did so. We may, if we will, infer from this that the third edition was issued later than *Strange News*, or at any rate prepared for press not earlier than the writing of that work.

20, &c. *Why ist damnation . . .*] These four stanzas are given by Mr. Bond among the doubtful works of John Llyl in his edition of that author, iii. 499. He prints them from *Harl. MS. 6910*, f. 140, in which most of the first line and all the fifth are wanting. I note below the few variant readings of any consequence.

20. marg. *Est aliquid . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 1. 59.

23. *faultie*] fault is *Harl.*

24-5. *Diuines . . . dwell*] As noted by Collier, these lines are found in *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1608 [*Doubtful Plays of Sh.*, ed. Hazlitt, 1887, p. 311, ll. 4, 5; 'its' for 'her' in the second line]. He also shows that they were imitated or plagiarised by S. Nicholson in his *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, 1600, where they appear as

If on the earth there may be found a hell
Within my soule her several torment dwelt.

They are also to be found, with 'the' for 'her' in the second line, in Marston's *Insatiat Countess*, V. i. 38-9.

26. marg. *Ingenio . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 2. The bracketed quotations are those which are omitted in the second and later editions.

30. marg. *Paupertas . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 51-2.

31. of] one *Harl.*

P. 158, 4. promise-breach] promis *Harl.* (MS. defective.)

5. marg. *Pol me occidistis, amici*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 138. Again quoted at ii. 52, 29-30.

9. marg. *Hei mihi . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 9. 36.

10. *mou'd when I shall*] mooued when I *Harl.*

17. marg. *Miser est . . .*] Caecilius Statius in *Aul. Gel.* ii. 23.

21. marg. *Fortuna fauet fatuos*] For 'fatuos' instead of 'fatuis', after 'fauet' compare the seventh line of Nashe's Latin poem at iii. 299 'Quos Arabi fortuna fauet, quos copia Cresi . . .' Harvey in quoting this phrase (*4 Let. E 1^v, G. H.* i. 198. 16) has 'fatuis', without comment. The saying, either in Latin or in English, is exceedingly frequent, but so far as I am aware no origin has been found. It is presumably founded on 'audentes fortuna iuvat', Verg. *Aen.* x. 284, or 'fortes fortuna adiuvat', Ter. *Phormio*, i. 4. 26 (see the numerous similar sayings in

W. F. H. King's *Class. and For. Quot.* s. v. 'Audentes . . .'). The English form 'Fortune favours fools' occurs in B. Googe's *Eclogues*, 1563, ed. Arber, p. 74 (W. C. B. in *N. and Q.*, 10th S. ii. 365; on the same subject see p. 491). Compare also Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 131 'God sendeth fortune to fooles', and *Sol. and Pers.*, II. ii. 1; *Shoemaker's Holiday*, IV. iii. end (Dekker, ed. Pearson, i. 54); *Scoggin's Jests* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 80, 'thus a man may perceive that divers times fooles be fortunate'; *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (Simpson's *Sch. of Sh.* ii.), I. 258; *Witch of Edmonton*, I. i. last line; *Every Man Out of his Humour*, I. i. mid. 'One of those that fortune favours.'—'The periphrasis of a fool.'

26. marg. *Meritis . . .*] Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 150.

P. 159, 3. marg. *Scribitus . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 117.

4-5. *a Pamphlet of the praise of Pudding-pricks*] I know nothing of any such production. 'A mery iest of a puddinge' entered to W. Wright, Nov. 20, 1587 may, or may not, be referred to. A 'pudding-prick' was a skewer.

5. *a Treatise of Tom Thumme*] I cannot learn of any book on Tom Thumb of so early a date. There were many in the following century; cf. Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 610.

6. *the exploits of Untruss*] Mentioned by Harvey, with reference to the present passage, in 4 *Let. E 2^v*, *Wks.*, i. 202. 4. Collier says 'it appears, from the original letter by Nash, which is printed in the "Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage" ([1831] i. 303) that Anthony Munday was the writer of this ballad of "Untruss"' (see Nashe's letter in vol. v). In the place cited by Collier he prints '[Mu]ndays', but it is at present impossible to read more than 'ays'. The attribution cannot therefore be regarded as absolutely certain.

6-7. *thicke and three-fold*] i. e. in large quantities.

10. *Sir Phillip Sidney*] Sidney's liberality towards writers is frequently referred to, but we have, naturally enough, few details. Richard Robinson, however, in his manuscript petition to James I (Royal MS. 18 A. lxvi.) mentions that in 1579 Sidney gave him £2 for the dedication of a work, a sum much above the average of Robinson's receipts from this source. See *Gentleman's Mag.* ccc. 284.

10. marg. *Cultor et . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 14. 1.

14. *cause*] i. e. 'because', not uncommon; cf. *N.E.D.*

16. marg. *Heu rapiunt . . .*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 9. 35 'Cum rapiunt . . .'

20. marg. *Fluctibus in . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 6. 7.

23. *take it of merite*] i. e. take it as their due.

P. 160, 10. *Yeomandry*] The form was not uncommon; cf. Greene, *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 232. 4; also with *t* for *d* in Fletcher's *Wit Without Money*, I. i. 75.

10-11. *better to passe*] i. e. better off; cf. 'well to pass' in *N.E.D.* s. v. *pass*, v. A. II. 3 b.

13. *weele give losers leaue to talke*] A frequent saying; cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 131, 'reason and custom, (they say), affoords, Alway to let the losers have their words'; *Selimus*, ed. Grosart (1898), l. 2140, 'Nay, we can give such losers leave to speak'; cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 26. 11-12, and J. Taylor, *Wks.*, 1630,

Aaa 5 ; 2 Ret. from Parnassus, III. ii. 76 (1261), '... leave to talk'; Vaughan, *Golden Grove*, 1608, L 4^v '... leauue to chafe'.

16. *Cramptons*] (Cromptons *A*). I do not know whether there is any special allusion in this name.

22. *Genus & proauos*] Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 140. See the longer quotation at iii. 56. 23-4.

23-4. *Sir Rowland Russet-coat*] The name occurs also in *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen*, 1598, E 4^v, 'he giueth entertainement to syr Rowland Russet-coates sonne', i.e. he gets a country-fellow to attend on him instead of a trained servant. There are innumerable references to 'russet' (i. e. coarse cloth, generally of a reddish-brown colour) as the usual wear of a countryman. See the index to Grosart's edition of Greene for several instances; also the *Health* just referred to, H 2^v and frequently.

24. *sagging*] i. e., I suppose, in loose clothes; cf. 162. 33.

25. *Gascoynes*] i.e. loose breeches, the same as gally-gascoines; see note on 172. 16.

36. *vacuus viator*] The allusion is of course to 'Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator', Juvenal x. 22.

P. 161, 1. *Commissioners of Newmarket-heath*] This name for highwaymen seems to have been proverbial; cf. *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen*, 1598, B 3-3^v 'as strange... as to take Kent-street without a Scoulde, or Newmarket-heath without a Commissioner'. But the reference to 'syr Rowland Russet-coate' quoted above suggests the possibility of the two phrases being borrowings from Nashe. *The Black Book* (Middleton, ed. Bullen, viii. 20) refers to the 'clerks of Newmarket Heath' and the 'sheriffs of Salisbury Plain.' For 'Crosses' = coins see Nares, *Gloss*.

5. *Opus and Vsus*] Cf. 'In this sorrow hee sate downe on pennilesse bench; where when *Opus* and *Vsus* told him by the chimes in his stomacke, it was time to fall vnto meate, he was faine with the *Camelion* to feed vpon the aire, & make patience his best repast.' Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, in *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 133. 13-18.

11. *court-holie-bread*] i.e. fair words, the same as 'court holy-water' in *King Lear*, III. ii. 10: cf. *Westward Ho!*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 310, 'he feedes thee with nothing but Court holy bread, good words, and cares not for thee.'

21. *Statute Merchant*] 'A bond of record, now obsolete, acknowledged before the chief magistrate of some trading town, on which, if not paid at the day, an execution might be awarded against the body, lands, and goods of the obligor.' *Cent. Dict.*

27-8. *Hel... become a huge Cittie*] Perhaps this suggested a passage in 2 Ret. from Parnassus, IV. ii. 156-8 (1695-7) where Ingenioso says to the Recorder, 'you whose vocation serues to enlarge the territories of Hell, that (but for you) had beeene no bigger then a paire of Stockes or a Pillorie'. The two lines which precede these in the *Return* are perhaps also a reminiscence of *Pierce Penilesse*; cf. note on 216. 16.

30-1. *These manifest conjectures... abilitie*] The sense of this rather curious phrase seems to be—having considered these means of getting money and finding them to be within my power.

34. *Paper-monster*] 'Theise Paper-monsters are sure to be set

vppon, by many terrible encounters', Dekker, *News from Hell*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 87. 12-14. Probably a reminiscence.

162. 4. *Ambodexter*] The Vice of this name in Preston's *Cambyses*, 1569, thus introduces himself (ed. Manly, in *Pre-Sh. Dr.*, ll. 150-3) :

My name is Ambidexter : I signifie one
That with both hands finely can play ;
Now with King Cambises, and by-and-by gone,—
Thus doo I run this way and that way.

5. *driuer*] The exact sense is not clear, but there is evident allusion to the proverb 'He must needs go whom the devil drives', of which *N.E.D.* has examples from 1532.

13. *Court-cup*] *N.E.D.* gives the following quotation which shows the sense more or less: '1676 *True Gentlew. Delight* (N.), Let it dry in an ashen dish, otherwise called a court-cup . . . till it be dry, and it will be like a saucer.' Save the present passage this is the only instance given.

16-17. *from the blacke gown to the buckram bagge*] From the highest to the lowest class of lawyer. Buckram-bags were associated with lawyers' clerks, who habitually carried them; cf. *Downf. of Robert E. of Hunt*, I. iii. (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 118):

You from a paltry pen-and-inkhorn clerk,
Bearing a buckram-satchel at your belt,
Unto a justice' place I did prefer ;

and Dekker's *Belman of London*, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 144. 4-6.

The expression 'from the black Gown to the buckrum bag' occurs in J. Taylor's *Part of this Summer's Travels* [1639] C 7, which has other reminiscences of *Pierce Penilesse*.

18. *Pettifogger*] Wilson, *Disc. of Usury*, 1572, ¶¶ 7, explains 'a petye fogger in lawe' as 'one that sometimes [i.e. once] hath studied a little lawe, beeinge yet neuer allowed in anye Inne of Court or Chauncery'. The meaning is practically 'inferior or ignorant lawyer.'

18-19. *Signior Cornuto Diabolo*] called 'Causaliero Cornuto' by Dekker, *News*, Wks., ii. 96. 11.

27-8. *confusion of languages*] Dekker borrows this also: 'the Exchaunge, where at euery step a man is put in minde of Babell, there is such a confusion of languages,' *News*, Wks., ii. 96. 8-10.

29. *Non noui Dæmonem*] Perhaps a delicate suggestion that the lawyers adopted the same attitude towards their master as Peter did towards his.

31, &c. *an old, straddling Vsurer, clad in a damaske cassocke . . .*] In Lodge's *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse*, 1596, E 2, is a somewhat similar but more elaborate description of Usury, which was written with this in the author's mind; cf. note on 163. 1.

32-3. *trunke slops*] i.e. loose trowsers; see quotations in Stubb's *Anatomy of Abuses*, N. S. S., 246-7.

33. *Shoomakers wallet*] The bag in which itinerant shoemakers carried their tools.

34-5. *moatheaten budge*] Cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery* E 2, ll. 23-4, 'his iacket forsooth is faced with moth-eaten budge, and it is no lesse

then Lisle Grogeram of the worst,' and S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, D 3, also in a description of Usury (largely borrowed from Lodge) 'His iacket faced with motheaten Budge'. 'Budge' was lambskin dressed with the wool outwards, an inexpensive fur much used for the edging of garments.

P. 163, 1. *sage button-cap*] Cf. 'This *Vsur* is iumpe of the complexion of the Baboun his father . . . his hornes are sometime hidden in a button cap (as *Th. N.* described him)', Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, E 2.

4. *grimde*] I suppose the sense is that his beard being cut close, but not shaved, it looks as if his face were dirty; but grammatically it is the beard that is 'grimde'. Lodge perhaps found the expression odd or weak, for he alters to 'his beard is bristled here & there like a sow that had the lowsie'.

5. *woorme-eaten nose*] The expression is usual. Lodge, true to his professional studies, says of Usury's nose that it was 'here & there embellished and decked with *verucae* for want of purging with Agarick.'

15. *straine courtesie*] The sense apparently is that he will come from his bedroom not fully dressed—though at the cost of being somewhat wanting in due politeness. To 'strain courtesy' seems to be used both for to be too ceremonious and to be unceremonious.

17-18. *the prince of the North*] The idea that Satan ruled, before his fall, the north part of heaven is based on Isaiah 14. 13, 14, where Lucifer says 'I will sit also upon the mount of the Congregation in the sides of the north'. References to it are to be found in many of the Fathers; cf. also 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 6. It may be noted that the Genevan version interprets 'the north' to mean Jerusalem, of which the temple was on the north side, comparing Psalm 48. 2.

23-4. *to seeke my dinner with Duke Humphrey*] The tomb of Sir John Beauchamp (d. 1358), on the south side of the nave in St. Paul's Cathedral, was popularly supposed to be that of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1391-1447), 'the Good Duke Humphrey' as he was called, who was in reality buried at St. Albans. The neighbourhood of this tomb was a common rendezvous of gallants and others, especially of persons who went in fear of arrest for debt, for within the precincts of the cathedral they were safe from the hands of the law. Those who, either from fear of being apprehended by sergeants in wait for them, or because they had not the price of a meal and had failed to pick up an invitation from a friend, remained in St. Paul's during the dinner-hour, were said to 'dine with Duke Humphrey'. The expression is of so frequent occurrence that it is unnecessary to quote instances. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 165.

27. *sir John Best-betrust*] The name, the meaning of which is obvious, was perhaps applied to a broken-down old fellow. In the *Downf. of Robert E. of Hunt.* V. i. (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 199), Justice Warman, High Sheriff of Nottingham, is addressed, after his fall from office, as 'old best-betruss'd'. In *Westward Ho!*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 350, a bawd is called 'Mother best be trust'. Compare also *Satiromastix*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, i. 245 'thy Muse is a hagler, and weares cloathes vpon best-be-trust: th' art great in some bodies books for this'. Cf. 'well be trustee', i.e. trusted, in *Impatient Poverty*, 1. 842.

27-8. *the chalk and the Post*] The phrase is of frequent occurrence; thus in Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, D 6^v, a hostess swears by 'chalke & poast'. The 'post', originally perhaps a door-post, must in most Elizabethan taverns have been a board of considerable size.

P. 164, i. *nothing nice*] having no scruples about, not unwilling to.

8. marg. *Non bene conducti . . .*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 10. 37.

8. *A knight of the Post*] Collier states that 'a knight of the post was a person who received money for going bail for a debtor, or other party in custody', but from innumerable allusions, as in the next line and elsewhere, it would seem that giving false witness was at least as important a function of theirs. In *The Second Part of Conycatching*, 1591 (Greene, ed. Grosart, x. 79), there is a reference to them in connexion with bail, where of certain persons who can be obtained to swear to the ownership of a horse it is said 'these periurd knaues be commonly old knightes of the post, that are foisted off from being taken for bale at the kings bench, or other places, and seeing for open periuries they are refused there, they take that course of life, and are wrongly called Querries'. Earliest instance in *N.E.D.* 1580. Other allusions will be found in Greene's *Disputation between a He-Conycatcher and a She-Conycatcher* (*Wks.*, x. 233 foot), 'some thredbare citizens that from Marchants and other good trades, grow to bee base Infourmers and Knightes of the Poste, crye out whē they dine with Duke Humfrey, Oh what wickednes comes from whoores'; *Soliman and Perseda*, V. iii. 34, and Dekker's *Bellman of London*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 145 (borrowed from Greene, x. 79, quoted above). In 1597 was published a tract called *The Discouerie of the Knights of the Poste: Or the Knightes of the post or cōmon common (sic) baylers newly Discried, . . . by E. S.* This book is in the form of a dialogue between the author when on a journey to Plymouth on his 'well approued hackney (ould Bayard of ten toes)' and the persons with whom he falls acquainted upon the road. A number of subjects are touched upon, but the chief part of the book is, as the title indicates, an attack upon knights of the post (C 3^v foot-D 2^v). The information given about them adds little of importance to what has already been said, though their doings are described with somewhat more detail than elsewhere. The book has no relation to that of Nashe, with which, indeed, the author does not seem to show any acquaintance.

18. *Low-cuntries*] Cf. Dekker, *Wonderful Year*, 1603, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 121. 19-20, where Death shows a Hollander 'that there were other Low-country (*sic*) besides his owne'. In *News from Hell*, *Wks.*, ii. 102. 10-11, Dekker calls the devil 'Emperor of Low Germanie'.

P. 165, 1-4] John Taylor, who seems to have had an intimate acquaintance with Nashe's works, and who frequently refers to him, was probably thinking of this address when in his *Bawd*, *Wks.*, 1630, H 6^v, he called the devil

The Prince of darknesse, King of Acheron,
Great Emperor of Styx and Phlegeton,
Cocitus Monarch, high and mighty Dis,
Who of Great Limbo-Lake Commander is,

Of *Tartary*, of *Erebus*, and all
Those Kingdomes which men *Barathrum* doe call.

He has also a similar passage in *Part of this Summer's Travels* [1639], C 4^v, C 5, in which most of these names are repeated; cf. also on the second of these pages 'Although you (great Master of the perpetual Hot-house) *Don sel de Lucifer* . . .'

8-9. *single-sould*] i. e. poverty-stricken, mean, contemptible; see *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 69. Numerous instances have been collected by the commentators. Among others cf. Dekker, *Wonderful Year*, Wks., i. 84, 'like a single sole Fidler, that reeles from Tauerne to Tauerne', and *Gull's Hornbook*, Wks., ii. 212, 'all you that loue to walke vpon single and simple soules'. The expression seems to refer to boots of inferior quality, but it is almost always used with a play on the word 'soul'.

11-12. *dauncing schoole*] At i. 305. 28-31 Nashe states that 'the Devilis dauncing schoole in the bottome of a mans purse that is empitie, hath beene a gray-beard Prouerbe two hundred yeares before Tarlton was borne'. I cannot give other instances, but jokes about 'crosses', i. e. coins, keeping away the devil are frequent.

22. *Præmunire*] A species of writ, especially for the offence of denying the supremacy of the sovereign and maintaining that of some other person or power, as of the Pope.

28. *that lookes pale and wanne*] The paleness of gold was a commonplace, though the reason here assigned is not that usually given; cf. T. Lupton's *All for Money*, ed. Vogel, in *Sh. Jahrb.* xl., 1904, ll. 71-3:

One asked *Diogenes* why golde did looke so wan:
No maruell said he it is though he so pale doe looke,
For ev ery one layes wayte to catche him if they can.

The anecdote is from *Diogenes Laertius* vi. 2. 6. 51.

29. *might at length be restored* . . .] It may be worth while to give the answer to this petition from Dekker's *News from Hell* (F 3) as a specimen of the work: [The devil informs the messenger] That touching the enlargement of Gold, (which is the first branch of the Petition) So it is that *Plutus* his kinsman (being the onely setter vp of tempting Idols) was borne a Cripple, but had his eye-sight as faire as the day, for hee could see the faces and fashions of all men in the world, in a twinkling. At which time, for all he went vpon Crutches, he made shift to walke abroad with many of his friends: Marrie they were none but good men. A Poet, or a Philosopher, might then haue sooner had his company, than a Justice of Peace: Vertue at that time, went in good cloathes, and vice fed vpon beggerie. Almes baskets, honestie and plaine dealing, had all the Trades in their owne hands, So that Vnthriffts, Cheaters, and the rest of their Faction, (though it were the greater) were borne downe, fornot an Angell durst be seene to drinke in a Tauerne withthem: whereupon they were all in danger to be famisht. Which enormitie, *Jupiter* wisely looking into, and seeing *Plutus* dispersing his gifts amongst none but his honest brethren, strucke him (either in anger or envie) starke blinde, so that euer since

he hath plaide the good fellow, for now euery gull may leade him vp and downe like *Guy*, to make sports in any drunken assembly, now hee regards not who thrusts his hands into his pockets, nor what money they take out, nor how it is spent, a foole shall haue his heart now, assoone as a Phisition: And an Asse that cannot spell, goe laden away with double Duckets from his Indian Store-house, when *Ibis Homere*, that hath laine sick seuenteen yeers together of the Vnuer-sitie plague, (watching and want) onely in hope at the last to finde some cure, shall not for an hundred waight of good Lattine, receiue a two pennywaight in Siluer, his ignorance (arising from his blindness) is the only cause of this Comedie of errors: so that vntil some Quack-saluer or other (either by the helpe of Tower hill water, or any other, either Phisical or Chirurgicall meanes) can pick out that pin and a web, which is stuck into both his eyes (and that will very hardly be) It is irreuocably set downe, in the Adamantine booke of Fate, that gold shall be a perpetuall slawe to slaves, a drudge to fooles, a foole to make Woodcocks merry, whilst wisemen mourne: or if at any time he chance to breake prison, and fie for refuge into the chamber of a Courtier, to a meere hawking countrie Gentleman, to an Aldermans heire, to a yong student at the lawe, or to any tradesmans eldest sonne, that rides forth to cast vp his fathers reckonings, in fortified Tauerne, Such mighty search shall be made for him, such Hue and Cry after him, and such misrule kept, vntil he be smelt out, that poore gold must bee glad to get out of their companie, Castles cannot protect him, but he must be apprehended, and suffer for it.' Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 131-3.

P. 166, 4 marg. *Id est*] In the reading of A given in the footnote '.i.' stands for 'id est'. This was a very common abbreviation; cf. Ascham, *Wks.*, ed. W. A. Wright, 161 'Nicht in einig gefengnes .i. Not in any prison'; Holland's *Plutarch*, 1603, I. 18, 23; 74. 25; Heywood, *Tyrwakēion*, 1624, 210. 28; 313. 9, 10. Occasionally the stop before the *i* is omitted. Similarly *s.* for scilicet; cf. G. Babington's *Sermon at Paul's Cross, Michaelmas*, 1590, pr. 1591, p. 31.

12. *Onyon skind jackets*] Perhaps merely thin jackets.

13. *indurance*] i. e. imprisonment; see *N.E.D.*, s. v. endurance; a single example (1603) is given.

19. *furd with cats skins*] I do not know where Nashe found the 'cats' skins'. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.* 1598-1600, i. 314. 32-4, and 497 top, says fox-fur.

21. *Angle-hookes*] i. e. fish-hooks.

Aglets] i. e. metal tags at the ends of ribbons (as now on boot-laces) originally intended to facilitate the passing of them through eyelet holes; they were often, however, merely ornamental. Spenser, *F. Q.*, VI. ii. 5 speaks of 'an hood with aglets sprad' (*Cent. Dict.*).

25. *Bowcases*] Possibly we should read 'Bowcasers'. I presume that bow-cases were made of the list or selvage of cloth, as being long and narrow and little use for anything else, save as stuffing. Cf. ii. 232. 19-20.

P. 167, 4-5. *Sariants Mace*] An evident reference to the constantly occurring joke on a sergeant's mace and the spice called mace. See note on ii. 207. 19-20.

8. *shrapes*] A shrap, or shrap, is a bait of chaff, seed, &c., laid

for birds; the place where the bait is laid (*E. D. D.*). Here it seems to be used for the net itself.

Woodcocks] Here, as constantly, fools, simpletons.

10. *bowd*] i. e. bent; cf. Greene, *The Third Part of Cony-catching*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 148. 20-1, 'Then taking foorth a bowed groat, and an olde pennie bowed, hee gaue it her.'

11-12. *sedge rug kirtle*] 'rug' is a coarse woollen stuff, but 'sedge' I do not understand.

14. *Almanackes out of date*] Out-of-date almanacs are frequently mentioned as typical of things of no value; cf. *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* (Greene, ed. Grosart, xii. 132. 8-9), 'But now my Almanacke is out of date', i. e. people have got tired of me, my performance—that of an actor of moralities—is no longer in fashion. Also Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. ii, IV. i. near end, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 154 foot.

17. *thrumd*] i. e., properly, ornamented with knots, tufts, or tassels.

17-18. *parings of her nailes . . . droppings of hir nose*] The preservation of such things was a common gird against a miser; cf. J. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 70, 'She will not part with the paring of her nayles,' and Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 11, 'I like not these over-covetous fellowes . . . that will not part from the paring of their nailes nor the dropping of their nose, if they thought it would yeeld them but the fourth part of a farthing.' Compare in general the description of Doctor Zachary 'dame Niggardize sole heire & executor' at ii. 306. 3-21.

18. *saime*] i. e. grease (*Cent. Dict.*, which gives this instance alone s. v. *seam* ³ *v. t.*). Cf. the substantive 'seam' in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 195, and *Greene's News both from Heaven and Hell*, 1593, D 4^v, 'like a locke of wooll that was but then come out of the seame basket.'

25. *court chimney*] Greene in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, complaining of the decay of hospitality, says that though men build very large and stately houses they 'builde for to please the eie, and not to profit the poore: they vse no rest but for themselves and their household, nor no fire but a little court chimny in their own chamber'. *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 272. The *N. E. D.*, which quotes the passage from Greene, explains the expression as '? a kind of small stove'. There are several compounds with 'court' the sense of which is not absolutely clear, as 'court cup' (162. 13), 'court dishes' (Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 29).

26. *Parenthesis*] The 'round brackets' () seem to be meant, but the earliest instance of this use of the word in *N. E. D.* is 1715. A quotation, however, given from John Day, '*Law-Trickes* III. Ej. Doost see Vulcan with the horning parenthesis in his fore-head!' indicates that this sense must have been current in 1608.

26. *proclamation print*] i. e. large type. I cannot ascertain whether any particular size was so called.

27. *doues-neast*] Cf. 'dovehouse' in *N. E. D.*—'a small petty house or place.'

31. *blind*] The uses of blind were somewhat numerous; see index. Here it appears to mean 'hidden away, out of sight'.

32. *paire of staires*] The ordinary expression for a flight of stairs,

preserved in the vulgar 'two (three) pair front (back)', for a front or back room on the second or third floor; also in 'a pair of steps'.

uprising and downelying] Apparently equivalent to 'altogether'; but I can find no other example of the phrase.

33. *single single*] Collier, whether by accident or design, omitted one of these words, and his reading may be right. Possibly the text originally stood 'one single kilderkin of single beer' and there was confusion in correcting it; but reduplication is a common error. A kilderkin was 16 to 18 gallons.

34-5. *runne through an Alphabet of faces*] Cf. *Selimus*, ed. Grosart, 1898, ll. 1898-1900, 'she came with a holly wand, and so blest my shoulders that I was fain to run through a whole alphabet of faces'; also 'quest of faces' in *An Almond for a Parrot*, iii. 349. 11-12.

P. 168, 1. *ounce boxes*] I suppose that some sort of small boxes are meant, but have not met with the expression elsewhere.

2-3. *in manner and forme*] A frequently occurring legal tag, generally 'in manner and form following'; cf. ii. 248. 25. See *Lov's Labour's Lost*, I. i. 207, and Mr. Hart's note in 'Arden ed.'

6-7. *Boot-haling*] i. e. looting, booty-getting.

10. *pinch-fart penie-father*] Cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 11, 'such penny fathers and pinchfoistes.' 'Penny-father' generally means a niggard, miser, but it appears also to be used for a countryman or rustic, without any special sense of miserliness; cf. *The Defence of Conycatching*, 1592, 'I found . . . halfe a doosen countrie Farmars at cardes. The sight of these penny-fathers at play, draue me straight into a pleasant passion . . .' Greene, ed. Grosart, xi. 46. 10-14. So also Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 127. 3, where Greene (x. 16 foot), from whom Dekker is copying, has merely 'a plaine countrie felow' and a 'countrie man'. This sense is not recognized by *N.E.D.*

15. *dust-weauers*] I have not met with the word elsewhere.

19. *breake*] i. e. become bankrupt; cf. *Merch. of Ven.* III. i. 120; or possibly somewhat as 'break up house', but I find no example of exactly this sense in *N.E.D.*; cf., however, *All's Well*, IV. iv. 11-12 'the army breaking, My husband hies him home'.

20. *wing*] I presume that a feather brush, such as is still used for removing cobwebs, is meant.

27. *murrion*] i. e. murrain, foot-and-mouth disease. For its being called 'rot' see Stow, *Edw.* I, an. 1275, quoted in *Cent. Dict.*

33. *son of a Cloathier*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 131, takes this, down to l. 14 of the next page, to be an attack upon Anthony Munday.

P. 169, 4. *Squier of low degree*] The meaning here is merely an inferior kind of gentleman. For the romance of that name see i. II. 10.

5-6. *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*] I do not know the origin of the phrase, which was in common use at the time. It was G. Gascoigne's motto.

6. *Coram*] i. e. quorum, 'certain justices of the peace, usually of eminent learning or ability, whose presence was necessary to constitute a bench,' *N.E.D.*; cf. *Procl. of Sept. 24, 1550*, 'so that one of the said Justices of the shere be Justice also of the Quorum.' The form of the word here suggests confusion with 'coram' in the legal phrases 'coram iudice', 'coram nobis'; cf. ii. 225. 4. It is not uncommon; cf.

Westward Ho! Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 353, ‘some Countrey Justice of *Coram*,’ and Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Scornful Lady*, I. ii. 116, where the quartos have ‘o’ the corum’, the folio ‘o’ th’ Coram’. See also *Merry Wives*, I. i. 6.

10. *Lady Swin-snout*] In Dekker’s *Honest Whore*, Pt. ii, V. ii, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 180, Captain Bots, a pandar, is addressed as ‘Master Swines snout’.

11-12. *a feather . . . for a fauor*] Perhaps remembered by Rowlands in *I'll stab Ye*, C 1, ‘You that protest the Feather in your Hat, came from a Countesse Fanne by way of fauour’; cf. note on l. 22.

13. *spade peake*] So *Midas*, III. ii. 38-9, ‘wil you haue your beard like a spade, or a bodkin?’ Fairholt’s note summarized in Mr. Bond’s Lyly says that the ‘spade-beard’ was long and cut straight across the bottom, though occasionally rounded at the corners. But were flat-bottomed spades usual at the time? The note deals with many other shapes of beard, on which see also Harrison, *Descr. of Eng. N. S. S.*, i. 169, and Stubbis, *Anat. of Abuses*, Pt. ii, N.S. S., 50.

14. *Roan*] i. e. Rouen. Nashe doubtless refers to the unsuccessful siege by Henry IV, which lasted from Dec., 1591, to April, 1592. The town was taken by François de Guise in 1562, but this is too early.

15. *Legend of lyes*] Alluding to the *Legenda Aurea*; see i. II. 5 note. The name is given to it in Bale’s *Acts of English Votaries*, ed. 1560, ii, D 2; cf. i, E 5.

17-19. *it is not the custome . . . barks*] Either a common saying or imitated in 2 *Ret. from Parnassus*, IV. ii. 222-3 (1757-8), ‘Base dog, it is not the custome in Italy to draw vpon euery idle cur that barks’. It perhaps goes back to the reply of Vespasian, when he was insulted by Demetrius of Sunium, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω (Dio Cass. lxvi. 13; cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 13).

20. *Deepe*] i. e. Dieppe.

22. *Mingo de Moustrap*] Rowlands in *I'll stab Ye*, 1604, C 1, seems to remember this passage: ‘You Captine mouse-trap, growne a desperat stabber . . .’ I cannot explain the name.

26. *Gurney or Guingan*] The first is apparently Gournay-en-Bray, a town of Seine-Inférieure, which was taken in 1589 by the Duc de Mayenne, younger brother of Henri de Guise. ‘Guingan’ must be Guingamp in the Côtes-du-Nord, which having declared itself on the side of the league was besieged in 1591 and compelled to recognize Henry IV.

30. *Secreta mea mihi*] Not found—if a quotation.

30-1. *Frustra sapit, qui sibi non sapit*] Cf. Publ. Syr. ‘Sapit nequicquam, qui sibi ipsi non sapit’. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 6. 20 ‘Sententia vel hodie vulgo frequentissime iactata, Frustra sapere, qui sibi non sapit’. Several parallels are given.

P. 170, 1. *cursed crue*] Apparently a name for some class of ruffians or roysterers; cf. Dekker, *Bell-man*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 81, ‘this is a Crew that is not the Damned Crew, (for they walke in Sattin) but this is the Ragged Regiment.’

2. *loue-lock*] A long lock of hair. From Lyly’s *Midas*, III. ii. 43-4, we learn that it might be ‘wreathed with a silken twist, or shaggie to fal on your shoulders’, and from Greene’s *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*,

Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 247. 5-6, that one could wear one's mistress's favour in it.

2. *legend*] Again a reference to the *Legenda Aurea*; see note on i. II. 5.

9. *eighteene pence Ordenary*] This would be one of the best class of ordinaries. Indeed, as the sum would be equivalent to some six shillings, at least, of our present money, it seems decidedly expensive. Ben Jonson mentions the two-shilling ordinary in *Every Man out of his Humour*, II. vi. (Fol. l. 1703), while Dekker in the *Gull's Hornbook*, E 1^v, mentions the twelvepenny ordinary as one of a good class and as frequented by Justices of Peace and young Knights, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 244. He also refers in the same place to a cheap one at three pence. See also Dyce's note on Middleton's *Phenix*, IV. ii. 57.

26. *A yoong Heyre*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 131, says that this passage appears to be directed against Lodge.

26. *Cockney*] Used generally for a delicately brought up child; cf. *Liberality and Prodigality*, IV. i. (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 360) :

I was at the first, like a cockney dandled,
Strok'd on the head, kiss'd and well cherish'd.

Also, as indicated by Collier, Dekker's *News from Hell*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 107, 'tis not their fault, but our mothers, our cockering mothers, who for their labour make vs to be cald Cockneys'.

32. *sweares and stares*] The two words are very frequently thus used in conjunction. To 'stare' seems in such phrases to mean little more than to swagger, to behave in an overbearing and offensive manner; cf. Greene, *The Black Book's Messenger*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 11, 'What bad woman was there about London, whose champion I would not be for a few Crownes, to fight, sweare, and stare in her behalfe, to the abuse of any that should doo Justice vpon her?' In Bernard's *Terence*, 'Hi gladiatorio animo ad me affectant viam,' *Phormio*, V. viii. 71, is translated 'Yonder fellowes come towards me swearing and staring like cauillers'. Cf. ii. 220. 9.

32. *after ten in the hundredth*] I do not understand this, unless it is to be taken as some fantastic form of oath; cf. iii. 128. 16-19, 'Danters Presse sweares after three Forme a day . . . it will . . . neuer haue done beating vpon him', and see note; also the odd phrase at i. 258. 6-7, 'I meane to trounce him after twentie in the hundred.'

P. 171, 4-5]. Nashe again refers to the privation endured by sailors as regards food at iii. 180. 35, &c.

4. *Haberdine*] i. e. dried or salted cod.

5. *poore John*] i. e. salt hake; referred to as sailors' food in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, II. iii. 98.

6. *without Mustard*] References to the practice of eating mustard with salt fish, and especially with herring, are very frequent. On account of the large amount of salt fish eaten in the early monasteries there was sometimes a special officer called 'Mustardarius' to look after the provision of the necessary mustard sauces; cf. Abbot Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, 1904, p. 208: cf. also *The Boke of Nurture* by John Russell, ll. 831-4, in *The Babees Book*, ed. Furnivall for E. E. T. S., 1868:

Sawce for Fische.

Youre sawces to make y shalle geue yow lerynge:
 Mustard is/metest with alle maner salt herynge,
 Salt fysche, salt Congur, samoun, with sparlynge,
 Salt ele, salt makerelle, & also withe merlynge.

See also p. 157, ll. 553, 557, of the same book; and *The Interlude of Youth*, I. 119. Of later allusions see Lodge and Greene, *Looking Glass for London and England*, 1594, Greene, ed. Collins, ll. 263-5, 'take this of me, a cup of Ale without a wench, why, alasse tis like an egge without salt, or a red herring without mustard!' Nashe again refers to the practice at iii. 68. 33, and has a story as to its origin in *Lenten Stuff*, iii. 200. 13-29.

25. *Dulce bellum inexpertis*] See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iv, cent. i. 1. He calls it 'elegans cum primis, et multorum literis celebratum adagium', and quotes from Pindar [ed. Mommsen, 1864, p. 462] γιλυκὺ δ' ἀπέρουσι πόλεμος.

26. *the smooke of his owne Countrey*] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 2. 16 'Patriae fumus igni alieno luculentior.' Erasmus quotes from Lucian, *Patriae Enc.* II καὶ ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ καπνὸς λαμπρότερος ὀφθῆσεται τοῦ παρ' ἄλλοις πυρός; also *Odyssey* I. 58-9, said of Odysseus

ιέμενος καὶ κοπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι
 ἡς γαῖης,

as well as several other examples of a similar idea. Compare *Euphues and his England*, Lylly, ed. Bond, ii. 185. 32-4, 'by no meanes hee could perswade him to goe into Italy, so sweete was the very smoke of England.'

34, &c.] Perhaps remembered by Lodge in *Wit's Misery*, B 3^v, Ambition... 'affected singularity, and is more proud in being the author of some new sect or heresie, then a good man is humble in the fulnesse of his knowledge.' For the Donatists cf. note on i. 85. 14; for the spelling 'Arrians' (i. e. Arians) cf. Ascham. *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 244, and C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, trans. 1569, fol. 24, l. 6.

P. 172, 13. *diuide Christs garment*] Cf. i. 114. 25, and note.

14-15. *Babies and apes coates*] i. e. clothes for dolls and monkeys; cf. Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 221, 'But you[r] Babownes, and you[r] Iack-an-apes (being the scum and rascality of all the hedge-creepers) they go in ierkins and mandilions: marry how? They are put into their rags onely in mockery.' Monkeys were frequently kept (cf. ii. 269. 23), and seem generally to have been dressed up; compare the story told at i. 306. 18-21.

15. *Diuell's breeches*] A kind of closely fitting trousers. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, I. i. 222 and Mr. Bond's note (Var. ed.).

16. *gally-gascoines*] Wide hose or breeches, apparently the same as 'gally-hosen', which Stubbes describes (*Anat. of Abuses*, N. S. S. 56) as 'made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece laid down along either hose'. The editor (360^a, mid) quotes Cotgrave, 1611, 'Guerguesse: f. Wide Slops, or Gallogaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose', and Harrison, *Descr. of*

Eng., N. S. S., i. 170, mentions their use by women—as underclothing. Compare, however, Rowlands, *Martin Mark-all*, 1610, D 1, ‘their hose sometimes Spanish, like to Ship-mens hose, and sometimes close to the buttocke like the Venetian galligascoigne’. *The Defence of Conycatching*, 1592, states that ‘The venetian and the gallogascaine is stale, and trunke slop out of vse’, Greene, ed. Grosart, xi. 95.

16. *a shipmans hose*] Loose, baggy trousers that will fit any one; cf. T. Wilson, *Art of Rhet.*, 1553, 54^v, ‘not made as a shippe mannes hose, to serue for euery legge,’ and Stubbes’s *Anatomy*, N. S. S., ii. 79, ‘They make the laws (as it were) shipmens hoosen’, i. e. they stretch them to cover anything: cf. i. 327. 7. Deloney, *Gent. Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 49, speaks of ‘marriners’ wide slops that reacht to the foot’.

16. *Anabaptists*] Cf. note on i. 94. 15.

17. *Familists*] Cf. note on i. 94. 16.

18. *a hood with two faces*] The phrase was very common; see *N.E.D.*, s. v. face, sb. 2, which has examples from c. 1475, and cf. quotation from *Rom. of Rose*, c. 1400, l. 7388, given s. v. hood 7.

19. *Barrowists and Greenwoodians*] Cf. note on i. 94. 15. John Greenwood was associated with Barrow in his propaganda, and was hanged with him in 1593.

24-5. *will prooue men before Adam*] Cf. *Christ's Tears*, ii. 116. 13-14.

26. *that there are no diuels*] I cannot learn anything of this.

P. 173, 1-3] Possibly a reminiscence of *The Defence of Conycatching*, 1592, where there is a story of a certain tailor who was ‘passing proud, and had as haughtie a looke, as if his father had with the diuel lookte ouer *Lyncolne*’, and dressed ‘so quaintly as if he had been some Espagnolo trickt vp to goe court some quaint curtesine’. A serving-man who meets him takes him to be ‘at the least some Esquire’ and therefore uses him with great ceremony, until ‘he spied in the gentlemans bosome a needle and threed’ and finally discouers him to be a tailor, Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 97-8. The custom of a tailor carrying a needle in his bosom is referred to by Greene in *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, *Wks.*, xi. 239 foot: ‘I spied a Tailors morice pike on his brest, a spanish needle, and then I fittid my salutations, not to his sutes [he was ‘a braue dapper Dicke’ and ‘as neatly spūged as if he had been a bridegroom’] but to his trade.’ Cf. also p. 241, 4-9 of the same.

4. *Minx*] In *Dr. Faustus*, sc. vi., the character Lechery is addressed as ‘mistresse Minkes’ (ed. Breymann (1604), 787), and cf. Mother Bombie, I. iii. 193. But perhaps specially used of the tradesman class; cf. *The Vncasing of Machiuils Instructions to his Sonne* (1615), p. 11 (quoted in notes to Stubbes’s *Anatomy*, N. S. S., i. 278.).

Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop,
She is a Ship . . .

7. *besmeard*] Cf. ‘Well quoth *Flavia* to *Philautus* (who nowe stooide like one that had beeene besmered),’ *Euphues and his England*, *Lyl*, ed. Bond, ii. 136. 36, &c. Mr. Bond compares the present passage, but does not explain the meaning—perhaps a coarse one.

7-8. *the Canaries*] A lively Spanish dance said to have been derived from the inhabitants of the Canary Islands (*N.E.D.*, where this is the

earliest instance). Generally used in the plural, but see *All's Well*, II. i. 77.

11. *interprets to the puppets*] There are several references to interpreting to the puppets, i.e. doing the talking in a puppet show, and generally as if there were but one show of the kind; for example, in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (Greene, ed. Grosart, xii. 132. 7-8), the player is said to have been for seven years 'absolute interpreter of the puppets'. At i. 281. 6-7 Nashe refers to the puppets at Paris Garden. See also the commentators on *Hamlet*, III. ii. 256-7.

14. *looking glasses in the pavement*] Cf. *Christ's Tears*, ii. 145. 4-6.

23. *checkmate*] i.e. rival, equal; cf. '1530 *Proper Dyaloge* (1863) 22. They resorte to lordes and great estates with whom they are dayly checke mates', *N. E. D.*, and *Impatient Poverty*, 230, 'Let not hassarde nor riotour, w^t you be checke mate.'

25-174, 8] The whole of this is based, so far as the examples of various kinds of generation are concerned, on Sextus Empiricus's *Pyrrhoniae Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 41, a work of which Nashe makes much use in the pages which follow. There may have been an English translation; see note on iii. 254. 670, &c., and it was accessible in the Latin of Henri Étienne (1562): I quote from the edition of J. A. Fabricius, 1718: καὶ τῶν μὲν χωρὶς μίξεως γινομένων, τὰ μέν ἐκ πυρὸς γίνεται, ὡς τὰ ἐν τοῖς καρίναις φαινόμενα ζώσφυτα· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὄντων φθειρομένου, ὡς κώνωπες· τὰ δὲ ἐξ οίνου τρεπομένου, ὡς σκυῦπες· . . . τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνύος, ὡς βάτραχοι· τὰ δὲ ἐκ βορβόρου, ὡς σκώληκες· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὄνων, ὡς κάνθαροι· . . . τὰ δὲ ἐκ ζώων σηπομένων, ὡς μέλισσαι ταύρων καὶ σφήκες ἵππων.

25. *crickets*] The *pyralis* or *pyrausta* here referred to is not a cricket; cf. Pliny's description of it (*H. N.* xi. 42) as a four-footed creature with wings which flies in the middle of the fire; also Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* ii. 2. I do not know of any similar statement about the generation of the *gryllus*.

31. *filthy Thames water*] Nevertheless the water of the Thames was supposed to produce the best beer; cf. Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, N. S. S. i. 160; in Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 204, it is stated that about 1591 'there were twenty great Brewhouses or more, situate on the *Thames* side, from Milford-Stairs in Fleet-street, till below St. Katharine's'.

33. *flying wormes*] The word 'worm' included almost every kind of insect; see note on ii. 138. 1. For the production of *ephemera* in wine cf. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* ii. 4; also J.-B. Porta, who in his *Magia Naturalis*, lib. ii, cap. 1-4, deals at length with the generation of living creatures from various kinds of putrefaction.

34. *by slime, as frogs*] Pliny says 'Mirumque, semestri vita [ranae] resolvuntur in limum nullo cernente, et rursus vernis aquis renascuntur quae fuere', *H. N.* ix. 74. Compare Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* ii. 56, and Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 375:

Semina limus habet virides generantia ranas.

alluded to] i.e. paralleled by, compared to; cf. ii. 66. 36.

34-5. *Mother Bunches slimie ale*] Collier says, 'Mother Bunch was, no doubt, some well known ale-wife of the time. In 1604 was published a jest book, entitled "Pasquils Jests, mixed with Mother Bunches

Merriments', and it was reprinted in 1629, with some additions, but with the omission of a part of the book called "A Doozen of Gulles". Dekker in his *Satiromastix*, 1602 [ed. Pearson, i. 219], introduces a mention of Mother Bunch'. *Pasquils Jests* was reprinted by Mr. Hazlitt in his *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, vol. iii: he also describes editions in 1635, n. d. [c. 1635], n. d. [c. 1650], 1669. The 'Gulles' are omitted in all these. In an epistle 'To the Merrie Reader' there is a humorous description of Mother Bunch. She was 'the onely dainty, wel favored, well proportioned, sweet coomplexioned, and most delightful Hostesse of England, she was squared into inches, being in height twenty thousand and a halfe, wanting a fingers bredth jump, in bredth eleven thousand and two inches and a nayles bredth just; she spent most of her time in telling of tales, and when she laughed, she was heard from Algate to the Monuments at Westminster, and all Southwarke stood in amazement, the Lyons in the Tower, and the Bulls and Beares of Parish-Garden roar'd (with terroure of her laughter) lowder then the great roaring Megge . . . her quotidian or daily diet was three fat oxen, two boyled and one roasted, with the Intralls: twenty three fat Muttons and a quarter [and a number of capons, chickens, and larks besides much bread and ale]: yet shee never did rise from the table (as saith the story) but with a good appetite. . . . Shee dwelt (as saith the Auther) in Cornehill (neere the Exchange) and sold strong Ale, whose health to this day all joviall drunkards never do forget; the many vertues of her Ale is impossible for one penne to write. . . . Mother Bunch lived an hundred, seventy and five yeares, two dayes and a quarter, and halfe a minute, and died in the prime of her charity . . . : ed. Hazlitt, 7-10.

Other mentions of her are to be found in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*, IV. v (Wks. ed. Pearson, i. 60), 'Am I sure that Paules-steeple is a handfull higher than London stone? or that the pissing Conduit leaks nothing but pure mother Bunch?'; *Disc. of Knt. of the Post*, 1597, B iv, 'as well known for his profession, as mother Bunches ale to nipiitay.'

P. 174, 2. *gold-finiers*] The reading of A is certainly the correct one and should have been restored. 'Gold-finder' was the slang term for persons who cleaned out jakes, dung-carters, or manure-men. See Middleton, *Spanish Gipsy*, II. ii. 166. The N.E.D. quotes Cotgrave, 1611, 'Guigneron, a Gold-finder, a Dung-farmer.'

2-3. *some by hearbes, as cankers*] Nashe's addition; not in Sextus.

4. *by ashes, as Scarabes*] Étienne translates κάνθαποι by *scarabaei*. Nashe has gone curiously wrong here, writing 'ashes' for 'asses'. As it is clear from the references to colliers that he really meant ashes, we are led to fancy that either he got the statement from some English translation in which the word was misprinted, or that he was quoting from a carelessly written commonplace book. For this and what follows cf. Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 23. He is telling how to repair the loss of a swarm of bees: 'In totum vero amissas reparari ventribus bubulis recentibus cum fimo obrutis: Virgilius [*Georg.* iv. 284 et seq.] iuvencorum corpore examinato, sicut equorum vespas atque crabrones, sicut asinorum scarabaeos, mutante natura ex aliis quaedam in alia.'

6. *Bees of Buls*] Discussed at length by J.-B. Porta in *Mag. Nat.* ii. 2. He cites Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 362-8, referring also to Aelian [*Nat.*

Anim. ii. 57]. See the quotation from Pliny in the preceding note. Many other references (as also to the subject of the next note) are to be found in Beckmann's edition of Antigonus of Carystus, 1791, 36-7.

7. *waspes of horsses*] See Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 368, the quotation from Pliny at l. 4, and Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* i. 28.

10. *Sparage*] i. e. asparagus. I do not know whence Nashe took the statement in the margin. Pliny particularly observes that sheep's dung must be used, *H. N.* xix. 42.

12-13. *the Coblers crowe, for crying but Ave Cæsar*] Alluding to a story told by Macrobius in *Saturnalia*, ii. 4. 29-30. On the return of Augustus from his victory over Antony some one brought to him a crow trained to cry 'Ave, Caesar, victor imperator'. This he purchased at a high price, as also a parrot and other birds similarly trained. A cobbler scenting in this an easily earned profit, purchased a crow and trained it to utter the same cry. It was, however, a troublesome task, and the cobbler frequently despairing of success exclaimed 'Opera et impensa periit', a phrase which the bird got by heart as well as the one intended. At last, however, the crow was perfect in its lesson, and the cobbler brought it to Augustus; only to be told that he had already enough talking birds and required no more. As he was about to retire in despair, the crow suddenly looked at him and said 'Opera et impensa periit', a remark which so pleased the emperor by its appositeness that he purchased the bird at a higher rate than he had paid for any of the others. The story seems to have been well known, perhaps because it is to be found in the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus (see Udall's translation, 1542, 1, 1^v, &c.), and allusions to it are fairly frequent; cf. Skelton, *Speke, Parrot*, l. 112, 'Parot can say, Cæsar ave, also'; *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 39. 29-31, 'The Image of a Prince stamp'd in copper goeth as currant, and a Crow may cry Ave Cæsar with-out any rebuke'; Lupton's *Sivgila*, Pt. ii, 1581, A 4. See also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i. cent. 4. 62 'Oleum et operam perdidii'.

Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 131, thinks that Nashe here alludes to 'Marlowe's *Edward III*'; apparently because 'Ave, Caesar' occurs in that play, I. i. 163.

15-16. *Hemlock . . . Quailes . . . Henbane Swine*] Cf. Sext. Emp. Pyrr. *Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 57 τὸ γοῦν κώνειον πταινεῖ τοὺς ὄρνυγας, καὶ ὁ δοσκίαπος τὰς ἃς. Cf. Diog. Laert. ix. 11. 9. 80. Pliny, *H. N.* x. 33 end (cf. cap. 92), has merely 'Coturnicibus veneni semen gratissimus cibus: quam ob causam eas damnavere mensae'. The statement about henbane is the contrary of what Aelian says in *Var. Hist.* i. 7, namely that swine are poisoned by it.

27. *like Saint George*] The saying was a fairly common one; cf. Lyly's *Euphues*, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 260. 26, 'lyke Saint George, who is euer on horse backe yet neuer rideth,' and again at 313. 13-14 of the same, also H. Smith's *Sermons*, ed. 1637, p. 486.

It is not clear what particular representation of St. George is referred to. An allusion in Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric* (ed. 1560, fol. 109) to 'a monstrous horse, soche as saint Georges horse was wonte to be', seems to indicate that a giant St. George upon horseback was a well-known figure in pageants, while a letter of Stephen Gardiner's (quoted in Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, vi. 27) instances St.

George on horseback on one side of the great seal as well known. He received from the Duke of Somerset the scathing reply that the figure was not meant for St. George, though it was so called by the ignorant, but for the king. St. George was also frequently an inn-sign; Deloney mentions the George in Lombard Street 'where the merchant strangers lie', *Gent. Craft*, ed. Lange, i. 68. In 1636 there were five taverns of the name in London; see *Taylor's Travels . . . through and by more than thirty times twelve Signs*. A passage in Fletcher and Massinger's *Elder Brother*, IV. iii. 203, where in reference to some characters who 'stand like things Gorgon had turn'd to stone', it is said that 'Saint George upon a sign would grow more sensible', seems to indicate that whatever the origin of the saying it was taken at that date to refer to a picture of Saint George as a sign.

29. *bandie factions*] The verb 'bandy' is used for (1) toss back and forward, and (2) to combine. The present phrase looks as though there had been some confusion of the two meanings.

33. *Raynold*] Cf. Spenser's *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, where the fox is called 'Reynold'.

P. 175, 6. *Vlisses . . . under Ajax shield*] This seems to be a mistake. The reference must surely be to *Iliad* viii. 266-72, where Tener is described as fighting under the shield of Ajax Telamonius. See the proverbial saying 'Aiacis clypeo tectus' in the *Adagia* of Gilbertus Cognatus (appended to those of Erasmus, 1574, ii. 443 a). The statement that he would never adventure save in the night, shows, however, that Nashe really meant Ulysses. The shield of Ajax is indeed referred to in describing his rescue of Ulysses when surrounded by the enemy in *Iliad* xi. 485, but the latter did not fight under it.

6. *tall*] i. e. valiant. Nashe refers to Ulysses as a dwarf at iii. 184. 36 and 293. 1901.

21. *rebater*] i. e. rebato, the wire framework supporting a ruff.

25. *Ship of Fooles*] Alluding to the well-known *Stultifera Navis* of Sebastian Brandt, first printed in 1494, translated into English by Alexander Barclay in 1509.

P. 176, 5-6] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 131, says, 'he that grows to a mountain in a moment by carrying tales or playing the doughty pander is, I fear, W. Shakespeare.' I see no reason for supposing any such allusion.

12-13. *Pride is the disease of the Spaniard*] So C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 54, trans. 1569, fol. 72, describing the characteristics of various nations, says, 'The Spaniardes bee preferred before others in pownde boldnesse of bragginge.'

18-19. *one of Augustus Souldiers . . . Heralds*] This seems to be derived from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 81, where in the translation of 1569 there is a marginal note, 'A lawe made by Octauiane Augustus for Heraldes.' The law was one which gave special privileges to old soldiers, amongst others the right to wear certain badges, but had little to do with heraldry in the modern sense.

20. *sooth*] i. e. agree with, bear out.

20-1. *you may commaund his heart . . .*] Not infrequent; cf. [if you] 'feed him in his humor, you shall haue his heart,' Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, M 2^v.

21. *out of his belly*] A usual location for the heart; cf. *Sir G. Goosecap*, 2154, 'the verie heart in my bellie,' and *Cobbler of Cant.*, ed. 1608, F 4.

22. *next your heart*] The phrase means 'on an empty stomach'. Cf. Greene, *Second Part of Conycatching*, Wks., x. 113, 'which strooke such a colde quandary to his stomack, as if in a frosty morning hee had druncke a draught of small beere next his heart,' and his *Disputation betweene a He and a She Conycatcher*, Wks., x. 277, foot, 'first in the morning he hath a Cawdell next his heart, halfe an houre after that, a quart of Sugar sops . . .': cf. also *The Poetaster*, V. i, 'Look you take Each morning of old Cato's principles A good draught next your heart' (ed. 1873, p. 132^a).

P. 177, 1. *passe iustling by him*] A story which illustrates the Italian dislike of being jostled—though in this instance in a room, not in a street—is to be found in Sir Thomas Hoby's diary; see Prof. Walter Raleigh's introduction to *The Courtier*, Tudor Trans., p. xxx. While 'the Lustie yong duke of Ferrandine' was speaking to a Lady at a masque in 1549, a Venetian gentleman went up to her to ask her for a dance 'and somewhat shuldered the Duke, which was a great injurie'. The result was a quarrel in which the Duke was killed.

10-11. *sitting on his close stoole*] Allusions to this custom are fairly frequent; compare Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 243, and the note in Nott's edition. It is also alluded to in an unseemly tale in *Scoggin's Jests*, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 144.

26. *burlibound*] The word is also used at ii. 220. 14 and in *An Almond for a Parrot*, iii. 347. 36, and 'burly-boned clown' occurs in 2 Hen. VI, IV. x. 60. Similar epithets are often applied to the Danes; cf. *Sol. and Pers.* I. ii. 59 in Kyd's Wks., ed. Boas, 'The sudden Frenchman, and the bigbon'd Dane.'

29. *thrumd hat*] A hat decorated with small knots or tassels of wool.

31. *flabberkin*] i.e. swollen up, flabby. In Meres's *Palladis Tamia* 1598, Ee 6^v, the name 'Chilones' is said to mean those that have 'flabberkin lippes'. The *N.E.D.* has no instance save this from Nashe.

31. *one of the four winds*] i.e. as represented in maps; cf. S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, C 4^v:

What's he that sits and takes a nappe,
Fac'd like the North winde of a mappe . . . ?

P. 178, 7. *bezzle*] i.e. hard drinker; cf. Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, B 2, l. 31. As a verb it occurs in Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. ii, II. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 113, 'S'foot, I wonder how the inside of a Tauerne lookes now. Oh when shall I bizle, bizle?' (Quoted in *N.E.D.*) As to the drunkenness of the Danes see 180. 16 and note.

27-8. *Corporal of the mouldcheese*] I have no idea what this means. For 'mould' = mouldy cf. ii. 158. 5.

P. 179, 24. *sinnowed*] i. e. ornamented; cf. Halliwell, *Dict.* The word is very uncommon.

P. 180, 16. *The Danes are bursten-bellied sots*] The Danes seem to have had a general reputation for drunkenness. Holinshed, *Hist. of Eng.*, bk. vi, cap. 23, says that heavy drinking was introduced into

England by the Danes in the time of King Edgar, under whose protection many settled here. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. iv. 17-20.

17-18. *Ouid . . . the Getes*] Alluding perhaps to *Tristia*, iv. 1. 89-94, and v. 10. 37,—if to any particular passages.

28. *inlarge*] i. e. increase (?); but ‘set at liberty’ was the more usual sense; cf. ‘enlargement’ at 166. 7.

29. *okerman*] i. e. a person who deals in red ochre, used as a pigment. Cf. ‘for no Red-oaker man caries a face of a more filthy complexion,’ Dekker, *Lanthorn and Candlelight*, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 259. See the description of the ‘reddleman’ in T. Hardy’s *Return of the Native*, cap. 2.

31-2. *Lord Mayors postes*] Collier says, ‘Alluding to the custom of painting the posts of the house inhabited by the Lord Mayor. The painting of the sheriffs’ posts is over and over again spoken of by old writers. The latter part of the sentence refers to the pageants exhibited in the city on Lord Mayor’s day, then the 29th of October in each year.’ So Dekker, *Gull’s Hornbook*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 224, ‘the cherry lippes open, like the new-painted gates of a Lord Mayor’s house.’ Nott quotes *Cynthia’s Revels*, I. iv (Fol. ll. 605-6), ‘the prouident painting of his posts against hee should haue beeene Praetor.’

P. 181, 2. *Counterfets on a Table*] i. e. portraits on a panel.

5. *tar-boxe*] Used jocularly for ‘paint-box’.

6-7. *Ballet of Blue starch and poaking sticke*] A ballad of ‘Blewē starchē and potinge stickē’ was entered in the *Stationers’ Register* on July 4, 1590 (*S. R.*, ed. Arber, ii. 553), but no copy seems to have been preserved. ‘Poking-sticks’ were instruments used in setting the plaits of the ruff: the form ‘poting’ occurs less frequently, but is found in *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*, 1616 (Simpson’s *Sch. of Sh.*, ii), IV. 273, ‘you Rebato-pinner, Poting-sticke.’ They were also called ‘pokers’; cf. Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i, II. i. Stubbes calls them ‘putters’ or ‘putting-stickes’, and thus describes them in the *Anatomy of Abuses*, Pt. ii, ed. N. S. S. 35-6: ‘They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse kept as bright as siluer, yea, and some of siluer it selfe; and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to anything so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall; and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes, then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie and stiffen any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say.’ He also describes a ‘setting sticke’.

7-8. *lawne . . . hospitalitie*] i. e. all the wheat is used to make starch for dressing lawn ruffs, &c.

9. *Laurence Lucifer*] Possibly the name may be given to Lucifer because St. Laurence’s day fell on Aug. 10, in the hottest part of the year. See *N. E. D.* under Laurence; the use of the name for an idle person seems to be later.

9-10. marg. *letter-leaping*] Nashe has the word ‘Letter leapper’ at i. 309. 9, but apparently in a different sense. I have not met with it elsewhere. Compare, however, Harington’s *Apology*, ed. 1814,

p. 43, 'What, if one should write *Misacmos* is malcontent; I would leap upon the letter and reply, By your leave you lie like a lout, lewd master libeller.'

10. *lanterne & candle man*] i. e. watchman. Collier refers to a series of plates of the 'Cries of London' in the Bridgewater collection, one of which 'represents a watchman with his lantern and halbert, while over his head is engraved the following inscription, "Lanthorne and a whole candell light: hang out your lights heare." See the *Bridgewater Catalogue*, 1837, p. 76, where a facsimile of the engraving is given.' The cut on the title-page of Dekker's *Bellman of London* is well known.

14. marg. *Polihistor Rimerus*] Mr. Fleay suggests Munday or Elderton (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 131), but there is no evidence. Of the two the former seems more likely.

14. *a great Tobacco taker*] So Dekker, *News from Hell, Wks.*, ii. 89-90, speaks of 'that great *Tobaconist* the Prince of Smoake & darknes, *Don Pluto*'.

17-21] For the drugs mentioned cf. Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier, Wks.* ed. Grosart, xi. 248 foot, 'maister veluet breeches . . . must if the lest spot of morphue come on his face, haue his oyle of Tartar, his *Lac virginis*, his camphire dissoluied in veriuice, to make the foole as faire forsooth, as if he were to playe Maidmarien in a May game or Moris-dance.'

18. *Lac virginis*] A recipe for its manufacture will be found in Lodge's *Poor Man's Talent*, ed. Hunterian Club, 1882, p. 12. It appears to be practically lead chloride in suspension.

20. *vergis*] i. e. verjuice, the acid liquor obtained from crushed crab-apples.

21. *oyle of Tartary*] Presumably 'Tartary' is tartar; but it would, I think, be difficult to derive an 'oil' from it, even in the very loose sense of the word in Elizabethan times. It may be the 'acqua di tartaro' highly recommended for the skin by Marinello; see *Gli Ornamenti delle Donne*, 1562, fol. 203, where its manufacture is described; but the complicated process would, I think, result in nothing more wonderful than a solution of potassium carbonate.

23. *floure of the frying pan*] I cannot ascertain what is meant by this.

27. *cherry-pit*] A children's game; cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 129. Instances from 1522 in *N.E.D.*, which quotes '1632 Randolph, *Jealous Lovers*, II. iii, Your cheeks were sunk So low and hollow, they might serve the boys For cherripts.'

28. marg. *He that wipes his nose . . .*] The same phrase occurs in the *Wonderful Prognostication*, iii. 387. 28-9.

31. *Hoe God, be here*] This phrase, once a pious salutation (cf. *The Four PP.*, I. i and *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, III. i. 13-14, 'Ho, god be here, where be yow maidens? god be here, What? is there no body to take my rent hens?'), seems to have been commonly used without any very definite meaning; cf. Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, I. i (near end), 'Try deeper [in the purse]: ho God be here: ha, ha, one, two, three, four, . . . just ten.'

P. 182, 3. *lay off their furde night-caps*] i. e. become bald—in allusion to an effect of the venereal disease.

3-5 marg. *Mother Cornelius Meridian*] The exact sense of these words is not very clear. The tubs used for the cure, by sweating, of the venereal disease are generally called 'Cornelius' tubs'; see Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608, ed. Shaks. Soc., p. 40, 'where they should study in private with Diogenes in his cell, they are with Cornelius in his tub'; Middleton's *Family of Love*, 1608, III. vi. 31-3, 'O, for one of the hoops of my Cornelius' tub . . . I shall burst myself with laughing else.' (This last quotation is from Steevens's note to *Timon*, IV. iii. 87; in the notes of the commentators on this passage much information will be found.) For a description of the method of cure by sweating see *The Treasury of Hidden Secrets*, 1600, H 2; also the works mentioned in C. Creighton's *Hist. of Epidem. in Brit.* i. 423, &c. The word 'mother' is similarly used by Middleton, *Blurt*, I. ii. 15-16, 'mother Cornelius' dryfats' and perhaps refers to the old women who seem to have kept houses—in opposition to the regular medical men—for the cure of this disease. See for example W. Clowes' *Proved Practise for all young chirurgeons*, 1591, A 3^v (quoted by Creighton), 'I could speake of many other abusers of Physick and Surgerie, but what redresse would be had, I knowe not, and yet I do not meane to speake of the old Woman at Newington, beyond Saint Georges feelds, vnto whome, the people do resort, as vnto an Oracle: neyther will I speake of the Woman on the Bancke side, who is as cunning, as the Horsse at the Crosse keyes, nor yet of the cunning Woman in Seacole Lane, who hath more skill in her Cole-basket, then judgement in Vrine, or knowledge in Physick or Surgery.' I suppose that some of the 'new saints' mentioned by Scot in his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 528-9, such as Mother Bungay, Mother Paine, Mother Still, &c., were really women of this class. As to 'Meridian', I can only suggest that it refers to the sign of one of these houses of cure. Later, at any rate, there seems to have been one called 'The Sun'; cf. *Pericles*, IV. ii. 120-2, with Fletcher and Massinger's *Custom of the Country*, III. iii. 10.

4-5. *yeomen of the Vineger bottle*] Mr. Fleay remarks, with evident justice, that this suggests a very different interpretation to the entrance of Nashe [Ingenioso] with a vinegar-bottle in 2 *Return from Parnassus* [I. ii. 1-3] from that usually assigned (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 131). See Ingenioso's first speech; cf. Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 242. 7.

6. *Cucullus non facit Monachum*] This saying is of very frequent occurrence. It is to be found, in the form 'cuculla non facit monachum', in Erasmus's *Coll. Fam.* in the dialogue between Claudius and Balbus among the opening pieces, but seems not to be recognized in the *Adagia*. With *cucullus* in Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Wks., xi. 226, and Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, 1596, N 1. Nashe has the English form at ii. 142. 34. The origin is not known, but, unless it is to be found earlier than St. Anselm, one might perhaps guess it to be a modification of a phrase in his *Carmen de Contemptu Mundi*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 158, (Anselm 1), col. 689:

Non tonsura facit monachum, non horrida vestis;
Sed virtus animi, perpetuusque rigor.

11-12. *swordes and bucklers go to pawne*] References to the replacement of the old sword-and-buckler fighting by that with rapiers and

daggers are very frequent. The change seems to have taken place about 1574-7, but authorities do not agree exactly as to the date. Stowe says: 'And whereas vntill about the twelue or thirteenth yeere of Queene *Elizabeth*, the auncient English fight, of Swoerde, and Buckler, was only had in vse, the Bucklers then beeing but a foote broad, with a pike of 4. or 5. Inches long, then they beganne to make them full half ell broad, with sharpe pikes, 10. or 12. Inches long, wherewith they ment eyther to breake the swordes of their enemies, if it hitte vpon the pike, or els sodainely to runne within them and stabbe, and thrust their Buckler with the pike, into the Face, arme, or Body of their aduersa[r]y, but this continued not long, euery haberdasher then sold Bucklers.'

For shortly after, began long Tucks, and long Rapiers, and hee was helde the greatest Gallant, that had the deepest Ruffe, and longest Rapier: the offence to the Eye of the one, and the hurt vnto the life of the Subiect, that came by the other: caused her Maiesty to make proclamation against them both, and to place, Selected graue Cittizens, at euery Gate to cut the Ruffles, and breake the Rapiers poynts, of all passengers that exceeded a yarde in length, of their Rapiers, & a nayle of a yearde [i. e. 2½ inches] in depth of their Ruffles.' *Annals*, 1615, 869 b. See also the *Annals* continued by Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1024 ab. This is quoted in a note to *Tell-Trothe's New-year's Gift*, N. S. S. p. 198. It states that the 'field commonly called West-Smith field, was for many yeares called *Ruffians hall*, by reason it was the usuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword-and Bucklers were in use This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, untill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20 yeares of Queene *Elizabeth* . . .' Cf. *Two Ang. Wom. of Ab.* II. iv (ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.* vi. 221-34), 'Coomes . . . Nay, mistress, I had a sword, ay, the flower of Smithfield for a sword . . . but a dog hath his day; 'tis gone, and there are few good ones made now. I see by this dearth of good swords, that dearth of sword-and-buckler fight begins to grow out: . . . this poking fight of rapier and dagger will come up then; then a man, a tall man, and a good sword-and-buckler man, will be spitted like a cat or a coney'; also *Barth. Fair*, Induction, 'neither to look back to the sword and buckler age of Smithfield.'

12. *Long-Lane*] Strype says: 'Long Lane, so called for its length, coming out of Aldersgate street against Barbican, and falleth into West Smithfield. A Place also of Note for the sale of Apparel, Linnen, and Upholsters Goods, both Second-hand and New, but chiefly for Old, for which it is of note.' Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii. p. 122 b, also 284 a. The 'brokers of Long Lane' are referred to in Dekker's *Raven's Almanack*, 1609, *Wks.*, iv. 175, and in *The Wonder-ful Year*, 1603, he mentions 'Vsurers and Brokers (that are the Diuels Ingles, and dwell in the long lane of hell)', *Wks.*, i. 87.

13. *Latine*] i. e. latten, a kind of brass, with, of course, a play on the word 'Latin'. The *N.E.D.* gives several instances of this pun from 1607 onwards. See also G. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 98. 19, and *Sir Giles Gooscappe*, 1606, ll. 2340-7. Cf. i. 61. 14-15.

16, &c.] This is the passage to which Nashe refers in the epistle

before the second edition as having offended antiquaries; see 154. 25, &c.

18. *Ploydens standish*] Edmund Plowden (1518-85) is frequently referred to as a typical jurist. He published several legal treatises.

19. marg. *Laudamus veteres . . .*] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 225.

24. *Diogenes*] The story is from Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 6. 32, who also tells it of Aristippus (ii. 8. 4. 75).

32. *for her fauour*] The reading of A is supported by 169. 11-12, but that of B and C seems possible.

33. *Phenix*] See note on ii. 50. 34.

P. 183, 8-9. *length and breadth of Christs Tombe*] It is perhaps worth noting that the dimensions of the Holy Sepulchre are found set out in some churches; see, for example, *Lyon Souterrain* par J.-F. Artaud, 1846, p. 125, where is mentioned a church at Lyons on a pillar of which 'étaient gravées les mesures du sépulchre et du corps de N. S. J. C., apportées de Jérusalem; les lettres . . . étaient en caractères carlovingiens.'

17-18. *Nicalao Maleuolo*] The name 'Nicholas' for the devil is common; cf. Wilson, *Art of Rhet.* ed. of 1560, fol. 78, where wandering thieves are called 'S. Nicholas Clerks' (cf. *Martin's Month's Mind*, B 1-I^v, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 151, and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 151). The Italianate form of the name suggests some vague reference to Niccolò Macchiavelli.

19. *The Poets*] Possibly remembering Ovid's description in *Metam.* ii. 768, &c.

P. 184, 3. *Mens cuiusque, is est quisque*] Cicero, *Res pub.* vi. 24. 26 'sed mens cuiusque is est quisque, non ea figura, quae digito demonstrari potest.'

4. *Dutch-butter*] The import of butter and cheese from Holland seems to have been considerable in the later years of Elizabeth—the name 'butter-box' was constantly applied to Dutchmen. Dekker, *Wonderful Year*, 1603, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 121, says that the Low-countries are 'built vpon butter-firkins and Holland cheese'.

6. *hey passe come aloft*] A constantly used juggler's phrase. Chettle, in his *Kind-Heart's Dream* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 70. 11, mentions 'hay-passe, repasse, and come aloft' as old jugglers' terms.

8. *Crocodile that weepes . . .*] This fable is, of course, of constant occurrence, but seems to have been unknown to the classical writers. Erasmus includes the saying in his *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 4. 60, without, however, giving any authority. The *N. E. D.* quotes Mandeville, cap. 31 (ed. 1900, p. 190), 'These serpents [i. e. the 'cockodrills'] slay men, and they eat them weeping.' The phrase is well explained in *A Brief Collection out of S. Munster*, 1574, fol. 90^v, 'The teares of a Crocodile: That is when one doth weepe with his eyes withoute compassion, and not with his hart and minde.'

21-5 marg.] Perhaps based on a story told of Tarlton; see his *Jests* in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 210, 'In Carter Lane, dwelt a merry cobler who, being in company with Tarlton, askt him what countryman the divell was. Quoth Tarlton, a Spaniard: for Spaniards, like the divell, trouble the whole world.'

23. *God of gold*] The expression is applied to a usurer in Beaumont

and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, III. ii. 52, 'Here, god o' gold, here's to thy fair possessions'; cf. II. iii. 104 of the same. Again at ii. 117. 24.

26-8. *as a Wolfe . . . doth balist his belly with earth*] I have not found this statement elsewhere. Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 34, says that wolves eat earth when pressed by hunger; cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* viii. 7. 1.

P. 185, 3. *gives him bread for his cake*] i.e. is a match for him. The expression is not uncommon. The late W. J. Craig referred me to Cotgrave (1632), s. v. 'Robert.' 'Le luy bailleray bris contre Robert. *I will give him bread for his cake, or as good as he brings: I will call him Iacke if he call me Gill!*'

7-8. *as the Elephant . . . Sea-whale . . . parched bones*] Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrr. Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 58 φένγει δὲ κρίὸν μὲν ἐλέφας, λέων δὲ δλεκτρυάνα, καὶ θραγμὸν κνάμων ἐρεικομένων τὰ θαλάττια κήτη. For the Elephant see Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 38; also in Mizaldus, *Memorabilia*, cent. ii. 11, and frequently elsewhere. The statement about the whale I have not met with in any other author. Note that Nashe should have said 'beans', not 'bones'. Cf. iii. 294. 1941-4.

14-15. *Præterit Hippomenes . . .*] Ovid, *Metam.* x. 668.

18. *Galley-foistes*] i.e. barges, not generally applied to sea-going vessels; cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, I. ii. 50-1, 'captains of galley-foists, such as in a clear day have seen Calais' (quoted in *Cent. Dict.*).

23. *uppon a boon voyage*] i.e. on a prosperous voyage. The phrase 'boon voyage' (Fr. *bon voyage*) is properly a mere farewell salutation, but it occasionally seems almost equivalent to 'voyage of adventure'—perhaps because on such a voyage good luck is especially desirable: cf. Greene, *Life . . . of Ned Browne, Wks.*, xi. 27. 11, 'Then all a boon voyage into the low Countries you trudge,' and Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, IV. ii, end, 'quaff unto the health of our boon voyage'.

26. *sing Placebo*] 'to act with servile complaisance; agree with one in his opinions,' *Cent. Dict.*, which quotes Chaucer, *Somnour's Tale*, D. 2075, and Sir J. Harrington, Pref. to *Orlando Furioso* (Gregory Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ii. 210. 31). Cf. Chaucer, *Persones Tale*, l. 617, 'Flatereres been the develes chapelleyns, that singen evere Placebo'. 'Placebo' was the Roman vespers for the dead, so called from the initial word of the antiphon (Psalm 114 (116). 9), 'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum' (*Cent. Dict.*).

P. 186, 1-2. *put down in brauery*] i.e. surpassed in dress.

6. *Fraus sublimi regnat in aula*] Seneca, *Hippolytus*, l. 981.

20-1. *his apparell . . . his stirrops, his nosegay*] There are some rather curious chapters on poisoning in *The Treasury of Anc. and Mod. Times*, 1613, bk. ii; see especially cap. 17, 'That a man may bee impoysoned by Pomanders of sweete smell, Fumes of Torches, Tapers, Candels; by Letters, Garments, and other such like things.' Near the end of the chapter the author mentions poisoned stirrups, but doubts their efficacy. Cf. also Gascoigne, *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 374 foot.

34. *our holy father Sextus*] i.e. Sixtus V, pope 1585-90. I cannot learn of any suspicion that Sixtus died of poison. In consequence, however, of a great storm which occurred at the time of his death it was rumoured that he had been carried off by the devil. See Ranke, *Popes*, Eng. trans. 1866, ii. 152.

P. 187, 2. *this that is now*] The words 'our holy father *Sextus*, that was last' suggest that Sixtus's immediate successor, Urban VII, is meant, but this can hardly be the case. The succession of Popes was very rapid at this time, namely Urban VII (Sept. 15–27, 1590), Gregory XIV (Dec. 5, 1590–Oct. 15, 1591), Innocent IX (Oct. 29–Dec. 30, 1591), Clement VIII (Jan. 30, 1592–1605). As Sixtus V had been hostile to the Spanish party great efforts were made at his death to secure the election of an adherent, and Urban VII and Innocent IX were strongly Spanish in sympathies, while Gregory XIV and Clement VIII were, though less devoted partisans, considered as satisfactory and supported by the Spanish cardinals. The Pasquil therefore, which I have been unable to trace, might apply to any one of them.

8. margin] Nashe is evidently referring to the rumour that Wolsey died by poison. Cavendish in his *Life* suggests that he committed suicide, as does Hall, who says in his *Chronicle* (ed. 1809, p. 774) that Wolsey 'perceiued some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men sayd that he willyngly toke so muche quātitie of strong purgacion that his nature was not able to bear it'; cf. Holinshed, *Chron.* ed. 1807–8, iii. 765. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, v. 55, distinctly says 'at length, by poisoning himself, he procured his own death'. Baker on the other hand hints at foul play. The question is discussed in an article by Paul Gemsege (i. e. Samuel Pegge) in the *Gentleman's Mag.* xxv. 25.

11. *Lants-graue*] 'In Germany, a count having jurisdiction over a territory, and having under him several inferior counts' (*N. E. D.*). There seems no etymological justification for the *s* (M. H. G. *lantgräve*, M. L. G. *landgrave*), which appears, however, to have been common, in English at least. Greene similarly uses 'lanslord' for landlord (but perhaps a misprint) in *Friar Bacon*, III. iii. 11 (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xiii. 69) and 'Landes-Ladie' in *Greene's Vision*, *Wks.*, xii. 266.

16. *Ruffians hall*] A name given to Smithfield. See the second quotation in the note on 182. 11. Cf. iii. 356. 3.

26–8 marg. *Little men...most angry*] Probably a common saying; cf. *Fam. Epist.* of Sir Antonie of Gueuara, ed. of 1584, D 7^v, 'Sir beleue me, the short haquebuts soonest break, the smalest fortis be soonest besiegued, the shallowest seas doe soonest drowne, in y^e narowest wayes is greatest perill, the streitest garments be soonest rent, and little men be soonest angry.' Also a somewhat similar saying in Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, IV. ii, 'When did you see a black beard with a white liver, or a little fellow without a tall stomach?' In G. Fenton's *Golden Epistles*, 1582, p. 319, little men are said to be *wisest*, and in Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, X 1, there is a chapter on the subject of the greater valour and wit of those 'of lesser stature and corpulencie'.

P. 188, 2–5 marg. *Homo is a common name...*] Cf. Lily's *Grammar*, ed. 1577, A 5, 'as *Homo* is a common name to all men.' Jesting allusions are very frequent; cf. Harman's *Caveat*, N. S. S., 73 foot; *How a man may choose a good Wife* (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ix. 53), 'she that is, like *homo*, common to all men' (quoted in N. S. S. *Trans.*, 1875–6, p. 193); Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i, I. v (*Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 20), 'ist possible that *Homo* should be nor man, nor woman'; Heywood, *Tuvalecio*, 1624, p. 285, 'The first [Meretrices]

like *Homo*, common to all men'; J. Taylor, *Works*, 1630, Kk 1^v, '*Homo* for all men is a common name.' The currency of the phrase may have been increased by the use of *homo* as an example of the logical 'species'; cf. *The Courtier*, trans. Hoby, 1561 (Tudor Trans., p. 223 foot), and marginal note '*Homo* both man and woman'.

16. *Tarlton*] Nashe has numerous allusions to him; see index. He died in 1588. Accounts of him are to be found in Halliwell-Phillipps' Introduction to his edition of *Tarlton's Jests* (Shakes. Soc.), and the *D. N. B.*; and a collection of references to him in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 250, &c. See also Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., pp. 63-9.

16-17. *her Maesties seruants*] See Dr. Ward's *Eng. Dr. Lit.* i. 453, and Stow's *Annals*, 1615, 697, 'Comedians and stage-players, of former time were very poore and ignorant, in respect of these of this time, but being nowe growne very skilfull and exquisite Actors for all matters, they were entertained into the seruice of diuers great Lords, out of which companies, there were xii. of the best chosen, and at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham, they were sworne the Queenes seruants, & were allowed wages, and liueries, as grooms of the chamber: and vntill this yeere 1583. the Queene hadde no players, amongst these xii. players, were two rare men, viz. *Thomas Wilson* for a quicke delicate refined extemporal witte, and *Richard Tarleton* for a wondrous plentifull pleasant extemporal wit, hee was the wonder of his time: hee lyeth buryed in *Shore-ditch Church*'.

18-19. *began exceedingly to laugh*] Cf. an epigram quoted in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 258 from Peacham's *Thalia's Banquet*, 1620:

To Sir Ninian Ouzell.

As Tarlton, when his head was only seene
The Tire-house doore and Tapistrie betweene,
Set all the multitude in such a laughter
They could not hold for scarce an houre after,
So, Sir, I set you, as I promis'd, forth,
That all the world may wonder at your worth.

29. *if they see a pigge*] Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 53-5 :

As there is no firm reason to be render'd
Why he cannot abide a gaping pig;
Why he, a harmless necessary cat. . . .

The Variorum editors quote parallels from *The Duchess of Malfi*, III. ii. 255, and H. P[arrot]j's *Mastive* [1615]. Antipathy to a pig is also mentioned in Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 84, as well as to eels, crabs, and cheese. Such lists are common; see for example P. Le Loyer's *Treatise of Spectres*, 1605, fol. 31^v and 53; there is some discussion of the matter in Agrippa's *Occ. Phil.* l. i, cap. 17-19, while of *natural* antipathies and sympathies between different sorts of creatures, &c., there is a long list in J.-B. Porta's *Magia Naturalis*, l. i, cap. 7.

29-30. *Sotericus, the Surgeon*] See Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoniae Hypothypotheses* (ed. of 1718), i. 14. 84 καὶ Σωτήριχος δὲ ὁ χειρουργός, εἴποτε σιλούρων ἡσθέτο κνίσσης, χολέρα ἡλίσκετο. It was thus the odour,

not the appearance, of the fish which affected Soterichus. The identity of the *σιλουόρος* has been discussed. It seems now to be generally taken for the sheat-fish, not the sturgeon.

30-2. *The Irishman . . . breake winde in his company*] References to this laudable peculiarity of the Irish are numerous. It will be sufficient to refer to Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. ii, I. i. (end), *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 101 foot, and to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*, IV. iii 'Yet still he sips like to a waiting-woman, &c.'

33-4. *Souldiers, if one give them the lye*] Cf. *Every Man in his Humour*, II. i. 4 (Q 1, l. 794; Fol. l. 868-9), 'Musco [who is disguised as a soldier] . . . and yet the lie to a man of my coat, is as ominous as the Fico.' Also III. v (Q 1, ll. 1914-17, Fol. 1989-92), *Tib.* S' hart you lie in your throte. *Cob.* How the lye? . . . do you long to be stabd, ha? *Tib.* Why you are no souldier.' So also *Othello*, III. iv. 5, 'He is a soldier; and for one to say a soldier lies, is stabbing.'

P. 189, 1. *Master Os fætidum*] I have not met elsewhere with any similar name for the devil. Cf. iii. 277. 1386.

3-4. *they are so troubled with brabblements and sutes*] Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, N. S. S. i. 204, &c., has some strong remarks on the great gains of lawyers and on the fondness of some people—especially Welshmen—for going to law.

5. *John a Nokes*] 'A fictitious name for one of the parties in a legal action (usually coupled with John-a-Stiles as the name of the other)' *N. E. D.*, which gives, as the earliest instance found, '1531 Dial. on Laws Eng. II. ix. 19 If a man haue lande for terme of lyfe of Iohan at Noke and make a lease'. Extremely common in later times.

5-6. *his henne doo but leap . . .*] Greene similarly complains that now a man will go to law 'if a Hen do but scrape in his Orchard'. *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 252. 1-2.

6. *Elizabeth de Gappes*] Apparently a mere nonce-name. I have not found it elsewhere, though 'atte Gappe' occurs frequently among the names of Yarmouth mayors and bailiffs; see *Hist. of Gt. Yarmouth*, 1776, pp. 193-4.

7. *Nisi prius*] The word is here practically equivalent to court of law, or a judgement in a court. The *Century Dict.* explains as 'A phrase occurring originally in a writ by which the sheriff of a county was commanded to bring the men impanelled as jurors in a civil action to the court at Westminster on a certain day "unless before" that day the justices came to the county in question to hold the assizes, which they were always sure to do. From this . . . the judges of assize were said to sit at *nisi prius*, and the courts were called *courts of nisi prius*, or *nisi prius courts*'.

31-3. *the touch of an Ashen bough . . . remembrance*] Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrr. Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 58 ἔχιδνα δὲ θίγοντος αὐτῆς μόνον φηγοῦ κλάδους, καρούται καθάπερ καὶ νυκτερίς, πλατάνου φύλλου. For the viper see Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ii. 7. 1 (4); but Plutarch says a beech, not an ash. See also Scot's *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 254-5. For the bat see Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 37; the touch of a bat having the power to render sterile the eggs of the stork, the birds defend themselves by placing in their nests the leaves of the plane-tree; for these leaves stupefy the bat and take away his power of doing harm.

P. 190, 11, &c.] Collier says, ‘This tale is supposed to be founded on fact, and to relate to the person Ben Jonson has introduced into his “Every Man out of his Humour”, under the name of Carlo Buffone : his real name was Charles Chester, which Nashe disguises by laying the scene near Chester, and by calling the hero a friar.’ Cf. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, 1898, ii. 184. ‘Charles Chester and two or three such scoffing fellows’ are referred to by Harington in the *Apology or Recantation*, ed. 1814, p. 50, as likely to laugh at him for his *Metamorphosis of Ajax*.

17. *After my hartie commendations*] Properly an epistolary phrase — the commencement of a letter, but often used with ludicrous intention in ordinary speech; cf. *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 4–5, and *Two Angry Women of Abington*, II. i (ed. Gayley, in *Repr. Eng. Comedies*, sc. iii. 379–80). In *Sir Giles Goosecappe*, 1606, I. iii (B 3^v), a character named Fouleweather is called in jest ‘Captive Commendations’ or ‘hearty commendations’, whereupon ensues the following dialogue :

‘Fouleweather. Why, what if I bee harty Commendations, come, come, sweete knights leade the way.

Rudesby. O Lorde Sir, alwaies after my hartie Commendations.

Fouleweather. Nay then you conquer mee with president, by the Autenticall forme of all Iustice letters, *Alloun*?

I do not clearly understand the sense of the present passage.

20–1. *Ad consilium ne accesseris . . .*] Given among the *Breves Sententiae* of Dionysius Cato as ‘antequam voceris ad concilium, ne accesseris’.

It is quoted as from *Pueriles* (*Puriles Q*) in *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, IV. i (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 444).

24. *Capcase*] A kind of bag or valise.

P. 191, 1–2. *Negue maior neque minor corpore locato*] Not found.

16–17. *Cornelius Agrippa, De vanitate scientiarum*] Although Nashe speaks contemptuously of this he evidently knew it thoroughly and made great use of it. See Introduction on Nashe’s reading.

17–18. *a Treatise that I haue seene in dispraise of learning*] Collier seems to suggest that the *Encomium Moriae* is meant, but this is surely impossible. In the sixteenth century there were several attacks, generally ironical, upon learning, among which may be mentioned the *De Honesto Appetitu* and the *De Triumpho Stultitiae* of Perisaulus Faustinus Tradocius, published together in 1524. The second of these may possibly be referred to here, but a cursory perusal has failed to reveal any particular passage corresponding to ll. 18–26.

24. *Facinusque inuasit mortales*] Repeated at iii. 242. 282.

27. *scandale*] i.e. aspersion, false charge ; the sense seems unusual at the date.

P. 192, 4–5. *I my selfe haue beene so censured*] The reference is presumably to the Epistle before R. Harvey’s *Lamb of God*; cf. note to 195. 25, &c.

8. *quarter Sermon*] i.e. quarterly sermon ; cf. ‘1583 Stubbes, *Anat. Abus.* II. (1882) 77 Preaching their quarter sermons themselves.’ N.E.D. Stubbes is inveighing against pluralists who only preach once a quarter.

9. *Saturnists*] i.e. persons of a morose or cavilling disposition.

Saturn was generally regarded as an evil planet, and those born under its influence were supposed to be affected with various kinds of melancholy, but the statements of different writers on the subject are by no means consistent. For a description see the 'Maruelous Anatome of Saturnists' in Greene's *Planetomachia*, 1585, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, v. 49, and cf. pp. 45-8. The long and curious list of the qualities of children born under Saturn, which is given in the *Kalender of Shepherdes*, ed. Sommer, iii. 142, suggests that the planet's influence was by no means wholly evil, for though such a person shall be 'false, enuyous and full of chydyng and full of lawe', and shall 'not loue sarmondis to here nor to go to chyrche', he 'shall be wyse in counselynge' and 'shall be a great speker of talys Iustys and of cornakyllys [i.e. ? chronicles]'.¹³

13. *Beza*] Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605). After a dissipated youth, he in 1548 joined the Calvinists at Geneva, and on Calvin's death in 1564 succeeded to his position and influence as head of one of the chief branches of the Reformed Church. At this time and until about 1585 his reputation and authority in England were very great; in 1582 the Public Orator of Cambridge, in conveying to him the thanks of the University for the gift of the *Codex Bezae*, wrote that his authority, joined with that of Calvin, was considered as surpassed by that of the Scriptures alone (Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 330; cf. also p. 299). After 1585, however, a party headed by Bancroft, which held what may for brevity be called less 'Puritan' views on Church government, and especially on the position and authority of bishops, had gained power, and the influence of Beza in England had declined, though he was still regarded as the most eminent of continental divines. Several of his works were translated into English.

Marlorat] Augustine Marlorat (1506-63) early in his life joined the Augustinians, and quickly became known for the power and eloquence of his preaching. He afterwards, c. 1540, left the Roman Church and fled to Switzerland, where he was at first a corrector of the press at Geneva, and later a pastor. He took an important place among the reformers and was sent by them on several missions. On one of these he was at Rouen during the siege of 1562, and after the capture of the town was charged with being one of the chief movers of the rebellion and hanged.

18. *Rosamond*] i.e. Samuel Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamund*. It was first published in 1592, in which year there were two editions.

21. *baffuld*] i.e. treated with scorn.

22-3. *not a Chandlers Mustard-pot . . . wast paper*] Allusions to the use of waste paper, or waste books, for 'stopping' (i.e., I suppose, covering) mustard-pots are very common in Nashe, as elsewhere; cf. i. 344. 5; ii. 180. 24; 207. 18: also Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, 1598, E 3 (ed. Grosart, p. 67):

Should I take it at hart, or for hainous,
To heare some Prentize, or some Players boy
Hath iested at my Muse, and scoff'd my ioy?
Or that some Chaundler stopt a mustard pot,
Or wrap'd Sope in some leaveus, her petticoate?

24. *Newe Herrings, new*] Evidently a street cry: cf. the 'sounge

of the guise of London' in *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, p. 338 (from MS. Rawl. poet. 185) :

New place, new, as new as the daye ;
New whittings, new, here haue yow maye.

31. *Pernassus*] There is too much uncertainty in the spelling of these names to consider this a misprint. Again at iii. 322. 1.

33. *Smith*] Collier has a note on some other Smiths, but seems not to know the one here referred to. Henry Smith (1550?–91) studied at Queens' College, Cambridge, and Lincoln College, Oxford, and in 1587 became lecturer of St. Clement Danes, London. There his preaching at once attracted wide attention, but his Puritan leanings seem to have stood in the way of his preferment. He published a large number of sermons, but, so far as I know, no verse save the work entitled *Jurisprudentiae, Medicinae et Theologiae Dialogus dulcis*, in Latin elegiacs, and the *Vitae Supplicium*, in Latin sapphics, which appeared together in 1592. See A. à Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, 1813, i. 603–5, and D. N. B. Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 131, gives entries in *S. R.* of his sermons from 1591–3.

P. 193, 28–9. *Multi famam . . . verentur*] Pliny the younger, *Epist.* iii. 20; cf. *Publ. Syr.* 'Famam curant multi, pauci conscientiam'.

32. *Salustius*] i.e. Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas (1544–90). His work had an immense popularity, thirty editions of *La Première Semaine* appearing in six years. The translation by J. Sylvester (1605–6) seems to have been hardly less popular in England.

P. 194, 1–3. *hath famoused . . . speech*] The passage referred to is to be found in *La Seconde Semaine*, Babylone, 5th day; see *Les Œuvres Poétiques de G. de S. Seigneur du Bartas*, Rouen, 1623, p. 334:

Le parler des Anglois a pour fermes piliers
Thomas More, & Baccō, tous deux grāds Chanceliers,
Qui seruant leur langage, & le tirant d'enfance,
Au sçauoir politique ont conioint l'eloquence.
Et le Milor Cydné qui Cygne doux-chantant,
Va les flots orgueilleux de Tamise flairant.

So far as I am aware no English translation of this part of the work had been published by 1592. One by W. L'Isle appeared in 1596. There is, however, some difficulty about the bibliography of Sylvester's translations, parts having been published at different times. A translation of Du Bartas by Sir P. Sidney was entered to W. Ponsonby in 1588, but is not now known; see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 171.

7. *Southwark*] The locality was especially notorious for brothels. See note on i. 217. 5.

27. *Masterlesse men*] i.e. servants wanting employment. Notices and advertisements of all kinds seem to have been posted up in or on the doors of St. Paul's; cf. Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 235, 'yet presume not . . . to cast an eye to *Si quis doore*, (pasted and plaistered vp with Seruing-mens supplications).' From *Greene's News both from Heaven and Hell*, 1593, C 2^v, we learn that the west door was used for this purpose, and that those desiring to

engage the advertisers wrote their names and addresses beneath the notice.

28. *on every post*] Allusions to the advertisements of writing and fencing masters, tooth-drawers, &c., set up on 'posts' are very frequent. It does not appear what precisely these 'posts' were, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the word means no more than a place where such notices were or might be displayed. An interesting example of an advertisement of a school kept by Humphrey Baker, c. 1580, evidently intended to be so posted up, is described by Mr. Hazlitt, *Coll. and Notes*, 3rd Ser. 277. Nashe alludes at i. 343. 6-7 to the posting up of title-pages of books as advertisements.

30-1. *Knight Marshals men*] 'An officer of the English royal household, who had judicial cognizance of transgressions "within the king's house and verge", i. e. within a radius of twelve miles from the king's palace' (*N. E. D.*).

P. 195, 3. *caret tempus non habet moribus*] I have no idea what this means.

12. *with a Flea in mine eare*] The saying was (and is) very common, the earliest example in *N. E. D.* being c. 1430; cf. G. Kytes, *The unlucky Furmenty*, 'As one that had a flea in hys eare A waye he went with sped.' See also Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 61; *Skoggin's Jests*, in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 82, and *Tarlton's Jests*, v. s. ii. 237; Greene, *Wks.*, xi. 71. 23-4; 173. 19; 265. 28; cf. Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 94, where a servant going down stairs 'shook his head like one that had a flea in his eare'.

19. *Quicquid in buccam venerit*] Martial, *Epig.* xii. 24. 4-5.

20-1. *tearmes . . . laid in steepe in Aquafortis, & Gunpowder*] The expression was ridiculed by G. Harvey, 4 *Let.*, F 4, *Wks.*, i. 216. 22, and elsewhere; and was evidently remembered by the author of *2 Return from Parnassus*, III. iv. 46-7 (1379-80), 'sting him with tearmes layd in aqua fortis and gunpowder.'

21-3. *rattle through the Skyes . . . Pesants eares*] Perhaps also alluded to in *2 Return from Parnassus*, III. ii. 27-8 (1216-17):

Els with his tongue he'l thunderbolt the world,
And shake each peasant by his deafe-mans eare.

24. *tired Jade*] 'Jade', though sometimes used without a depreciatory sense, generally meant a worn out horse; cf. *All for Money*, ed. Vogel, in *Sh. Jahrb.* xl. 1904, ll. 1156-8:

A tyred Jade by thee I thinke she hath not ben,
For she is properly a Jade that hath bene ouer ryden:
And because thou hast spared her nowe she is freshe and lustie.

25-6. *hath named me expressly in Print*] The passage referred to occurs in the epistle 'To the fauourable or indifferent Reader' prefixed to Richard Harvey's *Lamb of God*, 1590, a 2^v-a 3. See Appendix B, where the Epistle is reprinted.

27-30. *for reviuing, in an epistle of mine . . . Ascham*] Namely in that prefixed by Nashe to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589; see iii. 317. 6, 26-8, and notes on the passage.

31-2. *the son of a ropemaker*] This allusion to the trade of the Harveys' father would no doubt have been sufficient to indicate, at least to Cambridge men, who was meant.

33-4. *Thou that hadst thy hood turnd ouer thy eares*] On the analogy of such phrases as 'to pull their blew cases ouer their eares' [i. e. to dismiss servants] (Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 261-2), this would seem to mean to deprive of a degree. There is, however, so far as I am aware, no record of any such punishment being inflicted on Richard Harvey, but, as Nashe points out, Gabriel in his reply to this passage, in his *Four Letters*, E 2, does not deny its truth (i. 311. 3, and G. H. i. 200). There may possibly be an allusion to some such episode in a letter of Gabriel to Richard, in which he urges him to solicit his Master for his 'present restitution' (*Letter-book of G. H.*, ed. Scott, 183). The letter is not dated, but Richard is urged to work at his 'Astronomical Dialogues'. This may possibly have been the *Astrological Discourse* of 1583, though this, as published, is not in dialogue form. R. Harvey proceeded B.A. 1577-8, and commenced M.A. 1581.

P. 196, 1. *for abusing of Aristotle*] For the Aristotle-Ramus controversy see note on i. 43. 33-4. The Harveys throughout seem to have taken the side of Ramus; cf. J. B. Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 411.

3. *babound*] i. e. baboon; the form is not uncommon.

4. *Pamphleter of nothing but Peans*] This would seem to refer to *Ricardi Harveii; Ephemeron, sive Pæan, in gratiam perpurgatæ, reformatæque Dialecticæ*, 1583, dedicated to the Earl of Essex. The marginal note, indeed, seems to imply that the work meant was anonymous, but Nashe no doubt suppressed the name intentionally.

5. *the Prince of Philosophers*] For the phrase, constantly applied to Aristotle, see Cic. *Fin.* v. 3. 7; but Cicero there, as generally, excepts Plato. He was thus known from c. 1240; cf. Sandys, *Class. Schol.*, 1906, 572, or A. Bréchillet Jourdain, *Recherches*, 1843, p. 28.

6. *in thy Dialogues*] The *Ephemeron, sive Pæan*, consists of fifteen dialogues (see Appendix A); the reference here is to the fifth, between 'Gadatas', a bookseller, and 'Monopolus', in which the works of many of the schoolmen are sold at absurdly low prices. A long catalogue of authors is run through, thus:

In primis, accipies pro Dorbellia, assem.
 Item, pro Holcoto cum appendice, decussim.
 Pro Ochamo, tressim.
 Pro Hunnio & Hammonio, dupondium.
 Item, pro Gregorio Ariminensi, quadrantem brabantum.
 Pro Titelmanno denarium Francium.
 Pro Petro Haliacensi, grossum . . .

7. *for cues a peece*] Cue (i. e. q. or qu) = quadrans or half a farthing.

9. *Fresh-man*] Cf. iii. 367. 36, and *Faustus*, sc. vi. 57-8 (ed. Breymann, 676-7), 'Tush these are fresh mens suppositions.' The modern (university) sense of the word was just coming into use.

II. *a Brother . . . student in Almanackes*] i. e. John Harvey, who published Almanacks for 1583 and 1589 (cf. iii. 81. 30-3). See titles in Appendix A.

12. *he fatherd one of thy bastards*] Possibly the 'Astrological Addition' to R. Harvey's *Astrological Discourse* of 1583 is referred to.

16. *by the great*] i. e. wholesale; cf. ii. 211. 30.

17. *an absurd Astrological Discourse*] i. e. the *Astrological Discourse upon the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter* issued by R. Harvey, in 1583. Harvey foretold various effects from this conjunction and his book seems to have created a considerable amount of perturbation at the time; see Appendix A for some further information. The excitement caused is referred to by Holinshed; cf. note on i. 318. 1-2, and by many other writers: see, for example, Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, Pt. ii, ed. N. S. S. ii. 57, and W. P.'s *Four Great Liars* [c. 1585], B 4, 'An experience of this [contempt of God's providence] I found in thee [i. e. the reader—or the populace], about two yeaeres ago. A learned man (yet in this case far deceiued) wrote *an Astrologicall discourse of the cōiunctiō betwene Iupiter & Saturne*, wherein he shewed of great alteratiō in every thing to fall. At this thou wast sore agast, thy mind was incōbred with fettling thy goodes to set theē in order against that day: thy sōg for halfe a yeare was nothing els, but, the cōiunction the cōiunction: the day being come, what staryng was there and gazing into heauen, to see the meeetyng of those 2. Planets: Now all this while, where was Gods prouidence? . . .'

The whole of this passage was attacked by Harvey, who was replied to by Nashe in *Strange News*; see i. 311; cf. also iii. 82. 25, &c.

19-20. *anatomizing ... in Surgeons hall*] The Hall of the Barber Surgeons company was situated not far from St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in Noble Street (Stow, *London*, 1603, ed. Thoms, 118^a). The two companies, of Surgeons and of Barbers, were united by an Act of 32 Hen. VIII. They were permitted to take yearly, for dissection, the bodies of four persons, condemned and put to death for felony; and later they seem to have had a right to the bodies of all, except traitors, executed at Tyburn. Strype describes a yearly anatomy lecture lasting for three days before the students (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 209). They had a museum, with skeletons, &c., which is often referred to, as in *The Duchess of Malfi*, V. ii. 82-4. The 'yearly anatomy' is alluded to in the *Unfortunate Traveller*, ii. 304. 21-2. See also Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 496-8.

26-7. *in these expresse tearmes*] I can find nothing nearer than the following passage: 'All which euils and miseries (howbeit I know euerie man shall not personally feele them, yet, if there appeare not a sensible difference betwene certaine yeaeres immediatelye following, and other ordinary yeaeres, let me lose the credite of my Astrologic) shal bee the more dreadful and terrible, because . . .' *Astrological Discourse*, B 1.

P. 197, 4. *Jacobs Staffe*] An instrument used in taking the altitude of the sun.

6. *the Theator*] i. e. the play-house in Shoreditch so called.

7. *Elderton*] A popular ballad-writer of the time. See Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook* for list of his ballads—so far as known, but many of these have perished and he doubtless wrote many more. Little seems to be known of his life, for the references to him, though numerous, are chiefly concerned with his intemperate habits.

11-12. *Viuit, imo viuit . . . Vicar*] This must, I think, be a reminiscence of Cicero *In Catilinam*, i. 1. 2 'O tempora! o mores! senatus haec intelligit; consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit; fit publici consilii particeps . . .'

12. *he is a Vicar*] Nashe states in *Have with You*, iii. 84. 24, that he was pastor of Chislehurst, and Hasted (*Kent*, i. 104), mentions one 'Harvie' as rector of Chislehurst until 1623 (*D. N. B.*).

16. *comparing me to Martin*] See Harvey's Epistle before the *Lamb of God*, sig. a 2^v, in Appendix B.

18-19. *Jupiter ingeniis . . . sinit*] Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 4. 17-18.

28. *T. N., the Maister Butler*] See the Epistle before the *Lamb of God*, u. s. This was Thomas Nash of Eltisley, Cambridgeshire, whose son Gawen Nash was afterwards a person of some note (*D. N. B.* xl. 110^b). There are several references to him in the Harvey-Nashe quarrel; cf. index, and 4 *Let. E* 2^v, G. H. i. 201, but the only definite information to be gathered from them is that he had a beard, 198. 4.

31. *setting vp a sise of Bread*] i.e. I suppose, scoring up the charge for an allowance of bread.

P. 198, 2. *chipping*] i.e. the burnt crust of bread; cf. Fletcher and Massinger's *Elder Brother*, II. iii. 35, [an invention] 'to blanch your bread from chippings base, And in a moment, as thou wouldest an almond.'

13. *dorbellicall*] The word is derived from the name of Nicholas de Orbellis or Dorbellus (d. 1455), one of the best of the commentators on the *Summulae Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus, the chief textbook of logic from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. His name is often found in conjunction with that of Duns [Scotus] as representing the pre-renaissance learning, both having given rise to terms for folly; cf. iii. 130. 2.

21-2. *The Lambe of God make thee . . . art*] Cf. Epistle before the *Lamb of God*, sig. a 2^v, 'The Lamb of God make him [i.e. Martin] a better Lamb heereafter then he hath beeene heeretofore,' and sig. a 4^v, 'The Lamb make vs all Lambs.'

24-5. *Neque enim . . .*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 655-6.

27-8. *whome thou hast called piperlye Make-playes and Make-bates*] Epistle u. s., sig. a 3.

29. *the vaine Paphatchet*] Epistle u. s., sig. a 3. Lylly is of course referred to—if Lylly was really, as would appear, author of *Pap with a Hatchet*. The reason of R. Harvey's irritation against him was more especially his references to Gabriel; see Lylly, ed. R. W. Bond, iii. 400. 25-42 and note.

33. *cur scripti, cur perii*] Perhaps suggested by Vergil, *Ecl.* 8. 41 'Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error.'

34. *parvum prava decent*] Cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 7. 44 'parvum parva decent.' The reading of C 'parauum' looks somewhat as if an attempt had been made to correct the text to this, but the reading of A suits the context much better.

iuuat inconcessa voluptas] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 4. 31.

with a trice] This expression seems about as common as 'in a trice'; cf. iii. 6. 31-2 and ii. 224. 25-6 (where one text has 'in'). Also the *Death of Rob. Earl of Hunt*, I. ii (last line), Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt viii. 235, where the editor substitutes 'in', and *Liberality and Prodigality*, II. iii, *idem*, viii. 345.

P. 199, 1. *trusse vp thy life in the string of thy Sancebell*] i.e. hang yourself in the bell-rope, a not unusual exhortation to a person connected with a church; cf. Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, ed. Gummere

in Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Comedies*, II. 468-9, and Fletcher and Massinger's *Spanish Curate*, IV. v. 105-6.

9. *you goe by S. Gyles, the wrong way to Westminster*] I have not met with this expression elsewhere, but the point evidently lies in the fact that the Hospital of St. Giles in the Field was on the way to Tyburn. Stow says 'At this hospital, the prisoners conveyed from the city of London towards Teyborne, there to be executed for treasons, felonies, or other trespasses, were presented with a great bowl of ale, thereof to drink at their pleasure, as to be their last refreshing in this life' (Stow's *London*, 1603, ed. Thoms. 164 b). The bowl of ale was called 'St. Giles' bowl'; see Strype's edition, 1720, bk. iv, p. 74. Cf. the proverbial expression 'Save a thief from the gallows and he will be the first to show you the way to St. Giles', quoted at iii. 180. 16-18. Possibly the saying may have had its origin in the fate of some traitor or pretender to the throne such as Perkin Warbeck, who, instead of being crowned at Westminster, was executed at Tyburn.

11. *Honiger Hammon*] This is the first of a very large number of fancy names which Nashe gives to the Harveys. The majority seem to have little if any meaning and to be simple inventions. I know no persons of the name of Honiger, and only two of that of Hammon, namely a character in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* and an antiquary mentioned in Donne's *Satires*, v. 87,—both much too late.

22-3. *the tongues of Pheasants and Nightingales*] Alluding to Heliogabalus, who, however, ate the tongues of peacocks, not of pheasants, and of nightingales; see Lampridius, *Heliog.* 20.

25. *a new Laureat*] I can only suggest that this is Henry Savile, whose translation of part of Tacitus, *The End of Nero and Beginning of Galba*, appeared in 1591, with a preface, signed A. B., by the Earl of Essex. The work was dedicated to the Queen. Savile was elected warden of Merton Coll., Oxford, in 1585, and on the queen's visit in 1592 took an important part in the reception, being chosen to sum up on Sept. 23 the disputations in a Latin speech. I find no special reason for his being called 'Laureat', but he seems to have been a favourite at Court and it is possible that there, or at Oxford, the title may have been conferred upon him; though as a Court-office in the modern sense the laureateship did not exist before Ben Jonson's time (see *N.E.D.* s. v. laureate: the word was then generally used as a mere term of compliment). Skelton had, however, been much earlier created poet-laureate by both universities, and possibly also by the crown (*D.N.B.*). It may be noted that Lodowick Lloyd's *Triplexity of Triumphs*, also published in 1591, deals to a certain extent with Roman feasts and ceremonies; but I do not think that he can be the author referred to.

P. 200, 1. *the round Church in Cambridge*] i.e. St. Sepulchre's, a Norman church supposed to date from the time of Henry I, and to be the oldest of its kind in England. See Lysons, *Magna Brit.* ii. 50. The idea is repeated at iii. 266. 1030-1.

4. *Experto crede Roberto*] The earliest example of this proverb which I have met with is in Ulrich Molitor's dialogue *De Pythonicis Mulieribus*, printed c. 1498 (see ed. of Cornelis of Zierikzee, Cologne, sig. A2^v) and generally found appended to the *Malleus Maleficarum*

(see ed. of 1580, p. 667), 'unde tritum est apud populares proverbium, Experto crede Roberto.' The date of writing does not seem to be known, but Molitor died in 1492. See also G. Büchmann's *Geflügelte Wörte*, 1898, p. 391 (cited by W. F. H. King in his *Clas. & For. Quot.* 1904), where Antonius de Arena († 1544), *Ad compagnones* ('Consilium pro dansatoribus,' ver. 3) is referred to.

mast] The fruit of the oak, beech, and chestnut, used as food for swine, especially for fattening them; hence luxurious food.

5. *mixture]* i. e. loss; cf. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, viii. 288. 40.

9-10. *other Countries . . . call vs bursten-bellied Gluttons]* The charge of gluttony is constantly brought by English writers against their countrymen; see Stubbis, *Anat. of Abuses*, ed. N. S. S., i. 102-7 and the notes, which say all that is needed on the subject. Foreign writers seem, however, more frequently to attack the English for drunkenness than for gluttony; cf. Stubbis, v. s. 287, and Rabelais i. 15 near end, 'saoul comme ung Angloys.'

14. *with sallets, like a Swart-rutters sute]* There is, of course, a pun on the two senses of sallet—a salad, and a head-piece; cf. the similar joke in Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 257. 17-18, and *The Sackful of News*, in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 181. References to the light diet of Spaniards and Italians are common; see, for example, Massinger's *Gi. Duke of Florence*, II. ii: 'But Italians, That think when they have supp'd upon an olive, A root, or bunch of raisins, 'tis a feast . . .'; also S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, C 7^v.

16. *Poulters stalls]* A similar saying, perhaps borrowed, occurs in S. Rowlands' *I'll stab ye*, 1604, B 2^v, 'You Cittizens . . . You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles.'

26. *China Mustard]* Presumably some kind of spice, but I can learn nothing of it.

26-7. *odde patterns to make Custards by]* i. e. designs for the pastry surrounding a custard, which was sometimes elaborate: cf. Greene's *James IV*, IV. iii. 39, 'like the battlements of a custerd, ful of round holes', and the reference in Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 211 to custards in old times not having 'a wall (so much as a handfull hie) built rownd about them.'

P. 201, 1-3. *The Roman censors . . .]* From Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vii. 22 'Nimis pingui homini et corpulento censores equum adimere solitos, scilicet minus idoneum ratos esse cum tanti corporis pondere ad faciendum equitis munus.'

6. *foot-cloathes]* Cloths spread over the saddle and hanging down at the sides. These are frequently referred to as signs of wealth; cf. Dekker, *Wonderful Year*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 113, 'Sextons gaue out [during the plague], if they might (as they hoped) continue these doings but a twelue month longer, they and their posterite would all ryde vpon footecloathes to the ende of the world.'

7. *flesh budgets]* i. e. parcels of flesh.

9. *the gentle craft]* i. e. shoemakers. They were proverbially spendthrifts; see the tale told to account for this in Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 264-5. I cannot explain why they are called 'the red herrings kinsmen'.

10. *Plenus venter nil agit libenter*] The idea is of course common enough, but I have not found the exact phrase elsewhere.

11. *plures gula occidit quam gladius*] The English form of this well-known saying occurs at i. 39. 27-8. See the *Adagia* of *Gilbertus Cognatus* in Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 427; cf. 647. It is given by Heywood in his *Euaukeior*, 1624, p. 215, as 'a maxime amongst the Phisitions, *Plus necat gula, quam gladius*, i. surfets haue beene the destruction of more men than the sword,' and in a tract, *De Reginime Sanitatis*, written before 1570, by J. Katschius, in *Schola Salernitana*, 1649, p. 463, as *Plures mori crapula, quam gladio*. Cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Shilleto, i. 156, 258.

17. *Quicquid quæsierat . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 15. 32.

18. *rap or rend*] A not uncommon alliterative phrase (see *N.E.D.* s. v. *rap v.* 3, earliest instance 1528) meaning to seize, snatch, take. The similar 'rape and renne' is found in Chaucer, *G.* 1422.

19. *flesh-eating Saracens*] Apparently in allusion to their not keeping the Christian fasts. Thus L. Lloyd in the *Triplexity of Triumphs*, 1591, D 2, says 'The nativity of Mahomet, which was vpon Friday, is vnto this day among the Saracens solemnly celebrated with diuers ceremonies and sacrifices in remembrance of his byrth, euery Fryday through the yeare, but specially vpon good Fryday, in contempt of our Sauiour Christ, the Saracens haue such a royll feast, that the charges of that one dayes feast far surmounteth all the other 51. feastes'. Cf. iii. 13. 10, 'Saracen Butcher.'

21. *fullerie*] i. e. poultry, a not uncommon form; cf. 221. 6.

24. *flounding Fame*] Explained in *N.E.D.* as 'that flounders; plunging and tossing; stumbling'. Save for the present passage, no example of this sense is given before 1642. The verb is found with the sense of 'to choke up' in 1576, and with the usual modern signification in 1592. There is doubtless reference to some particular passage of a contemporary author.

25. *Doctor Watson*] Collier, having rightly stated that this is not the author of the *Ekatorupatia*, gives a long note on the latter. The person here referred to is Thomas Watson (1513-84), fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and later master. He was bishop of Lincoln, 1557-9, in which year he was deprived on account of his Roman tenets. He was left in custody from 1559 until his death in 1584. He is, I suppose, the witty Tom Watson whose jests are referred to by Harington in his *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, p. 15.

29. *outlandish*] i. e. foreign.

P. 202, 6. *challenge*] i. e. defend as correct.

13. *Prouant*] Victuals furnished to the army; also anything else provided free, such as clothes and arms.

14-18. (with the *Seruingman*) *put vp a Supplication . . . halfe penie*] Possibly some humorous ballad or pamphlet is referred to, but I have not met with anything of the sort.

19. *Alphonsus, King Phillips Confessor*] i. e. Alfonso or Francisco-Alfonso de Castro (1495-1558) a Spanish Franciscan. He was confessor to Charles V (Migne, *Nouv. Encyc. Théol.*, Biog. Chrét.) and Philip II (Prescott, *Phil. II*, 1855, i. 111), with whom he came to England. According to Prescott, while here he signalized himself at the time of the Marian persecutions by urging clemency and tolerance.

He afterwards accompanied Philip to the Low Countries, and died at Brussels. The most important of his works is that entitled *Adversus Haereticos*.

23, &c. *One night . . .*] Collier quotes a similar story from *The Schoolmaster, or Teacher of Table Phylosophy*, 1576 and 1583, attributed to Thomas Twyne: 'Phillip king of Fraunce, hauing certain poore priests with him at his table at dinner, perceiued one that sate farthest of at y^e bordes end conueying an whole Capon into his pocket. Whē dinner was ended, y^e King called him aside, & enquired of him secretly what he studied? who answered, Diuinity: why said the king, is it not written in Scriptures, that you should not be carefull for meat against the morrowe? yea sayd the Priest, and therefore because I would put away all carefullnesse, I haue done this thing' [ed. 1583, N1v]. The point of the story, as Nashe tells it, is, of course, somewhat different.

P. 203, 4-5. *the Countie Molines*] I have been unable, in spite of much search, to identify him. The reading of A in l. 33, 'foure yeare,' suggests that, whoever 'Molines' was, Nashe confused him with the famous Henri, Duc de Joyeuse, Comte de Bouchage, whose entry into the Capuchin Order in the autumn of 1587 attracted much attention at the time. He had, however, so far as I know, nothing to do with Alexander Farnese.

24-5. *new erected Order of the Fryer Capuchines*] The order was founded in 1525 and approved by Paul III in 1536. It was introduced into France by Catharine de Médicis and Charles IX in 1572, and there spread rapidly.

P. 204, 10. *iolly*] *N. E. D.* has examples of this intensive use from 1559.

11. *Dorter*] i. e. dormitory.

15. *a button hole lower*] Cf. Dekker, *Shoemaker's Holiday*, III. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 28, 'Hodge: Master, I hope yowle not suffer my Dame to take downe your Journeymen. Firk: If she take me downe, Ile take her vp, yea and take her downe too, a button-hole lower.' The expression is not uncommon; cf. *N. E. D.* which gives as earliest example *L.L.L.*, V. ii. 706, 'Master, let me take you a button-hole lower.' Again at iii. 6. 36.

19. *Pancredge*] i. e. Pancras.

21. *Diotrephe*] See 3 John 9. The name was also used by Udall in his dialogue on *The State of the Church of England*, 1588, to stand for 'a Byshopp, or Byshoply prelate', as being a person who 'louing to haue the preheminenice, disturbed the course of good things in the Church'. There seems little point in the use of the name here.

23. *snap-haunce*] i. e. with snap locks. Collier vaguely remarks that 'a snaphaunce was a species of firelock, from the German *schnaphans*'.

24. *out-shiftes*] i. e. outskirts; cf. i. 364. 33; the use of the word seems almost confined to Nashe.

26-7. *turne vp their heeles*] Cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, III. i. 64, 'My bulchinge tournde vp his heiles at Martinmas and now I lost my [sowe.]' Still in use, but more often with 'toes' than 'heels'. Cf. ii. 226. 28-9

29. *good fellowes*] Generally used for rowdy persons, boon

companions, &c.; cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, ed. Wright, 215, where some young gentlemen being brought before Sir Roger Chamloe to be corrected for certain misorders, 'one of the lustiest saide: Syr, we be yong ientlemen, and wisemen before vs, haue proued all facions, and yet those haue done full well: this they said, because it was well knownen, that Syr Roger had bene a good feloe in his youghth.' In T. Twyne's *Schoolmaster*, ed. 1583, R 1^v, we hear of 'a companie of olde Nunnes, that had been good Fellowes in their youth'.

32-3. *euer since we haue mixt our selues with the Low-countries*] Allusions to the heavy drinking of the Dutch are very frequent. Cf. Camden, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum . . . regnante Elizabetha*, anno 1581 (ed. 1717, ii. 369) 'Hoc tamen non praeterendum, Anglos, qui ex omnibus Septentrionalibus gentibus minime fuerant bibaces, et ob sobrietatem laudati, ex his Belgicis bellis didicisse immodico potu se proluere, et aliorum saluti propinando suam affigere. Adeoque iam inde ebrietatis vitium per universam gentem proserpsit, ut legum severitate nostro tempore primum fuerit cohibitum.' (Quoted from English trans. by Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 679.) See also Gascoigne's *Voyage into Holland An. 1572*, *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 391-3.

P. 205, 7-9] The passage is referred to by Lodge in his *Wits Misery*, 1596, L 4, 'This Deuill of a drunkard . . . hath all the tearmes of art set downe by T. N. in his Supplication to the Deuill, *Primum ad fundum, secundum bis medium, tertium ut primum, sic debes bibere vinum.*'

7. *super nagulum . . .*] Nashe again mentions several of these drinking terms in *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 266. 1038-9; cf. also Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 206, 'teach me . . . how to take the Germanies vpsy freeze, the Danish Rowsa, the Switzers stoap of Rhenish, the Italianis Parmizant, the Englishmans healthes, his hoopes, cans, halfecans, Gloues, Frolicks, and flapdragons.' These customs are frequently referred to, but the exact nature of some is not clear. 'Super nagulum,' which is sufficiently explained in Nashe's own note, is mentioned in Massinger's *Virgin Martyr*, II. i.; *Conceits, Clinches, &c.*, in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, iii. 27, and frequently elsewhere, and the custom is alluded to in other terms in Dekker's *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i., I. v. *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 22, 'I ha done you right on my thumb naile,' and Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 19, 'Were it the best Hipocras, I would turn it over my naile.' Compare also the French expression 'faire rubis sur l'ongle', on which see the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, xiv, 209, also 98, 154.

Hunters hoop] Again in *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 265, 1009-10. In the *Gull's Hornbook*, quoted above, 'hoopes' are apparently measures of drink; cf. 206. 25.

8. *vpsy freeze*] i. e. in the Frisian manner (from Dutch *op zijn Friesch*), *Cent. Dict.*, but the uses of this and the similar 'vpsee-Dutch' and 'vpsee-English' are somewhat puzzling.

crosse] I cannot explain this. It is not clear whether it belongs to 'vpsy freeze' or is a separate term; cf. iii. 265. 1039

gloues] 'Some kind of drinking vessel' *N.E.D.*, with the example quoted above from Dekker, and no other.

mumpes] So far as I am aware the meaning is unknown.

frolickes] 'humorous verses circulated at a feast' *N.E.D.*, but

the quotations are hardly convincing. They indicate, however, that 'frolickes' were something passed round the table. In *Greene's News both from Heaven and Hell*, 1593, G 1, we find the curious phrase, 'she . . . lookt me in the face as wantonly as if she had come lately where the frolike had runne rounde about the house.'

9. *dominiering*] i.e. swaggering, but the meaning of the word seems to have been influenced by its frequent use in such phrases as 'dominere in Tauerns' (166. 10-11), and perhaps by the Dutch *domineren*, to feast (see *N. E. D.*), until it came to imply drinking as well as swaggering.

14. *stand vpon termes*] i.e. argue, dispute.

24. *of all other*] i.e. especially, 'above all others,' generally with a superlative.

P. 206, 1. *Clim of the clough*] Collier refers to the well-known ballad of *Adam Bell*, *Clim of the Clough*, and *William of Cloudeslie* (see Hazlitt's *Early Pop. Poetry*, ii. 131, and Laing's *Pop. Poet. of Scotland*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 90, &c.), but remarks that it is not clear why the devil should be called by this name. There is nothing in the ballad about drinking scalding lead and sulphur in hell.

From N. Breton's *Pasquils Pass and passeth not*, 1600, B 2^v, it would appear that 'Clim of the Clough' had some other sense, but the passage is very obscure. Can this have been the nickname of some contemporary clown, or possibly fire-eater? The stanza runs:

He that will passe into a Clownes conceit,
Let him take heede he know a clouted shooe,
Lest he be cousoned with a close deceit:
When seely Fooles know not what Knaues can doe,
With, Yea, and Nay, to bring an Ideot to:
But if he kindly know Clim of the Clough,
Then let him passe, he shall doe well enough.

Compare also *The Alchemist*, I. ii :

I bring you
No cheating Clim o' the Cloughs, or Claribels,
That look as big as five-and-fifty, and flush ;
And spit out secrets like hot custard.

So too Gascoigne, *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 72. 6, 'Clim of the Clough then takes his heelles, tis time for him to creepe,' but this passage also is far from clear.

5-6. *when theres a great execution*] I cannot explain what is meant by this.

8-9. *The Proverbe . . . knaue*] I do not know this proverb.

15-16. *may not pisce out all their . . . thrift against the walles*] Professor Bang refers me to *Acolastus*, ed. De Man, 3840-1, 'Where is that stroy good (that hath spent upon hoores and pyssed agaynst the walles, all that he hath.)' Cf. i. 287. 19-20 and note.

16-25. *King Edgar . . . no more*] This looks like a curiously perverted recollection of a passage in the *Chronicles*. Holinshed, *Chron.* ed. 1807-8, i. 694, says, 'King Edgar to reforme in part such excessive quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure,

marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assaigned by such measured cups.' Stowe, *Annals*, 1615, 85 b, has much the same; see William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum*, l. ii, cap. 8 (*Chron. and Mem.*, Malmesbury, *De Gestis*, i. 166).

26-7. *the olde Marquesse of Pisana*] I have been unable to identify him.

28. *Andron of Argos*] see Diog. Laert. ix. 11. 9. 81, where the statement is given on the authority of Aristotle; also Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr. Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 84.

P. 207, 4-5. *standing quag-mires . . . of English beere*] There was a considerable export of English beer; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 292. He remarks that in a single month [November, ? 1580] 500 tun, and 1450 barrels were exported, 'which shows in what Request our English Beer was then abroad.'

6-7. *De Arte bibendi*] A poem by Vincentius Obsopaeus (d. 1539), first published in 1536. Nashe again refers to it in *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 277, 1406-7, but as the work is in reality a satire of which the serious purpose could hardly be mistaken, it seems likely that he knew no more of it than the title.

8-9. *we haue generall rules and iniunctions*] Collier illustrates this from B. Rich's *Irish Hubbub*: I give the passage, which he printed from a later edition, from the original of 1617, D 4^v, 'The institution in drinking of a Health, is full of ceremonie, and obserued by Tradition, as the Papists doe their praying to Saints.'

'He that begins the Health, hath his prescribed orders: first vncouering his head, he takes a full cup in his hand, and settling his countenance with a graue aspect, he craues for audience: silence being once obtained, hee begins to breath out the name, peraduenture, of some Honorable Personage, that is worthy of a better regard, then to haue his name polluted, at so vnfitting a time, amongst a company of Drunkards, but his Health is drunke to, and hee that pledgeth, must likewise of with his Cap, kisse his fingers, and bowing [*sic*] hymselfe in signe of a reuerent acceptance; when the Leader sees his Follower thus prepared, he soupes vp his broath, turnes the bottome of the Cuppe vpward, and in ostentation of his dexteritie, giues the cup a phylip, to make it cry *Tynge* [*Twango*—Collier]. And thus the first Scene is acted.'

'The cup being newly replenished to the breadth of a haire, he that is the pledger must now begin his part, and thus it goes round throughout the whole company, prouided alwaies by a Canon set downe by the first Founder, there must be three at the least still vncouered, till the Health hath had the full passage: which is no sooner ended, but another begins againe, and he drinke a Health, to his *Lady of little worth*, or peraduenture to his *light heel'd mistris*.'

11. *to keepe your first man*] cf. ii. 248. 32. Presumably the order of drinking is referred to, but the exact sense is not clear. We also find 'last man', as in *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i, l. v., Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 22, 'Come: play't off to me, I am your last man.'

12. *flockes*] Cf. iii. 269. 1110. The meaning is, apparently, dregs.

14. *shooing horne*] The expression is frequent; cf. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, ed. Manly, in *Specimens*, vol. ii, l. i. 22-4, 'Diccon: . . . I . . . caught a slyp of bacon, . . . Which . . . vnles my purpose fayle,

Shall serue for a shoinghorne to draw on two pots of ale.' Also Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 14, ' "I will bestow this bottle of wine on thee to breakfast. Beside that, I have brought here a modicome that will prove as good a shooing-horne to drawe downe a cup of muskadine, as may be." And therewithall shee plukt out her powdred beefe and her colde capon.' Dekker in the *Gull's Hornbook*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 207, 5-6 mentions 'Rashers a' th' coales, Modicums and shooing-hornes'; Nashe has the expression again at iii. 184. 16.

pul on] Frequent in this connexion, even without the word 'shoeing-horn'; cf. Lylly's *Mother Bomby*, IV. ii. 241, 'a pint of curtesie puls on a pot of wine.' Cf. i. 255. 11.

18-208, 4] Classification of the various degrees or kinds of drunkenness, especially by comparison with beasts, was common. The four generally recognized stages were sheep-drunk, lion-drunk, ape-drunk, and sow-drunk; cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, H. 44-5, 'I trowe that ye dronken han wyn ape, And that is when men pleyen with a straw,' and Prof. Skeat's note on the passage. See also the *Ship of Fools*, trans. Barclay, ed. Jamieson, i. 96, where in a long description of drunkards, which may perhaps have been known to Nashe, we find

Some sowe dronke, swaloyng mete without measure
Some mawdelayne dronke, mournyng lowly and hye . . .
Some are Ape dronke full of laughter and of toyes.

Similarly in *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (in Simpson, *Sch. of Sh.* ii), III. 3-7, 'Drums Lyon drunke, and hee dings the pots about, cracks the glasses, swaggers with his owne shaddow, Honesty Tymothy is Mawdelin drunke, and he weepes for kindnesse, and kisses the hilts of Iacke Drums dagger, Mounsieur's Goat drunke, and he shrugs, and skrubs, and hee's it for a wench.'

25-26. *a little more drinke, and a fewe more cloathes]* Again at i. 332. 11-12. Is there allusion to some saying here? Cf. the last words of Sir J. Harington's *Ulysses upon Ajax* 1596, 'And so to Tarlton's testament I commend you; A little more drinke, then a little more bread; a little more bread and a few more clothes; and God be at your sport. M. Tarlton.' There is perhaps some similar joke in 'dryncke more dryncke, & a great deale of dryncke, and a lytle crome of breade' in a rather pointless story in the *Merry Tales of Skelton*, Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 8.

34. *Martin]* i.e. a kind of monkey. Hence the title of *A Whip for an Ape*, and many similar allusions in the Martinist controversy.

P. 208, 14. *weare alehouse daggers at your backes].* Cf. i. 61. 21.

17. *a snuffe]* cf. iii. 269. 1109-10. Apparently 'snuff' meant (1) a candle-end, and (2) a heel-tap, though why it should have the latter sense is not very clear. For the former cf. *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 87, for the latter, S. Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, E 6, 'Heele looke vnto your water well enough, And hath an eye that no man leaues a snuffe.' Cf. iii. 269. 1109-10.

21. *to talke out of a Cage]* There were cages in every ward of London for the punishment of vagabonds; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 127. They were first erected in 1503, but neither Harman nor Harrison appear to mention their use. The

passage from Chettle, quoted in note on i. 310. 3, suggests that there was a well-known 'Cage' in Southwark, but though in Stow's *London*, u. s. bk. iv, p. 29-30, the Southwark prisons are described at length, nothing is said about it.

23. *Fol Long*] Collier remarks that nothing is known about him. A possible, though hardly probable, reference to him may be noted in Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, 1596, L 4, where it is recorded that one of the devils of drunkenness has a book in which are represented, instead of the nine worthies, 'all the faithfull drunkards of his age : he hath killed himselfe with Aquauita, another with Rennish wine and Oisters, another with Heringes and pickeld herrings.' It is conceivable that the first of these drunkards may be Fol Long, just as one of the others may possibly be Greene. S. Rowlands copied the passage, with slight amplification, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, E 7^v, a work which is very largely indebted to that of Lodge.

29-34. *Men, when they are idle . . . money*] There is perhaps a reminiscence of this in S. Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, A 7 (Epigr. 7) :

Speake Gentlemen, what shall we do to day?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse ?
Or shall we go to the *Globe* and see a Play ?
Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house ?
Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,
To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

30. *the Stilliard*] A place on the north bank of the Thames, a short distance above London Bridge. There was here in early times a settlement of German merchants, to whom in 1259 a charter was granted. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, pp. 202-3. The Stele-house itself does not seem to have been granted to the guild until 1458 (Stow, u. s. 204). It was for a long time after this the centre of the foreign trade of the city. There was a tavern there; cf. J. Taylor's *Travels . . . through and by more then thirty times twelve Signes*, 1636, D 7, where 'The Stilliard' is mentioned as one of the 'fourre Houses in *London* that doe sell Rhennish Wine, inhabited onely by *Dutchmen*.' For several other references to it see the note on 'the Rhenesh-wine-house ith Stillyard' in Dekker's *Westward Ho! Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 385; also Barnes, *Devil's Charter*, l. 1584. Cf. also descriptive note in the Braun and Hogenberg map of London.

P. 209, 1. *at hand, quothe pick-purse*] A common phrase of no very definite meaning; cf. 1 Hen. IV, II. i. 53, and the passage quoted from *The Black Book* at p. 83, l. 17 above.

5-6. *seenie in the sweetening*] The late W. J. Craig, whom I consulted as to this expression, was of opinion that no more is meant than 'skilled in flattery'; he compared the use of 'sweeten' in *Tr. and Cres.* IV. iv. 88. Dekker in *Old Fortunatus*, II, ii, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 118, has, 'Sweeten mine eares, good father, with some more,' i.e. go on with your pleasant tale.

15. *eating sixe times every day*] Harrison in his *Description of England*, N. S. S., vol. i, p. 162, says, 'Heretofore there hath beeene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone,

beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest.... Now these od repasts—thanked be God—are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yoong hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie.'

21. *under-meale*] This seems properly to mean morning meal, i.e. dinner, also the time of the chief meal, i.e. at first, morning, and later, afternoon. The *Cent. Dict.* explains the word in the present passage as 'an afternoon sleep'; cf. iii. 163. 34. But in the *Preface to Menaphon*, iii. 321. 19, it cannot possibly have this meaning, but seems rather to stand for the time after the midday meal. I do not understand the reference to exercising the eyes. Sleep after a heavy meal was considered to be injurious to them; cf. Arnaud de Villeneuve's commentary on the *Schola Salernitana*, ed. 1649, p. 325 foot.

P. 210. 4-5. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30.

23. *Besonian*] i.e. beggar, rogue, from *Ital. bisogno*, need, or a greedy fellow. Cf. 2 Hen. IV, V. iii. 119.

27. *carpet Peere*] A similar formation to 'carpet-knight', i. 286. 21; a courtier without real achievements.

28. *oppose*] Used almost interchangeably with 'expose'; see iii. 315. 10 footnote, 324. 19 footnote, also *King Lear*, IV. vii. 32: 'Was this a face To be oppos'd [Qos. exposed] against the iarring windes?' (N.E.D.).

P. 211, 5-7. *as to propose one man to my selfe ... vertue*] Cf. i. 48. 18-21, and note.

11. *Atlanta*] Spelt 'Atlanta' at i. 11. 32, which was perhaps intended here. See Ovid, *Metam.* x. 662-80.

26. *Nam si foras hostem non habent ...*] Livy, xxx. 44. 9 'Nulla magna civitas diu quiescere potest. Si foris hostem non habet, domi invenit.'

34. marg. *The defence of Playes*] It is to be remembered that the play-houses within London had been closed on June 22 or 23 this year in consequence of some rioting of apprentices in Southwark. An account of the affair will be found in Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, bk. iv, p. 19. In origin it had nothing to do with the theatres, but it appears that the rioters 'assembled themselves by occasion and pretence of their meeting at a Play on a Sunday; which, besides the breach of the Sabbath, gave opportunity of committing these and such like Disorders'. See the *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Ser. xxii. 550.

P. 212, 1. *some shallow-braind censurers*] Collier notes: 'The principal antagonists of the stage, prior to the year in which Nash's tract was published, were John Northbrooke, who wrote about 1577, Stephen Gosson, 1579 (repr. 1587), Philip Stubbes, 1583, and William Rankins 1587.' See H. S. Symmes, *Les Débuts de la Critique Dramatique en Angleterre*, 1903. The defence of plays put forward by Nashe should be compared with that in Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream*, which it closely resembles in its arguments: see notes on 213. 32, &c.

10-12. *of foure extremes ... the least*] Cf. i. 12. 26, 'of two extremities to choose the lesse.'

22-3. *braue Talbot (the terror of the French)*] Cf. 1 Hen. VI, I. iv. 39-43:

With scoffs, and scorns, and contumelious taunts
 In open market-place produced they me,
 To be a public spectacle to all;
 Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
 The scarecrow that affrights our children so.

See also II. i, last stage-direction, and II. iii, 14-24. Also E. K.'s note on the *Shepherd's Calender*, June, and Hall's *Chronicle*, Hen. VI, an. 31 (ed. 1809, p. 230), 'This man was to the French people, a very scorge and a daily terror, in so much that as his person was fearfull, and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong childe, would crye, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth.'

24-5. *hee should triumphe againe on the Stage*] Collier says that this 'is supposed to refer to a lost play upon which Shakespeare founded his *Henry VI*, part i, and not to Shakespeare's alteration and improvement of it', and refers to the Introduction to the play in his *Shakespeare*, vol. v, p. 5. Mr. Fleay considers that it is the play which we now have that is referred to (*Shakespeare*, 16, 109, 255, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 132, and *Gent. Mag.* ccc, 524). A play of the name was played for the first time on March 3, 1591-2 (*Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg. fol. 7) by Lord Strange's men, and this may well be the one referred to by Nashe; but, as Dr. Ward says, there is no evidence for identifying it with the play which we now have.

34] Opposite this there is in the Bodleian copy of B a note in old writing, 'The origin of Prynne's Histiomastix'.

P. 213, 3. *quarter-maisters*] The word was used much earlier for a certain kind of naval petty officer, as at present, and later (1600) for a military officer; see *N.E.D.* Here, however, it appears to have the unusual sense of 'assistant ruler'. In Latimer's *Sermons* (Dent's 'Everyman's Lib.', p. 219) to be 'quarter-master with' seems to mean to have a share in the control of a thing with one.

4-8] Mr. Fleay identifies the play referred to as the old *Victories of Henry V*, acted by the Queen's men (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 132).

15-16. *a merriment of the Vsurer and the Diuel*] Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* loc. cit.) mentioning this, prints, 'The Usurer (Dives) and the Devil.' I do not know whether by this he means to suggest a connexion between the merriment here spoken of and Radcliffe's *Dives and Lazarus*, or the other *Dives* (see *Biog. Chron.* ii. 292). There is surely no reason for supposing that any particular play is referred to. The 'Dialogue of Dives' is mentioned in Greene's *Groats-worth of Wit*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 132.

21, &c.] Opposite the commencement of this paragraph in the Bodleian copy of B is the MS. note, 'The Reasons of Will: Pryn's Dislike of Plays.'

24-7. *they shew the ill successe of treason . . . murther*] Mr. Fleay identifies the plays referred to as follows, 'the ill success of treason [Jack Straw], the fall of hasty climbers [Edward II], the wretched end of usurpers [Richard III], the misery of civil dissension [Marius and Sylla], and how just God is evermore in punishing of Murder [Arden of Feversham].' The conjectures are neat, but I feel by no means

certain that Nashe is thinking of particular plays; and further it must be remembered that we have but a small part of the plays that were acted, and that, therefore, any identification is necessarily risky.

32—214, 25] In Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream* the subject of the restraint of plays is discussed, in a letter supposed to come from the dead Tarlton, in a very similar way to the present; see *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S. pp. 63–6. This seems to have been written while the theatres were closed (63. 17; 65. 30–1), but the closure at the time of writing seems to have been on account of the plague (63. 23–4). That is to say between Michaelmas and Dec. 29.

P. 214, 1–4] Chettle also (65. 33–5), urges ‘the yoong people of the Cittie, either to abstaine altogether from playes, or at their comming thither to vse themselves after a more quiet order’; see also p. 66.

6–9] Cf. Chettle, 65. 20–3.

14. *beere-bathing*] Probably equivalent to toping; I have not met with the word elsewhere. For the reading of -*g3* cf. ii. 68. 2–3.

17–20] Cf. Chettle, 64. 3–21.

26, &c. *In Augustus time . . .*] This story seems to be an expansion of one told by Macrobius, *Sat. ii. 7. 19* ‘[Pylades] cum propter populi seditionem pro contentione inter se Hylamque habita concitatam indignationem exceperisset Augusti, respondit *vai ἀχαριστεῖς βασιλεῦ· έασον αὐτούς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀσχολεῖσθαι.*’

P. 215, 1. *Lipsius*] Justus Lipsius, 1547–1606, a Belgian scholar, better known for his editions of the classics than for historical work. He, however, wrote on a vast variety of subjects and his *Politicornum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex*, 1589, a collection of quotations from the classics illustrating political maxims, was widely read and went through many editions, being translated into English in 1594. From 1579 Lipsius had occupied the chair of history at Leyden, but the views which he put forward in the *Politica*, as to the necessity of a single religion in the state, were regarded by the Calvinists as an apology for the Spanish Inquisition, and he was obliged in 1592 to take refuge at Louvain. It is not quite clear what particular opinion of his Nashe is referring to; if merely that undue interference with popular amusements and customs is to be deprecated, something of the sort could be found in the *Politica*; but I suspect that Nashe is using his name more or less at random.

2, &c.] Chettle in his *Kind-Heart's Dream* (*Sh. Allusion-books*, N. S. S., 66. 28–30) refers to this defence of players: ‘Of them I will say no more: of the profession, so much hath *Pierce Pennilesse . . .* spoken, that for mee there is not any thing to speake.’ It is odd to find Tarlton speaking of ‘the profession’ exactly as theatrical people of the present day. For ‘sort’ in l. 3 cf. iii. 315. 25–6.

4. *squirting*] *Cent. Dict.* explains *squirt*, sb. as, in colloquial usage, a small insignificant fellow, upstart, cad, and the word may perhaps be similarly used here.

4–5. *that haue whores and common Curtizens to playe womens partes*] Some Italian female comedians, or perhaps rather acrobats, had performed in London in 1574–5, and their indecent behaviour had caused considerable scandal. See T. Norton's *Instructions to the Lord Mayor of London*, 1574–5, reprinted in Collier's *Illustr. of O. E. Lit.*, vol. iii, p. 14, among the advice given being that during the plague

time 'unnecessarie and scarslie honeste resorts to plaies, to shewes to thoccasion of thronges and presse, except to the servyce of God ; and especiallie the assemblies to the unchaste, shamelesse and unnatural tumblinge of the Italian Weomen maye be avoided : to offend God and honestie is not to cease a plague'. Possibly the same as 'these new Italian sports', mentioned, with Interludes, in Gascoigne's *Steel Glass* (Chalmers' *Eng. Poets*, ii. 553^a, foot); unless this refers to the (male) Italian players who were in England in 1576.

7-8. *our Sceane is more statelye furnisht . . . Roscius*] Dekker, in the *Bellman of London*, 1608 (*Wks.*, iii. 81), makes a similar claim when he refers to 'the stately and our more than *Romaine Cittie Stages*'. Cf. also Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 247.

12. *Sophocleo cothurno*] The expression is used in Ovid, *Amores*, i. 15, 15, and Vergil, *Eclog.* 8. 10.

13. *Roscius nor Æsopæ*] These two contemporary actors (fl. B.C. 70) are constantly mentioned together; cf. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 82, Quintil. xi. 3 § 111, Val. Max. viii. 10 § 2. Roscius was a comic actor, not a tragedian. The change made here in text C is clumsy, and perhaps something has gone wrong.

15. *Ned Allen*] Edward Alleyn (1566-1626), partner with Henslowe, with whom, in 1600, he built the 'Fortune'. He retired from the stage about 1603-4, from that time until his death being at first in partnership with Henslowe and later sole proprietor of the Paris Garden bear-baiting house; founder of Dulwich College. His acting is referred to by Heywood, Jonson, and others, in terms of the highest eulogy; cf. i. 296. 2-3.

25. *Gallimafrey*] i.e. heterogeneous mixture. Examples in *N.E.D.* from 1551-6.

30. *Tarlton*] See note on i. 188. 16.
Knell] fl. 1586, died before 1609; see *D. N. B.*, article on Thomas Knell (fl. 1570), but practically nothing is known of him. In *Tarlton's Jests* (Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 218-9) he is mentioned as playing the part of Henry V at the Bull at Bishopsgate.

31. *Bentlie*] He is mentioned, with Knell and others, by Thomas Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, as an actor whom he had never seen, being before his time.

P. 216, 5-6. *Call a Leete at Byshopsgate*] A leet was 'a special kind of court of record which the lords of certain manors were empowered by charter or prescription to hold annually or semi-annually' (*N.E.D.*). I presume that Nashe means the 'Wardmote Court' which is described in Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 384, as 'So called, because it is held in every *Ward* on St. *Thomas's Day*, by the Alderman thereof, who hath a Right to hold his Leet in his Ward, to make Inquisitions into all Defaults in the respective Ward by an Inquest. Which is empowered for an whole Year, to inquire into and present to the Alderman such Defaults'. The district called 'the Spital' was situated partly in Bishopsgate ward; cf. note on 217. 5-6.

7-12. *Shorditch . . . Southwarke . . . Westminster*] As to these localities it need only be said that all the suburbs, especially those on the bank of the Thames, are constantly reproached with the numerous brothels which they contained. The City itself, owing to the stringent regulations on the subject, seems to have been comparatively free—at

least from open prostitution ; see, however, ii. 148. 12. Southwark was in early times the centre of this trade, and although the stews there had been put down in 1506, and again in 1546 (see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iv, p. 7), and for a time the brothels seem to have been transferred elsewhere (see Latimer's *Sermons*, in Dent's 'Everyman's Lib.', 114, 170), the locality was again notorious for them towards the close of the century. Later, as we learn from J. Taylor, *The World runs on Wheels*, 1623 (*Wks.*, 1630, B b b 1), these houses had migrated 'toward the North parts of the City'. The district about St. Pancras was especially notorious for them.

13-14. *thou hadst a Sanctuarie in thee once*] See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. vi, pp. 38-9, for an account of the privileges of sanctuary belonging to St. Peter's, Westminster (the Abbey). The right was originally granted by Sebert, King of the East Saxons, and continued, with certain restrictions, at least until 1568.

16-17. *you live (like Summers) upon the sinnes of the people*] Apparently a common saying ; cf. Greene's *Quip for an upstart Courtier*, *Wks.*, xi. 256 mid. 'to be breefe, the sumner liues vpon the sins of people, & out of harlatry gets he all his commodity' ; Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, Gg 5^v, 'As Sumners liue of the sins of the people : so do lawyers' ; and 2 *Ret. from Parnassus*, IV. ii. 154-6 (1694-5), 'you that liue like a sumner vpon the sinnes of the people.' See also *Have with You*, iii. 106. 12-14. A sumner was an officer whose duty it was to summon persons to appear before the courts, the term being apparently limited at this date to the officers of the ecclesiastical courts, which took cognizance of offences against morals. The charges brought against them in Chaucer's *Friar's Tale* probably still held good to some extent.

19-20. *sowe Mandrake in their gardens*] Alluding to a rather mysterious story in Genesis, 30. 14-16. See also what Pliny says, *H. N.* xxii. 9, of the white variety of *eryngion*, which has been identified with the mandrake of Genesis.

23. *but one true Diana*] i.e. the moon, and, as usual, Queen Elizabeth. The saying about there being only one Diana, which occurs, I believe, elsewhere, may possibly have relation to Plutarch's statement in the *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 14. 2, 'And hereupon it is, that Jupiter hath procreated one Minerva, one Diana, and one Vulcane ; but many Muses' (trs. Holland, 1604, 796. 20-1).

24. *Consuetudo peccandi tollit sensum peccati*] The saying was well known and is used by Greene, in *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 269, and xii. 163, while in his *Royal Exchange*, *Wks.*, vii. 266, it is attributed to Saint Augustine. I have not, however, been able to find it in his works, though there is much to the same effect.

26-34. *Lais... Clytemnestra... green*] There is here an apparent confusion. What is said of Clytemnaestra seems to be based on an epigram of Ausonius on Lais (Epig. 55) :

Lais anus Veneri speculum dico : dignum habeat se
Aeterna aeternum forma ministerium.
At mihi nullus in hoc usus, quia cernere taleni
Qualis sum, nolo ; qualis eram, nequeo.

This is taken from an epigram of Plato in *Anth. Pal.* vi. 1. I am

indebted to Mr. Bullen for a reference to his *Lyrics from the Song Books*, 1891, p. 162, where in a note on Orlando Gibbons's 'Lais, now old, that erst all-tempting lass', the two epigrams are cited.

P. 217, 5-6. *the Spittle*] The word 'spital' was practically synonymous with 'hospital', though Greene in his *Disp. between a He-conycatcher and a She-conycatcher*, Wks., x. 233. 11, speaks of 'Spittles and Hospitalles' as though they were distinct, and though 'spitals' are generally spoken of in connexion with the venereal disease as if they were primarily intended for that class of patients. Whether there was any particular hospital that was pre-eminently 'The Spital' I do not know, but there was a district outside Bishopsgate which was so called. Here had been formerly situated the priory of St. Mary Spital, founded c. 1200 as a house of relief for the poor and sick. Stow records that at its surrender to Henry VIII it had 180 beds. Later the neighbourhood contained 'many fair houses ... for Receipt and Lodging of worshipful and honourable persons': whether it was also notorious for low morals is doubtful, though the adjoining district of Shoreditch certainly was (cf. iii. 81. 22; the Spital is there spoken of as 'in Shorditch'). In a portion of the old churchyard remaining was a pulpit-cross, where—as at Paul's Cross—sermons were preached, called Spital-sermons, on certain days in the year. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, pp. 97-8.

6. *Turnbull streete*] A street in Clerkenwell, variously called Turnmill, Turnball, and Turnbull Street. It was notorious as a haunt of prostitutes; cf. W. J. Pinks's *Hist. of Clerkenwell*, ed. E. J. Wood, 1881, pp. 338, 695, where many references to it are collected.

10. *six-pennie*] Used, like 'two-penny', as a term of depreciation, but perhaps here of more special meaning; cf. ii. 148. 18; 261. 2; also Preston's *Cambises*, in Manly's *Pre-Sh. Drama*, I. 252, 'dost thinke I am a sixpenny jug?' and Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 360, 'sixe-penny Sinfulnesse.'

19. *cun thee little thanks*] i. e. give thee little thanks; 'cun' is a variant form of 'can' (i. e. recognize, know) and appears more often at this period as 'con'. The singular 'thank' is more correct than 'thanks' and at least equally common; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, in *Quellen*, I. iii. 77, 'Now I cun you thanke, that is spoken like a man', and *Skialethaea*, Epig. 4, 'Liuia, I kon thee thanke, when thou doost kisse Thou turn'st thy cheeke.' The phrase is common.

P. 218, 1-16] The conception of the pains of hell as being, in some sort, of the same nature as the sins committed, was of course a common mediaeval idea. *The Kalender of Shepherdes* (ed. Somner, iii. 71, and ii. e5^v) has an elaborate picture of gluttons being 'seruyd and fylled with todys & other venomous wormes' (cf. II. 14-15), and some of the other punishments here mentioned are also indicated.

19. *Machanicall*] A scarce, but perhaps allowable, form of 'mechanical'; the meaning being, as usual, handicraftsmen in a derogatory sense.

P. 219, 22. *Persie*] A form of the name 'Pierce': cf. Harvey's joke on *A per se a*, referred to at i. 315. 7, &c.

32. *morall*] i. e. allegory.

P. 220, 2. *Gnathonicall*] Gnatho is a parasite in Terence's *Eunuchus*, and his name was frequently used to express his character.

Sidney, arguing that poetry may by example teach us to follow virtue and avoid vice, speaks of 'the *Terentian Gnato* and our *Chaucers Pandar* so exprest that we nowe vse their names to signifie their trades' (*Apol. for Poet.*, in Gregory Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, i. 166); so Ascham in the *Schoolmaster, Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 208, 'And euen now in our dayes *Getxe* and *Daui*, *Gnatos* and manie bold bawdie *Phormios* to, be preasing in, to prate on euerie stage, to medle in euerie matter, whan honest *Parmenos* shall not be hard, but beare small swing with their masters.' It may be remarked that in Greene's *James IV* the parasite Ateukin is several times referred to as 'Gnato'; see II. ii. 77 (ed. Manly in *Pre-Sh. Dr.*), the stage direction at l. 151 of the same scene, etc., while in l. 138 'flattering Gnatoes' seems to mean parasites generally.

35. *the poore Miller of Cambridge*] I do not know the source of this story.

P. 221, 13-14. *a Bee . . . a Battle-dore*] The origin of the common phrase 'to tell a B (or bee) from a battledore' has never been satisfactorily explained. The meaning is either to be able to read, or to know one thing from another, to have intelligence. See *N.E.D.* under 'B' and 'battledore'. The earliest instance of the phrase given is '1553-87 Foxe A. & M. II. 474. "He knew not a B from a battledore nor ever a letter of the book"'. As a battledore is a horn-book it seems not impossible that the original form may have been 'to tell A. B. from a battledore', i. e. to read the first two letters of the alphabet (as in Taylor's *Works*, 1630, Ff 1): but the existence as early as 1401 of a phrase 'not to know a B from a bull's foot' perhaps tells against this. In the present passage the bee and the battledore are regarded as things typically unlike, the sense of the whole phrase being '*A propos de bottes*'. Cf. iii. 151. 29, 'Euery man can say Bee to a Battledore.'

15—226, 28] The meaning of this tale seems, oddly enough, to have escaped discussion by modern interpreters. Collier merely remarks that it had, no doubt, an individual and personal application, and that perhaps the bear was the Earl of Leicester. He also, referring to the letter to Jeffes, says that Nashe states that he was not a man to pen an apologue in vain. I presume that he here refers to p. 155, ll. 1-2, 'Let the interpreter beware; for none euer hard me make Allegories of an idle text.' To me the words do not seem to bear the interpretation which Collier puts upon them.

Nashe refers to this story at i. 320. 35, &c., where he states that he 'had no concealed ende in it but, in the one [i.e. the Beare], to describe the right nature of a bloudthirsty tyrant . . . for the other [i.e. the Foxe], to figure an hypocrite: Let it be *Martin*, if you will, or some old dog that bites sorer than hee, who secretlie goes and seduceth country Swaines.'

It certainly seems possible that the bear may stand for Robert, Earl of Leicester, who had died in 1588, and whom it was therefore safe to attack. His cognizance was the bear and ragged staff, and there may be, in the somewhat odd use of 'husband' at 221. 17, an allusion to his hopes of Elizabeth's hand. Towards the middle of the story a passage about bringing the husbandmen into opinion that the bees which they kept were really drones evidently alludes to the Puritan attacks on the ministry for their neglect of their duties. The Fox is perhaps

Cartwright or Martin, and the old Chamaeleon either Martin or Penry. It would be easy to guess at some of the other characters, but such identifications as I could suggest are not sufficiently well supported to make it worth while to discuss them. It is possible that the general idea of the fable was suggested to Nashe by Spenser's *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, as Harvey hinted; cf. i. 321. 16-17 note.

26. *Cammell*] Nashe evidently used the word to mean a horse; as also perhaps at iii. 104. 7. Whether any particular kind was so called I do not know.

P. 224, 19. *was addrest*] i.e. clothed or disguised.

P. 225, 6-8. *a loathsome Toade . . . sucking at their rootes*] A good illustration of this idea that a toad at the root of a tree could render the whole tree poisonous is to be found in Boccaccio's story of Simona and Pasquino in the *Decameron*, d. iv, n. 7. This instance was probably well known, as it is borrowed by Mizauld in his *Memorabilia sive Arcana*, 1573, cent. i. 1, and, from him, by Lupton in his *Thousand Notable Things*, ed. n. d. [? 1595], B1. Mizauld also says, op. cit., cent. v. 23 'Bufones sese dilatantes et intumescentes, non solum venenum per urinam in plantas et fructus humi iacentes longius fundunt, sed etiam tabifica saliva vicina quaeque vitiant. Quae duo non minus mortifera quam napellus' [i.e. aconite]. Cf. ii. 276. 2-3.

15. marg. *Interdum vulgus . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 63.

23-4. *nothing was Canonical . . . spake*] Cf. i. 86. 27.

29. *Alcinous*] The reference is, I suppose, to the harper who sang at the banquet given by Alcinous to Ulysses in *Od.* viii. 62, &c.

P. 226, 11-12. *wormwood . . . Henbane . . . Rue*] Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 21 mentions several things disliked by bees, but neither he nor, so far as I can discover, any other writer on apiculture, includes these plants among them.

15. *buzd*] Cf. note on i. 78. 31.

31. *attract*] The sense seems to be 'understand', 'take in'; cf. ii. 168. 26, where the word is used in a somewhat similar way.

P. 227, 3-239, 2] The whole of this discourse about devils is taken from the work of Georgius Pictorius, *De Illorum Dæmonum qui sub lunari collimitio versantur ortu . . . Isagoge*, printed in the author's Παντοπάλιον, continens omnium fermè quadrupedum, avium, piscium, serpentum, radicum . . . carmine Elegiaco per D. Georgium Pictorium Villinganum, conscriptum . . . Præterea *De Dæmonum . . . ortu . . . Isagoge . . . Basilie*, 1563 (8vo, a⁸, A-I⁸, A-D⁸, E¹²). The *Isagoge*, together with another tract, *De Speciebus Magiae Ceremonialis, quam Goëtiam vocant, Epitome*, by the same author, forms the second part of the book, with a separate title-page, signatures, and paging. This appears to be the first edition and is the only one with which I am acquainted. So far as I am aware, the tract was not translated into English, except in the form given to it by Nashe, until 1655, when it appears at the end of Robert Turner's translation of the (so-called) *Fourth Book* of H. C. Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*, occupying pages 109-43 (mis-numbered 153). A second edition is dated 1665. A German translation is given in J. Scheible's *Kleiner Wunder-Schauplatz*, 1855-6, Thl. II.

The book is, as its title indicates, a discourse on the nature of spirits, and is in the form of a dialogue between two characters named Castor

and Pollux. Nashe's text is for the most part a close translation, with such slight modifications as are necessitated by the abandonment of the dialogue form. Sometimes, however, he paraphrases, while more frequently he omits passages or inserts remarks of his own. These latter are, however, as a rule quite short. Nashe makes use of almost the whole of the piece, omitting, however, the conclusion, some eight pages. I give a few passages from Pictorius for comparison with Nashe's text, and point out all his additions and all important omissions. When nothing is said to the contrary every statement is taken from Pictorius, though it must be understood that the translation varies in literalness. My references are to the page and line of the edition described above. As to whether this is the one used by Nashe I can say nothing, as I have seen no other. As, however, a year or two later he seems to show acquaintance with the *Παντοπλίον* (cf. notes on ii. 231. 3-4, 285. 1-2) it is not unlikely that this is the edition used. See also note on 238. 22.

When the text of the first volume was printed off I had not discovered the original of these pages, though I strongly suspected them not to be Nashe's own compilation. Hence in a few cases I allowed readings to stand which I now see to be misprints, such as 'Samaab' for 'Saniaab' at 231. 29. Attention is called to these in the notes. I may say that I have made no attempt in these notes to discuss the demonology, and doubt if Nashe knew more of the subject than what he took from the *Isagoge*.

George Pictorius (1500-c. 1550) was born at Villingen in the Black Forest, and studied medicine at Freiburg in Breisgau, at the university town of which he afterwards became professor. His life was probably uneventful; at any rate little seems to be recorded about it. A list of his numerous works is given by Jöcher.

3-24] The *Isagoge* opens with a discussion of the proverbial phrases *Homo homini Deus* and *Homo homini diabolus* (7. 15-8. 15), Castor maintaining that the second is nearer the truth and instancing the harm done daily by one man against another. From this discussion practically the whole of the present passage is derived, though the Latin is not followed at all closely.

5-6. *Homo homini Dæmon*] See Erasmus *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 1. 69 'Homo homini Deus,' where the saying is also given in the Greek form ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου δαιμόνιον, and is explained as applicable to one who renders such assistance to another as could only be expected from the gods. The meaning seems, however, to have been somewhat indefinite, while the equivocal word 'daemon' led apparently to its being used jokingly in a quite opposite sense; cf. ll. 23-4. G. Harvey doubtless alludes to this saying in his lines (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 211):

Wher shud I find, that I seeke, A person clere as a Christal?

Where man God to man? where one not Din'l to an other!

The saying was well known and is frequently quoted, as in Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, B. I.

25-228, 5] Nashe here follows Pictorius closely. I give the Latin for comparison: 'Plato daemonum ordinem in tres dissecuit gradus, ut dignitatis maiestate interpunctos, sic quoque locorum intercapidine singulariter dispares. Et primum illis adscripsit daemonibus, quibus corpora ex purissimo aethereo coalita sunt elemento, splendidis

admodum filis intertexta, ut nec ignis tantum habeant, Chalcidio referente, quod visui perspicua esse queant. Nec terram sic sapient, ut vel premi vel tangi queant, et coelestem inhabitent orchestram, principi attinentem, humano sermoni inenarrabili, aut ultra mundana sapienti deo. Alterum vero illis quos Apuleius animalia rationabilia nominat, animo passiva, et tempore aeterna, a lunae collimitio ad nos usque sub principis Beelzebub ductum, expansum tenentibus, apostatas intelligens, ante Luciferi lapsum clarificatis corporibus, et iam praefatis similes, post transgressionem aëreae qualitatis tegumento velatos.' *Isagoge*, 8. 16—9. 6.

25-7. *Plato, who not onely affirmeth . . . other*] Presumably his threefold division of supernatural beings into *dii*, *daemones*, and *heroes* is referred to (see *Civ.* 427 b, and elsewhere). For ll. 27-32 see Chalcidius, *Comm. in Timaeum*, 133 (*Frag. Phil. Graec.*, ed. Mulla-ch, ii. 212^a, top).

34. *whom Apuleius doth call . . .*] 'Quippe, ut fine comprehendam, Daemones sunt genere animalia, ingenio rationabilia, animo passiva, corpore aëria, tempore aeterna,' *De Deo Socratis*, ed. Valpy, ii. 994.

P. 228, 5. & . . . *darknes*] Added by Nashe.

5-11] Somewhat condensed from the *Isagoge*, 9. 9-14.

11-16] Translated. 'Sic quoque ipsum Platonem, Syriano teste, daemonem vocitatum novimus, quod in Republica de rebus altissimis plurifariam disseruerit. Et Aristotelem quia de sublunaribus, et omnibus quae motui et sensui deserviunt ad longum disputarit,' *Isagoge*, 9. 14-18.

12. *Syrianus*] Presumably Syrianus of Alexandria, fl. 435, is meant; but I have not found the passage referred to.

16-23. *Then . . . insomuch as*] Less close to the Latin, though founded on it.

23-30. *by the quicknes . . . Pharaeo*] Translated from *Isag.* 9. 23-10. 8. Given by Pictorius, who occasionally notes his authorities, but with lamentable vagueness, as from St. Augustine. Probably *De Trinit.* iii. 7 is meant; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 42 (August. 8), cols. 875 and 876 mid.

30-229, 1] Expanded from the Latin.

P. 229, 1-15] The *Isagoge* (10.11-11.12) is fairly closely followed. The whole is said by Pictorius to be from the *Sententiae* of Petrus Lombardus, l. ii, distinctio 7, who in turn is said to have taken it from St. Augustine *De Genesi*. It does not, however, seem to be an exact quotation from the *Sententiae*, though much to the same effect is said. See especially l. ii, dist. 8, Migne, *Patr. Curs., Series Secunda*, 1 (P. Lombardus), col. 157, also generally cols. 142-56.

1-2. *the scripture*] The Latin has, 'De ortu eorum passim Ecclesiastica scriptura mentionem habet,' meaning, of course, the Fathers.

8. *Michael*] Not mentioned in the Latin.

15-16. *Maruell not . . . mention*] Nashe, instead of seven lines of the original.

17-20] From Pictorius, II. 11-13, 15-17, who refers to 2 Peter 2. [4].

18. *in another place*] The Latin has rightly, 'allegato loco.' The words quoted are from the same verse.

20-1. *which . . . waters*] Added by Nashe.

21-4. *for, as Austin . . . list*] *Isagoge*, II. 19-25 ‘Sed Christi athleta, divus Augustinus, hos regionem sublunarem inhabitare in libro De agone Christiani hominis [Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 40 (Aug. 6), col. 292] docet, et in Epistola quoque quadragesima nona, aerem caliginosum illis velut carcerem praedestinatum assignat, ut propinquius irritandi fallendique retia iactet’ [Migne, *u. s.* 33 (Aug. 2), col. 378.]

24-7. *yet . . . infinite*] A link inserted by Nashe instead of eleven lines of the original.

27-30 *who retaining . . . best*] *Isagoge*, 12. 9-12. Nashe omits ‘velut ex Hebraeorum astronomis colligere datur’, which follows.

30-230, 3] Somewhat varied from the Latin, which has ‘Iovios et antemeridianos, quos pseudotheios nominamus, hoc est ementitos, quod pro diis haberi venerarie cupiant, in hoc mancipatos principi diabolo scribunt, ut terrigenas in communem sui compellant amorem’, *Isagoge*, 12. 14-18.

P. 230, 3-5] *Isagoge*, 12. 21-4.

5-18] ‘CA. Hos meridianos nimirum Lybico Psaphoni & Diocletiano imperatori, oestrum indidisse ferme dixerim, quibus pro deo haberí ultimum beatitudinis fuit. POLL. Nimirum, hic enim humanae naturae taediosus insita animi quadam fatuitate, captas aviculas, ad sermonem humanum dociles, subinde instruere coepit, ut articulate prorsum enunciarent μέγας θεός Ψάφων, id est magnus deus Psaphon, quas denuo ubi dictata verba expedite perdidicissent, in hunc finem emisit, ut ea passim volantes repeterent, & incolas commenti nescios eo perducerent, quo divinitus haec fieri crederent, et se pro deo colerent. Alter subditos in hoc compulit, ut procidentes manibus elevatis ceu omnipotentem adorarent’, *Isagoge*, 12. 24-13. 11. For the birds of Psaphon see Michael Apostolius (in Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, vol. 2), cent. 18. 48: also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i. cent. 2. 100 ‘Psaphonis aves’.

16-18. *The other was so arrogant . . .*] See Eutropius, ix. 26.

19-231, 18] *Isag.* 13. 13-14. 17. The Latin is, in general, closely followed.

20. *spirits of reuenge*] Pictorius refers to Psalm 59, but there seems nothing to the point.

21-2] Nashe omits three lines of the Latin.

P. 231, 4-5 *cast . . . swimming*] Added by Nashe.

7. *Alrynach*] ‘Alrinach.’ Note this as evidence of correction in the C text.

17-18. *Mereris . . . dacie*] ‘Mererim . . . quod est spiritum aestuantem in meridie.’

18-19] About five lines of the Latin omitted here.

19-232, 12] *Isag.* 14. 21-15. 17, sometimes slightly varied.

20-2. *that . . . start*] ‘ut quicquid illis commissum est, hoc ibidem exequantur.’

26. *deformed apparitions*] ‘illusionibus malis.’

27. *excessive melancholie*] ‘nociva melancholia.’

27-8. *lik Ajax Telamonius*] Nashe’s addition.

28-9. *& so proue hurtfull . . . others*] ‘laedant, et quandoque penitus interficiant.’

29–30. *of this number the chiefe are Samaab and Achymael*] ‘Ex horum albo praecipui sunt Sanyaab et Achimael.’ Read, therefore, ‘Saniaab’, as C—another correction in this text.

34—232, 1. *that they maie diue . . . pleasure*] ‘ut puteos invadant et terrae viscera.’

P. 232, 3–12] Somewhat altered. ‘Ventos excitant flammivomos, et fundamenta concutunt aedificiorum, noctu choreas facientes stupendas, quas subito evanescentes deserunt strepitu et sonitu campanarum et nolarum, timorem impingunt, mortuorum animas se quandoque mentientes, nescii tamen mulierum commercio frui. Cuius sentinæ Gaziæ Necromantici dicunt, Fegor, et Anarazel meridionales,’ *Isagoge*, 15. 10–17.

12. *to be*] After this, eight lines of the Latin omitted.

12–26] *Isagoge*, 15. 25—16. 10.

17. *in the 3. booke of kings*] i. e. 1 Kings, 22. 22.

18–19. *all Ahabs prophets*] The Latin has only, ‘omnium prophetarum.’

22–3] ‘Plato tallem Theut asserit, quod ludos & aleam ostenderit primus.’ The god’s name was ‘Theuth’, *Phaedrus*, 274 c.

26–31] Nashe omits six lines and amplifies what he has retained. The Latin has ‘Necromantici præfatum Belial Chodar orientalem nominant, sub se daemones quoque præstigiatorum habentem, qui miracula imitantur, ut cacomagos seducant, et maleficos,’ *Isagoge*, 16. 16–19. There is no mention of Simon Magus.

31–2] Thirteen lines omitted.

32—233, 7] *Isagoge*, 17. 4–20, omitting two lines between ‘Angels’ and ‘Aboue’.

P. 233, 2. *euil Angels*] ‘malos genios.’

4–5. *in the night . . . sleep*] added by Nashe.

8–9] See Pliny the younger, *Epist.* vii. 27. In the *Isagoge* (17. 20–19. 4) the story is told in full. Perhaps Nashe omitted it as being well known. It is related at length in Lavater’s *De Spectris, lemuribus, &c.*, English translation by R. H. as *Of ghostes and spirites walking by night*, 1572, p. 58.

8. *Plinius Secundus*] It may be noted that there seems to have been some tendency to regard ‘Secundus’ as proper to the younger Pliny, though the name was of course common to the two. Thus Ascham in the *Schoolmaster*, Eng. Wks., ed. Wright, 244, speaks of ‘*Plinius Secundus*’ and ‘his most excellent learned Uncle, the Elder *Plinius*’.

10–16] Pictorius merely mentions the story here (*Isag.* 17. 19–20), giving it in full later (20. 26–21. 5). It is from Suetonius, *Caligula*, 59.

11. *Lamianus Garden*] ‘in Lamiano horto,’ *Isagoge*, i. e. the gardens of the Lamia family.

17–20] Cf. *Isagoge*, 19. 4–9 ‘Videant ergo quis furor hos divexet, qui sacra, ubi spiritus sancti requiescunt organa, cemiteria prophanant, et ibi sepultorum ossa in cibum parant Zazelo daemoni, cuius tertio regum mentio habetur, et apud Pausaniam ex Delphorum historiis Eurnynomum vocatum legimus’ [*Descr. Graec.* x. 28. 7]. The statements are repeated in *Isag.* 21. 17–21. I suppose that the passage in Kings here alluded to must be 1 Kings, 13. 2, taken in conjunction with 2 Kings, 23. 16, but ‘cuius’ must stand for ‘of which’ not, as one

would naturally read it, 'of whom,' for there is no mention of Zazelus.

21—234, 23] *Isagoge*, 21. 21—23. 4. Taken, as Pictorius notes, from the *Danica Historia* of Saxo Grammaticus, lib. v (ed. 1576, pp. 82—3; *First Nine Books of... Saxo*, trans. O. Elton, 1894, pp. 200—1). The version of Pictorius is a summary of the story as given by Saxo, with certain quotations; Nashe condenses Pictorius somewhat and varies the ending. Neither makes it clear, as it is in the original, that the evil spirit occupies the body of Asuitus.

33. *Eritus, K. of Sweueland*] 'Ericus Sueciae rex,' i. e. Eric, son of Ragnar, one of the early Swedish kings. 'Eritus' is doubtless a misprint. It occurs, however, in all editions.

34. *not full two months after*] added by Nashe. The Latin has 'denuo'.

P. 234, 21—2] Both Pictorius and Saxo have:

Haud impune tamen monstrifer egit,
Nam ferro secui mox caput eius,
Perfidique nocens stipite corpus.

The reason for the change is not at all clear. The transfixing of a dead body supposed to have been occupied by an evil spirit with a stake, in order to render it impossible for the spirit to return, is, of course, an idea frequently met with.

23—5] *Isagoge*, 23. 3—4.

25—30] Varied from *Isagoge*, 23. 4—8 'Haudquaquam eorum naturae Cortesius negatum asserit, quin corporum vegetabilium integrum arripere, in variaque figurarum genera transferri possint, quo calidius improvida hominum ingenia lassent atque fallant.'

30—235, 5] From *Isagoge*, 23. 8—19, with the omission of a passage giving the opinion of Psellus, and some changes of order.

30. *Basilus*] I have not found the testimony referred to. The *Isagoge* has 'Basilius Magnus,' i. e. St. Basil, Archbishop of Caesarea.

31. *Socrates*] See Plutarch, *De Genio Soc.* 10, but allusions to the *daemon* are innumerable; I cannot, however, find authority for the statement that Socrates *felt* him.

33—235, 1. *Marcus Cherronesius*] 'Marcus Cherronesus.' This was a recluse, from whom Psellus gathered the greater part of his information about demons. Psellus says 'Versatus sum cum aliquo, qui in Cherroneso Graeciae contermina solitariam vitam egit, Marco nomine' (*De Daemonibus*, in Iamblichus, *De Myst. Aegipt.* &c., Lugd., 1577, p. 336). The passage here referred to will be found in the same work, p. 348.

P. 235, 1. *a wonderfull discouerer of Diuels*] 'eximus daemonum cultor.'

6—14] Condensed from *Isagoge*, 23. 23—24. 2.

11—13] Given by Pictorius on the authority of Trithemius.

14—19] Added by Nashe.

20—236, 6] *Isagoge*, 24. 9—25. 12.

20—1. *as Porphirius holdeth*] Pictorius refers to 'Porphyrius apud Euseb. 4. de Praeparat. Evan.' (Migne, *Patr. Curs., Ser. Grec.*, 21 (Euseb. 3), col. 249, &c.). I cannot find the statement in so many words.

22—3. *let Porphirius . . . dispute*] Pictorius refers for the opinions

of these and other philosophers to St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, but the reference to book and chapter appears to be wrong; perhaps l. viii, c. 11-12 and l. ix, c. 2, 3, 8 are meant.

24-5. *names giuen vs*] Cf. the similar list in Scot's *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 520.

26. *which is the Summum genus to vs all*] Added by Nashe.

27. *Diabolus, quasi deorsum ruens*] *Isagoge*, '... fluens'; cf. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologize*, viii. 11, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 82 (Isid. 3), col. 316 'Diabolus Hebraice dicitur deorsum fluens, quia quietus in coeli culmine stare contempsit, sed superbiae pondere deorsum corruens cecidit.' With 'ruens' in St. Ambrose, Migne, *P. C.* 17 (Ambr. 4), col. 878. This etymology is frequently alluded to.

32. *Job*] Job 40. 15; 41. 1.

36. *serpent ... Lyon*] Rev. 12. 9; 1 Peter 5. 8.

P. 236, 1. *furnace*] Pictorius has 'faber' with a reference to Isaiah 55, i. e., I suppose, 54. 16.

2. *vessels of wrath and saluation*] Cf. Romans 9. 22, 23. The *Isagoge* has only 'quod per eius malitiam electi qui vasa sunt compabantur'.

2-3. *In Esay ... Etridge*] The *Isagoge* has 'Onocentaurus Esiae 34. Erynus, Pilosus, Syren, Lamia, Vlula, Struthio'.

3-4. *In the Psalmes ... Dragon*] Psalm 90. 13 (91. 13. A.V.) reads in the Vulgate, 'Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.'

4-6. *in the Gospell ... darknes*] Matt. 6. 24, Luke 16. 13: (?) Luke 22. 53.

6-9] Added by Nashe.

9-15] Summary of *Isagoge*, 25. 12-20.

13-14] Tobit 3. 8, 17; 8. 1-2.

15-19] *Isagoge*, 25. 27-26. 3.

20-1] *Isagoge*, 26. 8-9.

21. *by some speciaill dispensation*] 'ut Damascenus ait dispensatore'. See perhaps Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. *Grec.*, 94 (Damasc. 1), col. 877, top, but there is nothing here exactly corresponding to 'dispensatore'.

21-8. *as when ... dooth*] Added by Nashe.

28. *as one saithe*] i. e. Chrysostom, according to Pictorius (26. 10-1). I have not found the passage.

31-4] *Isagoge*, 26. 13-16.

34-237, 3] *Isagoge*, 26. 21 and 27. 3-6.

P. 237, 3-6] Added by Nashe.

6-8] *Isagoge*, 29. 2-3.

9-20] *Isagoge*, 29. 9-20. Given as from Augustine, *De Div. Daemon.*; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 40 (August. 6), col. 584.

12. *earthlie moulder*] 'quam homines corporum terrenorum.' N.E.D. has one other example of 'moulder' (before 1552).

13. *pernicitiæ*] i. e. agility, swiftness.

21-4] *Isagoge*, 29. 24-30. 2] Given as from Damascenus, *De Fide Orth.* ii. 4, Migne, *P. C.*, Ser. *Grec.*, 94 (Damasc. 1), col. 877.

25-8] *Isagoge*, 31. 4-7.

28-36] Added by Nashe.

P. 238, 1-10] *Isagoge*, 35. 26-36. 9.

1. *Origin*] *Contra Celsum*, i § 6, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, *Ser. Grec.* 11 (Orig. 1), col. 666.

5. *Athanasius*] From the spurious *Quaestiones ad Antiochum*, 14, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, *Ser. Grec.*, 28 (Athan. 4), col. 606.

8. *Cyprian*] In the *De Idolorum Vanitate*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, 4, col. 575.

10–13. *because when . . . extinguisht*] Added by Nashe. The belief that when a spirit is present the lights become dim (or burn blue) is frequently referred to; the instance in *Julius Caesar*, iv. 3. 275, will occur to every reader. Cf. also Lyly's *Gallathea*, II. iii. 62–5.

13–15. *Others . . . faith*] *Isagoge*, 36. 8–11 ‘Quidam ignem quod omnium elementorum sacratissimum sit, et symbolum, atque vehiculum ignis superioris, in hoc multum prodesse narrant.’

15–33] *Isagoge*, 36. 15–37. 5.

16. *brandishing of swords*] ‘gladios stringunt.’

17–18. *Vlisses . . . wafted his sworde*] *Od.* xi. 48.

21–2] *Aen.* vi. 258, 260.

22. *invade*] Pictorius has ‘iuuande’ and the fact that this meaningless error is also found in the first edition of *Pierce Penilesse* seems to afford strong evidence that the edition of the *Isagoge* here referred to was the one used by Nashe. The error is one which would hardly be allowed to stand in many editions of a book in Latin.

23–6] Mistranslated from *Isagoge*, 36. 21–4 ‘Philostratus contumeliis et diris imprecationibus Apollonium sibi suisque sociis obviam factum daemonem, sic in fugam convertisse scribit, ut phantasma stridens, et cum horrore maximo ab ipsis evanuerit.’ The meaning of course is, ‘Philostratus writes that Apollonius put to flight a demon who had met him and his companions . . .’ Turner makes the same error in his translation as Nashe, the sentence being ambiguous. Both were probably thinking of Apollyon (Rev. 9. 11). I cannot find the incident in the *Vita Apollonii*, but it may perhaps be an incorrect reminiscence of iv. 10. 2–3, where a demon in the form of an old man is stoned to death and when those who have killed him go to look at their work they find only a dead dog.

24. *Artistes*] The word seems here to mean professors of magic. Generally speaking it could be applied to proficients in any art or science. Chettle in his *Kind-Heart's Dream* apparently used it for ‘scholars’. Five persons appear in the dream, ‘three bearing instruments [of music], their fauours pleasant; two appearing to be Artists, their countenances reuerend’ (*Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 43. 14–16; cf. 41. 12 and 44. 17). Nashe similarly uses ‘artists’ for ‘scholars’ at 241. 30.

27–8] Read ‘*Calamentum*, *paeonia*, *Menta*, *palma Christi*, and *Appius*.’ All are separate plants.

29–30] Read ‘*Arthemista*, *hypericon*, *Ruta*, *verbena*.’ Not knowing how to divide these names, I followed the incorrect punctuation of the original.

33–239, 2. *but . . . them*] *Isagoge*, 37. 7–9.

P. 239, 3–5] Perhaps based on *Isagoge*, 38. 10–14.

9–10. *certain letters to diuers Orators*] Cf. 153. 15–22.

13. *a frend of mine, that I never saw before*] A person on whose behalf the Knight of the Post was to give false evidence.

15. *Bazilez manus*] i.e. *Span.* heso las manos; constantly used in various forms as a typically affected salutation. Cf. note on iii. 92. 7.

25. *dog whipper*] It seems to have been customary, at least in the larger churches, to have a man whose special business was to drive out dogs; cf. Lodge and Greene, *Looking-Glass for London and England*, in *Wks. of Greene*, ed. Grosart, xiv. 16, ll. 217-20 (1598, B 2), 'on holidays they made him the sextens man, for he whipt dogs out of the church'; also I *Return from Parnassus*, ed. Macray, ll. 1258-62 and 1317-18. In the picture of St. Paul's Cross in the third part of the N. S. S. edition of Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.* a dog-whipper may be observed discharging his duty during the preaching of a sermon.

28. *fasting*] The idea that one is more susceptible to infection when fasting is frequently referred to; cf. *Two Gent. of Ver.*, III. i. 326; *Duch. of Malfi*, II. i. 45; and Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 9.

34. *damp*] i.e. foggy vapour supposed to bring infection; cf. ii. 286. 11-14, 25-31, and Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 681^a, where it is stated that during the assizes at Oxford, 4-6 July, 1576, 'there arose amidst the people such a dampe, that almost all were smothered, very few escaped that were not taken at that instant.'

P. 240, 3. *plodder at Nouerint*] i.e. scrivener or petty lawyer, from the words 'Noverint universi' with which a writ began.

4-5. *Circumquaque*] i.e. circumlocutions, rigmaroles; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 145, 'Ye fetch circumquaques to make me beleeve.'

8. *gray paper*] Corresponding to brown paper (which is still so called in parts of Scotland). Whether actually grey or brown I do not know.

8. *siluer games*] I know nothing of these games. They are alluded to by J. Stockwood in his *Sermon of Aug. 24, 1578*, p. 50, together with 'baudie Enterludes', dicing, and card-playing.

8-9. *Finsburie fields*] Collier says, 'Finsbury Fields were at this period the usual resort of the citizens of London and others to practise shooting with the bow. See Thoms' edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 159, &c.'

29. *Lactantius*] Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 6 (Lactant. 1), cols. 334-5. From the *De Origine Erroris*, ii. 16. Nashe took the quotation from the *Isagoge*, p. 43. ll. 17-20, but Pictorius gives the book its correct title. Nashe apparently supposed it to be a work against Origen.

P. 241, 12. *a tricke in thy budget*] As we should say, 'I have something up my sleeve'; cf. Dekker, *Shoem. Hol.*, IV. ii (near end), *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 52: 'For that let me alone, I haue a tricke in my budget.'

14-15. *Promissis quilibet diues esse Potest*] altered from Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 443-4:

Promittas, facito! quid enim promittere laedit?
Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest.

It would perhaps have been better to follow A in reading 'potest', the capital is evidently a mere error.

15. *cap and thankes is all our Courtiers payment*] For Nashe's numerous other attacks upon the niggardliness of patrons see the index, s.v. patrons.

31. *like the Indians . . .*] There are, naturally enough, many allusions to the way in which the Spaniards obtained from the Indians gold and precious stones in exchange for trifles of no value. An interesting example is the diamond which Andreas Morales bought from a South American native 'for fyue of our coüterfet stones made of glass of dyuers colours, wherwith the ignorant younge man was greatly delyted', Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World*, trans. R. Eden, 1555, dec. iii, bk. 4, fol. 112.

P. 242, 4. *Thraso*] The name of a bragging soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*. Used to typify the character, as Gnatho for a parasite; see note on 220, 2.

8. *he will look your head*] i.e. he will search your head (for lice). See Cotgrave, *Dict.*, ed. 1650, s. v. Singe, 'Remuant les babines comme vn singe qui cherche poux en teste. *Stirring his chaps like an Ape that lookest a head for lice.*' So among the purposes for which, according to Scoggin, a certain priest kept a wench in his house were 'to make his bed And to looke his head'. (*Scoggin's Jests* in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 79). From the matter-of-fact way in which Erasmus in his Colloquy *De Amicitia*, in a story illustrating the hatred of apes for tortoises, tells how a boy—with a tortoise concealed under his cap—was brought to a monkey, and how 'illoco simius gaudens insiliit in humeros pueri, venaturus pediculos', it would almost seem as if this operation were one of the recognized duties, or prerogatives, of the animal at that date.

12-13. *that had thanks for three yeares worke*] So numerous are the complaints of the niggardliness of patrons in recompensing dedications that it would be useless to attempt to identify the writer here referred to. It may, however, be worth noting that John Stow has put it upon record that he himself received but thanks for three years' work. See his *Annals*, 1592, p. 815, foot: '*Edmond Dudley* in the time of his imprisonment in the tower compiled one notable booke, which he intituled, the *Tree of common wealth*, dedicated vnto king *Henry the 8.* A copy whereof faire written (reseruing the originall to my selfe) I gaue vnto the honorable L. *Robert erle of Leicester*, about the yeere 1562. At whose request and earnest perswasion I then first collected my summary of the chronicles of England, & dedicated the same, with the continuation and encrease thereof, from time to time to his honor, in reward whereof I alwaies receiued his hearty thankes, with commendations, and not otherwise, whatsoeuer hath beene reported by mine aduersary *T. S.*' The edition of 1605 (p. 818) adds 'but neuer came to his hand' after '*Henry the eight*' and 'to my great charges' after '*from time to time*'. In later editions all from '*A copy whereof faire written*' to the end is omitted. The *Summary* was first published in 1565, and did therefore actually represent about three years' labour. The passage which I have quoted is, perhaps intentionally, not quite clear, but Strype in his life of Stow (*London*, 1720, p. vi), takes it as I have done.

15. *We want an Aretine here*] Guilpin in his *Skialetheia*, 1598, C 5, ed. Grosart, p. 39, similarly says, 'Oh ! that the whip of fooles, great *Aretine*, . . . Liu'd in our dayes, to scourge these hypocrites, &c.', and there are other expressions of the same wish. The renown of Pietro Aretino in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century

was enormous and at the same time somewhat remarkable in character. On the one hand he was famous in literary circles on account of the position which he had claimed for literature and for the power which he had himself attained by the intolerable violence of his satire ; while on the other hand he was universally infamous for the licentiousness of much of his work. To what extent his reputation in this country rested on a real knowledge of his writings is not easy to determine. I have myself little doubt that many of those who praised him, including Nashe, did so rather because his name was the watchword of a coterie than because they were in any real sense his disciples.

Pietro Aretino was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, in 1492, the illegitimate son of a Florentine gentleman named Luigi Bacci and a woman called Tita. When quite young he got into trouble for a sonnet which he had written against the papal indulgences, and was banished to Perugia, where he lived until twenty-five years of age. His next residence was Rome, where he passed seven years in the service of Leo X and Clement VII, being finally obliged to leave on account of the notorious *Sonetti Lussuriosi* which he had written for the drawings of Giulio Romano. He took refuge with the famous mercenary captain Giovanni dei Medici, with whom he remained, save for a short interval, until 1526. In March of the following year he went to Venice, where he spent most of the remainder of his life, and where the greater part of the work by which he won so wide a reputation was written. Charles V, whom he had flattered, sent him a collar of gold, and Francis I a chain, the former afterwards adding a pension of 200 écus, and giving him many other marks of favour. Besides his satires and obscene works Pietro wrote several books of devotion (cf. ii. 265. 35, &c.), in the hope, apparently, that he might gain a cardinal's hat. This, however, was more than even his pen could effect, and though on a visit to Rome, shortly after the elevation of Julius III to the pontificate, he was greeted with the utmost cordiality and many promises were made to him, he soon saw that his ambition was hopeless and returned to Venice in disgust. He interested himself considerably in art and was a friend of Titian and, late in life, of Tintoretto. He died in 1554, the cause of his death being, as was said, his falling backwards in a fit of laughter and striking his head on the floor. Nashe has many references to Pietro, see especially ii. 264-6.

It may be well to warn those who have no acquaintance with Italian literary history—and only those—against confusing Pietro with any other of the numerous persons who bore the name of Aretino (i. e. of Arezzo). The best known was Leonardo Bruni, 1369-1444, translator of several dialogues of Plato, author of the *Storia Fiorentina*, and secretary to the Republic in 1410 and from 1427-44. Carlo Marsuppini, who succeeded Bruni in the secretaryship, was also known as Aretino. He was, however, more of a teacher than a writer. The person most easily confused with Pietro is, perhaps, the poet Bernardo Accolti, 1465-1535, to whom properly belongs the name 'L'Unico Aretino', often applied in error, as by Nashe at ii. 265. 28, to Pietro.

24. *buckram giants*] Cf. Falstaff's 'men in buckram' 1 *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 213-43, and 'thou serge, nay, thou buckram lord', 2 *Hen. VI*, IV. vii. 27-8.

P. 243, 7. *Amyntas*] It is not certain to whom this dedication is

addressed. Malone (*Shakespeare*, ed. Boswell, 1821, ii. 267 note) identified the Amintas of the present passage with Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby, who is alluded to under the same pastoral name in Spenser's *Colin Clout*, 1595. Collier, however, after noting that Watson had given the name of Amintas to Sir F. Walsingham, but that as he had died in 1590 he could not be the subject of the present dedication, suggests the Earl of Southampton. Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 132, agrees with Collier.

Of the two the Earl of Derby seems much the more likely. In dedicating his *Unfortunate Traveller* to Southampton Nashe uses language which certainly implies that he had dedicated nothing to him previously (ii. 201. 12-16), and while both Derby and Southampton were of high descent, this was especially true of the former, who was even regarded by some as being, through his mother Margaret Clifford, a possible claimant to the throne after Elizabeth.

24-5. *ouerdreep*] i. e. overhang, overshadow. The earliest instance given in *N.E.D.* is from Golding, *De Mornay*, 1587, M 2.

31. *Oh decus...*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 94, with 'magna,' not 'summa'.

P. 244, 1-2. *thou wouldest let... passe unsaluted*] It may be useful to give a list of those to whom sonnets appear in the first edition of the *Faery Queen*. They are :—Sir C. Hatton ; * Lord Burghley ; The Earl of Oxford ; The Earl of Northumberland ; * The Earl of Cumberland ; The Earl of Essex ; The Earl of Ormonde and Ossory ; Lord Charles Howard ; * Lord Hunsdon ; Lord Grey of Wilton ; * Lord Buckhurst ; * Sir F. Walsingham ; * Sir J. Norris ; Sir W. Raleigh ; * The Countess of Pembroke ; Lady Carew. (Those with * were not in the original issue, but appear in the four cancel leaves (Qq 1-4) which in some copies replace Pp 6 and 7).

20-1] Collier remarks: 'This simile does not seem very appropriate, because the rhimes with which the quaint comedians of Nash's time entertained audiences after the play was over, were what were called *jigs*, or merely ridiculous compositions intended to create laughter, and generally performed by the clown of the company with the aid of a pipe and tabor. See *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*, [1831, iii.] 376, 378, for some account of these exhibitions'. Collier's observation is just, but Nashe doubtless meant no more than that the sonnets to noblemen seemed light and short trifles after the serious business of the poem. A jig was practically any kind of minor entertainment, from a dance or song to a short play. Whether the extemporary rimes referred to in a story in *Tarlton's Jestes* (Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 224) would be called jigs I cannot say, but I should hardly think so. The story is a good illustration of the present passage and seems worth giving, though it does not show Tarlton at his best as a wit: 'I remember I was once at a play in the country where, as Tarlton's use was, the play being done, every one so pleased [was wont] to throw up his theame ; amongst all the rest, one was read to this effect, word by word :—

Tarlton, I am one of thy friends, and none of thy foes.
Then I prethee tell how cam'st by thy flat nose ;
Had I beene present at that time on those banks,
I would have laid my short sword over his long shankes.

Tarlton, mad at this question, as it was his property sooner to take such a matter ill then well, very suddenly returned him this answer:

Friend or foe, if thou wilt needs know,
 Marke me well :
With parting dogs and bears, then, by the ears,
 This chance fell :
But what of that ?
 Though my nose be flat,
My credit to save,
 Yet very well I can by the smell,
Scent an honest man from a knave.'

Among these jests there are several other examples of Tarlton's extempore rimes, several of them made at the theatres ; see pp. 204-7.

^{31-2.} *missee the cushion*] See note on i. 91. 10.

P. 245, 6-7]. Ovid, *Amores*, i. 3. 5, 6, with 'norit', not 'nouit'.

¹³⁻¹⁴] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 10. 56, 57. I have kept the arrangement of the early editions, in spite of the first line being a pentameter.

STRANGE NEWES OF THE INTERCEPTING CERTAINE LETTERS

i. Date of Composition and Publication.

Strange News must of course have been written after the publication of G. Harvey's *Four Letters, and certaine Sonnets : Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused*, to which book it is a reply. The Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the *Four Letters* is dated Sept. 16 [1592], but the work was not entered in the *Stationers' Register* until Dec. 4, and it seems generally to have been supposed that it was not published until that date. In *Kind-Heart's Dream*, however, which was entered on Dec. 8, only four days after Harvey's book, we find Chettle, in the person of Robert Greene or his ghost, reproaching Nashe with his slackness in making no reply to his enemies' 'twofold Edition of Inuictuies' (*Kind-Heart's Dream* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N.S.S. 61. 16-23). Now the Epistle to the Readers prefixed to Chettle's book mentions Greene's death as having occurred about three months previously, and we shall therefore be fairly safe in assuming publication to have taken place about the date of the entry. But the passage dealing with Nashe occurs in the first half of the book and must therefore have been written an appreciable time before this date, and we may therefore, I think, conclude that before the entry of Harvey's *Four Letters* there were in circulation certain attacks upon Greene and Nashe, and indeed that they had been so long in circulation that Nashe's neglect to answer them was being remarked upon.

We cannot, of course, be absolutely sure that the attacks which Chettle mentions were indeed the *Four Letters*, but it is, I think, natural to suppose so. Not only do such details of them as are given correspond exactly with the *Four Letters*, but the phrase 'The beginning of my dispraisers is knowne ; of their end they are not sure' (60. 24-5) seems to point at the rope-making business of the Harveys. It is not easy to say what Chettle means by the 'twofold Edition',

whether two editions, or one edition of which double the usual number of copies was printed, but a passage in Nashe's answer (263. 10-17), and the distinction which he draws at iii. 130. 35—131. 2 between Harvey's first 'butter-fly Pamphlet against *Greene*' and his 'Booke' against Greene and himself make it practically certain that Harvey first published a small pamphlet attacking Greene and Nashe, and afterwards enlarged it into the book which we have at present, this being issued about Dec. 4, and being at once replied to by Nashe. Probably the original pamphlet consisted of the second letter alone (cf. quotation at iii. 130. 36, &c.), with perhaps some preface or addition referring more particularly to Nashe and calling for a reply from him. Chettle when he wrote *Kind-Heart's Dream* may, as one in the printing trade, have known of the enlarged edition before publication. No copy of the 'butter-fly Pamphlet' seems to have survived.

There is no reason why, when once begun, *Strange News* should have taken long to write, and though Nashe was in the Isle of Wight, it is possible that if he received a copy of the *Four Letters* with as little delay as possible, his own reply might be in print and ready for issue on Jan. 12, 1592-3, but it would be quick work. Much later than this it cannot, however, have been issued, for we have to allow time, before March 25, for trouble to arise about a passage in the Dedication (see i. 248, 255) and for a new issue to be sent out with fresh preliminary matter. The only piece of internal evidence as to the date of writing seems to be an allusion to the cold weather (320. 21).

2. General Character of the Work.

After a burlesque dedication to one 'Maister *Apis lapis*' and an address to the readers, Nashe at once begins his reply to Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*. An account of the origin of the quarrel and an attack upon Richard Harvey's *Lamb of God* are inserted in the criticism of the first letter (270. 16—273. 23), but otherwise Nashe sticks fairly closely to the order and substance of the work under discussion.

3. Sources.

There is nothing to say under this heading. Nashe shows the same general reading as in *Piers Penilesse*, but the nature of the work allows few borrowings from others.

4. After History.

Though *Strange News* was no doubt widely read at the time of its appearance, it naturally enough had no enduring interest for the public, and though Nashe at one time intended to issue a second edition (iii. 139. 17-18), he never did so. So far as I am aware, save in the most general way, it is not alluded to at all in the writings of his contemporaries. Harvey replied in *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593. See the Introduction for a general sketch of the quarrel.

 References to the works of Gabriel Harvey are by the signatures of the original edition and by vol., page, and, when necessary, line of Grosart's reprint (referred to as G.H.). 2 Let. = Two other very commendable Letters, 1580; 3 Let. = Three proper and wittie, familiar Letters, 1580; 4 Let. = Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially

touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused, 1592; P. S. = Pierces Supererogation, 1593; N. L. = A New Letter of Notable Contents, 1593.

P. 253, 6. *Vnda impellitur vnda*] Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 181.

P. 255, 1. *Carminist*] Grosart glosses this in Harvey's *Works*, ii. 275. 16, where the word is quoted from Nashe, as 'poesy-maker'. I am by no means sure that this is the sense intended, but can suggest nothing better. Harvey seems to consider it a pedantical expression, classing it with 'absonisme', 'Prouditor', 'Dromidote Erogenist,' &c. Cf. 'carminicall arte' at 258. 23.

3. *Apis lapis*] This evidently conceals the name 'Beeston', and from l. 7 we learn that the person's Christian name was William, but the only William Beeston known seems to be an actor who was alive as late as 1652 and who is therefore out of the question (see Collier, *Hist. of Dr. Poet.* (1831) ii. 81, 91, 102). From ll. 21-2 it would appear that the dedicatee was already a man of ripe age.

7-10. *Rhenish wine & Sugar . . . nouam*] I do not know whether anything is meant by this 'learned writer'. The quotation is a line of Publius Syrus given by Aulus Gellius in *Noct. Att.* xvii. 14.

11. *nipitaty*] i.e. strong or good ale. The origin of the term, which was in common use, is obscure. For 'puls on' cf. i. 207. 14.

15. *your wonted Chaucerisme*] I presume that 'accept in good part' is the 'Chaucerism', but the phrase is quite common in Elizabethan English and was not Chaucerian at all, the earliest instance given by *N.E.D.* being from 1559.

16. *daily Orator*] Not, I think, one who prays to a person, but one who prays for him; no such sense seems, however, to be recognized in *N.E.D.*

24. *the durt of wisedome, called Alcumie*] 'lutum sapientiae' seems to have been some mystical term used by alchemists, but of what it meant I am ignorant. Nashe probably recollects a phrase in Sandford's translation of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, 1569, fol. 158^v, where, at the end of a list of 'the foolish mysteries and vayne riddles' of alchemy, we find 'of the seale of Hermes, of the dyrt of foolishness, (of wisdome I should say) & of infinite like trifles'. Cf. also Harvey, *Wks.*, ii. 69, *P. S. D* 3^v, 'Kelly knoweth his *Lutum Sapientiae*, and vseth his termes of Arte.'

P. 256, 4. *the Archdeacons Court*] The judicial functions of the bishops were as a general rule delegated to the archdeacons, who held courts which took cognizance of the offences of the clergy, and, in a less degree, of the laity, especially offences against morality, such as drunkenness, swearing and incontinence.

7. *An honest man of Saffron Walden*] i.e. Harvey senior; cf. 274. 13, &c.

10. *in red letters*] As the chief saints' days in the calendar.

12. *dudgen dagger*] A dagger with the hilt made of the wood called 'dudgeon', perhaps box-wood. Mr. Bond in his edition of Lyly, note on iii. 184. 35, explains the word as a dagger having the hilt graven with cross lines. In *Macbeth*, II. i. 46 'dudgeon' = hilt.

13. *Alderman of the Stilliard*] By an agreement made in 1282 between the Citizens of London and the 'Teutonics' (printed in Stow's

London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii. p. 203) the foreign merchants trading at the Stilyard were to have, or continue to have, an Alderman, who was, however, to be a freeman of London, and to be presented to the Mayor and the rest of the corporation on his election. See also note on i. 208. 30.

14–15. *when this last Terme was remooued to Hartford*] On account of the plague the Michaelmas law-term of 1592, which should have begun on Oct. 9, was first postponed and finally transferred from Westminster to Hertford, where it was to commence on Nov. 3 (*Acts of the P. C.*, New Ser., xxiii. 221 and 273–4).

18–19. *Eldertons parliament of noses*] This was presumably one of Elderton's many ballads, but it has, I believe, quite disappeared ; cf. iii. 177. 21, where it seems again to be referred to.

21. *iuite*] The usual indication of a wine-tavern ; cf. note on ii. 210. 23–4.

24. *sampsownd*] Apparently alluding to some person of the name of Sampson, but I cannot explain what is meant.

26. *Diù viuas in amore iocisque*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 6. 66, without 'diu'.

35–6. *he is scarce a Doctor till he hath done his Acts*] Harvey had a grace of the senate at Cambridge to incept there in law. Instead, however, of doing so he sought to be incorporated D.C.L. at Oxford and was licensed to that degree on July 13, 1585 ; see Clark, *Reg. of Univ. of Oxf.* i. 349. The reason of his not taking the degree at Cambridge is not clear ; cf. 278. 13, &c. Harvey claims that he did his acts at Oxford, and 'with as little premeditation, as euer such actes were done', *Pierce's Supererogation*, Ee 1^v, G. H. ii. 73–4.

36. *dodipoule*] i.e. blockhead. Instances of the word are given in *N. E. D.* from 1401.

didopper] i.e., literally, dabchick ; here fool. The earliest example of the figurative use given in *N. E. D.* is in *Pappe with a Hatchet*, Lylly, ed. Bond, iii. 395. 7, where, however, the editor considers that there is some allusion to the bird's habit of hiding under water. Cf. iii. 195. 32.

P. 257, 4. *Shakerley*] It does not seem possible to discover much about this personage, though he is several times referred to. He appears to have been a frequenter of Paul's and to have been notorious for his swaggering behaviour, while from one of the quotations given below, in which he is classed with Monarcho the Italian (see iii. 76. 25), it seems not impossible that he was a half-witted fellow who subsisted on the charity of those whom he amused. Among allusions to him the following may be mentioned : The 'Writer's Postscript' among the verses at the end of G. Harvey's *New Letter*, 1593, is beaded 'a frendly *Caveat* to the *Second Shakerley* of Powles' [i. e. Nashe], *Wks. of G. H.*, i. 296. 6 ; cf. also 295. 21 ; in *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593, Ee 1, Harvey speaks of 'a thing lighter then Tarletons Toy, and vayner then Shakerleyes conceit' (*Wks.*, ii. 325. 1–2 ; cf. 322. 15) ; F. Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, M 2, 'As they that walke stroutingly, and Shakerleyan like, are called proude and haughtie persons', and Aa 2, 'As a Chamæleon is feed with none other nourishment, then with the ayre, and therefore shee is always gaping : so popular applause dooth nourish some, neither doe they gape after any other

thing but vaine praise and glorie : As in times past *Herostratus* and *Manlius Capitolinus* did : and in our age *Peter Shakerlye of Paules*, and *Monarcho* that liued about the Court'.

Two persons of the name Shakerley are known—neither, probably, identical with this one. One was the writer of a book called *Poore Shakerley his knowledge of good and euil, called otherwise Ecclesiastes : by him turned into meeter*, printed for John Case by Robert Crowley in 1551 (Ames, *Typog. Antiq.*, ed. Herbert, p. 762). Mr. Hazlitt in his *Handbook*, p. 544, gives this person's Christian name as 'Peter', on what ground I do not know, as he does not seem to have seen the book. The other was a person who under the name of 'Scha Kerlay Inglese' wrote a guide book to Rome, printed in 1562 ; see Mr. Hazlitt's *Coll. and Notes*, 4th Ser., 354 : facsimiles in *The Connoisseur*, ii. 204.

4. *Queens foole-taker*] A burlesque office, 'The Queen's takers' were persons authorized to demand provisions and other necessaries for her use when on a progress.

11. *It stands you in hande*] i. e. it is your duty, you had better.

12. *Connicatchers*] The terms 'cony-catcher', for a 'sharp' or 'fool-taker', and 'cony-catching' were no doubt rendered familiar by R. Greene's series of pamphlets beginning with *A Notable Discovery of Cosenage* in 1591, which were widely popular, but it would seem, from a story told in this work (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 32) of a justice who did not understand the expression, that it was comparatively new at this date.

13-14. *the Verser, the Setter, and the Barnacle*] Perhaps taken from the tract of Greene mentioned in the preceding note, which opens 'There be requisit effectually to act the Art of Cony-catching, three several parties : the Setter, the Verser, and the Barnacle' (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 15). The Setter makes acquaintance with the person whom it is wished to defraud, and persuades him to drink with him, or in default of this gets from him some information as to who he is, which he hands over to the Verser, and which enables the latter to pretend to be a near neighbour, or even kinsman, of his. If they succeed in getting the cony to drink and play cards with them, the Barnacle, who pretends to be a stranger to them, comes in, and being induced to join in the game acts as their confederate. See also Dekker, *Bellman*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 131, which with the preceding pages is based on Greene's work.

17. *Barnardines*] A jesting allusion to the order of St. Bernard and at the same time to the so-called 'Barnard's law', a method of cheating at cards by the aid of a confederate who feigns drunkenness, and who is called 'the Barnard'. See Greene, *Wks.*, x. 10-11, 37, 38; Dekker, *Wks.*, iii. 124-31.

18. *M. Vaux of Lambeth*] I can learn nothing of him.

24. *And hath neuer saint . . .*] 4 *Let. F 1*, G. H., i. 208. 24-5. Harvey is not referring to his own father in the passage, but is speaking generally.

34. *of the olde cut*] i. e. of the old fashion. In *Mother Bomby*, II. iii. 47, of one who is 'too simple to be naturall: too senseless to bee arteficiall' it is said 'Doubtles she is an idiot of the newest cut !'

P. 258, i. *raigne*] Cf. i. 343. 12 for the form of the expression.

his Rhetorike] i. e. Harvey's *Ciceronianus*, 1577.

6-7. *after twentie in the hundred*] For certain odd uses of 'after' cf. i. 170. 32 and note. The phrase seems to mean 'thoroughly'.

7-8. *two staves and a pike*] Nashe explains this at iii. 123. 25-6 as 'a kinde of old verse in request before he [i. e. Harvey] fell a rayling at *Turberuile or Elderton*'.

10. *bumbast*] i.e. cotton, or other material used for padding clothes, &c.

13. *Gawens scull*] I have not elsewhere met with this statement about Gawain's skull, but his bones are several times referred to. There was a difference of opinion about the place of his burial. Holinshed thought Dover (*Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 577, 579) and says that his bones 'remained there to be shewed a long time after'. Mr. F. Sidgwick refers me to Caxton's mention of Gawain's skull as still to be seen in Dover Castle (Preface to *Morte Darthur*). Malmesbury, on the other hand, said that he was buried at Rhôs in Pembrokeshire (Holinshed, u.s., p. 580), as does Leland (*Coll.*, ed. Hearne, i. 148, 407, ii. 291), who states that Gawain's sepulchre was found there in 1086. R. Robinson in *A Learned . . . Assertion of the Life . . . of Prince Arthur*, 1582, D3, speaks of Gawain's 'giant-like' bones being found at Dorchester, mentioning Rhôs as an alternative story.

17. *John Davies soule*] This must refer to Sir John Davies' poem on the Immortality of the Soul, published in 1599 under the title of *Nosce Teipsum* (ent. *S. R.* Apr. 14, 1599). In his edition of 1697 Nahum Tate dates the dedication of the poem to Queen Elizabeth as July 11, 1592, but in copies known this is undated. Mr. Bullen in *D. N. B.* says that the poem was composed at Oxford in 1596-7, and the existence of a MS. copy dedicated to Edward Coke as 'Her Majesty's Attorney General' seems also to date it after 1594, when Coke received the appointment. It is probable that Nashe's reference is to some early version of the poem which had been circulated in MS.

the blew Bore in the Spittle] I do not understand this. The 'Blue Boar' may have been the sign of some tavern, but I cannot find any mention of one so named.

26-7. *Dictum puta*] Terence, *Andria*, i. 1. 2.

27. *as dead as a doore naile*] Fairly common. Cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, i. 88, "'Of a troth,'" quoth she, "this is but bad wine; it is even as dead as a doore naile."

27-8. *Haud teruntij estimo*] Apparently not in Terence; cf. Plaut. *Capt.* iii. 1. 17 'Neque ridiculos iam teruncii faciunt'.

28. *cattes meate and dogges meate*] Cf. Lyly, *Mother Bomby*, II. ii. 26-7, 'The boy hath wit sance measure, more than needs; cats meat & dogs meate inough for the vantage.'

32-3. *Vade, vale . . . frangas*] Horace, *Eph.* i. 13. 19.

P. 259, 4. *workes of supererrogation*] The expression no doubt suggested to Harvey the title of his answer, *Pierce's Supererogation*.

6-7. *darting of quills . . . like the Porpentine*] The belief that the porcupine was able to shoot out his quills was held by Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix. 39. (26) 7; see also Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 31, and Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 53. It is frequently alluded to by Elizabethan writers.

9-10. *with Tiberius Cæsar pretending to see in the darke*] See Pliny, *H. N.* xi. 54 and Suetonius, *Tib.* 68.

13. *holde the candle to the Deuill*] i. e. ? assist my enemy by giving an opportunity for attack ; cf. Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i, ll. i., *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 26, where Bellafront's servant, holding her mirror and a candle before her, says, 'infaith I looke like an old Proverbe, *Hold the candle before the devill!*' Doubtless a perversion of the saying 'To set up a candle before the devil'; cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 42, which apparently alludes to the placing of candles before the images of saints.

17. *Tam Mercurio quam Marti*] Cf. i. 169. 5-6 and note.

19. *tye knottes on smooth bulrushes*] i. e. find fault without reason ; probably allied to the more common saying 'to seek a knot in a rush' ; see i. 373. 12 and note.

27-8. *Pierce Pennilesse haue they turnd to a coniuring booke*] Alluding to the hidden meanings which seem to have been found in it ; cf. i. 154. 18, &c.

29-30. *the hog that conuerts the sixth part of his meate into bristles*] Cf. Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* viii. 6 (8). 3 ἀπογίνεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ, δύον ἐλκει ζῶσα, τὸ ἔκτον μέρος εἰς τρίχας καὶ αἷμα καὶ τὰ τουαύτα.

32—260. 4. *Aretine . . . too*] In the Prologue to *La Cortigiana*, 'se la selva di Baccano fosse tutta di Lauri, non basterebbe per coronar i crocifissori del Petrarca, i quali gli fanno dir cose con i loro comenti, che non gliene fariano confessare diece tratti di corda' (*Teatro Italiano Antico*, 1809, vi. 291).

P. 260, 8-9. *collections*] i. e. inferences.

22. *wraps himselfe in earth, like the Foxe*] Not, I think, classical, unless a vague reminiscence of Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* vi. 24, where the method in which the fox catches the *otis* is described.

25. *Apes . . . glowworme*] See Camerarius, *Fab. Aesopicae*, 1571, no. 382, p. 365 'Simii et Avicula'. Again referred to at iii. 314. 19-21.

28. *fools fire*] i. e. ignis fatuus.

35—261, 1. *at him that giueth the dog in his Crest*] The dog (a talbot) was the crest of the Talbot family. Presumably Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, is meant. He had been brought into notice at this time by his quarrels with other members of the family after his father's death in 1590.

P. 261, 2. *wheate sheaffe*] The cognizance of Lord Burghley. See it as a device on the title-page of a section of Harvey's *Grat. Vald.* (F3), and as a crest above Burghley's arms on F4^v.

2-3. *Intelligendo faciunt ut nihil intelligent*] Terence, *Andria*, Prol. 17 'Faciunt nae intellegendo, ut nihil intellegant'.

4-5. (as the Alcumists are said to persecute Nature)] Perhaps from C. Agrrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 90, de Alcumistica, 'Alcumistica itaque sive ars, sive fucus, sive naturae persecutio dici debeat, profecto insignis est, eademque impunis impostura . . .' It may be remarked that Sandford's translation has in both editions 'pursuite of nature' for 'naturae persecutio'. It would thus seem that if the phrase does actually come from Agrrippa Nashe had read it in the Latin, not in the translation. That he was, however, familiar with the latter is shown by his quotation at ii. 141. 20-2 of a passage from Sandford's dedication.

16. *Three proper . . . letters*] Published in 1580.

18. *Queenes English*] This appears to be one of the earliest

examples of the expression ; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. English, which refers for 'King's English' to *Merry Wives*, I. iv. 6.

23. *Hold vp thy hand*] At a trial the accused person was called upon by the clerk to hold up his hand before the indictment was read to him. This was presumably intended either to distinguish the accused to whom the particular indictment had reference, or possibly to make sure that he was aware of what was going on. References to the custom are very numerous ; cf. the trial scene in *Liberality and Prodigality*, V. v, Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 380 ; Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 259. 26 ; iii. 150. 23. In Dekker's *Hon. Whore*, Pt. ii, IV. ii ; *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 159, 'Ile not misse that Sessions ... Tho I hold vp my hand there my selfe,' means 'I'll be there, even though it should be in the dock'.

30-1. (*whose impression thou paistd for*)] Cf. 258. 1-4.

P. 262, 2-3. (*a fatal time to familiar Epistles*)] I do not understand the allusion ; unless Nashe means 'in a fatal hour for Gabriel Harvey' — calling him by the name of the class of writings with which he was associated.

3-4. *gimpanado*] This is the only instance of the word in *N.E.D.* ; no explanation is attempted. One might perhaps conjecture some affinity to the word 'jimp', slender.

5. *booke-beare*] A nonce-word made on the model of bug-bear.

5-6. *writes himselfe One of the Emperour Iustinians Courtiers*] This seems to allude to a passage in Harvey's letters to Spenser, 3 *Let.* E 2, G. H. i. 87. 1-3, [I am become a] 'straunger at myne olde Mistresse Poetries, being newly entartayned, and dayly employed in our Emperour Iustinians seruice'. He means, of course, that he is studying the Civil Law. Cf. also 3 *Let.* A 3, G. H. i. 34. 15.

9. *scarabe flye*] On the use of the words 'scarabaeus' and 'cantharides' 'de contemptissimo vilissimoque homunculo', see Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 10. 5.

13. *the blind Vicar*] Are we to infer from this and ll. 25-9 that Richard Harvey had become blind ? I cannot find any mention of such a thing elsewhere, but it would account for the quarrel being taken up by Gabriel, and for the apparent cessation of Richard's literary activity about this time. His last work was the *Philadelphus*, printed in 1593 but apparently written before June 14, 1592, the date of an epistle to Gabriel which it contains.

15-16. *in my Alphabet of Idiots I had ouerskipt the Hs*] I do not know to what this refers—if, indeed, it is meant as more than a joke.

19-20. *as verie a Turke as hee that ... ranne vpon ropes*] Several acrobats of the time are alluded to, but this Turk escapes me.

23. *out of the Buttery*] In comparing him to the butler of Pembroke cf. 197. 28.

25-6. *decayed eyes with iniquitie*] 'Eyes decayed with iniquitie' is meant ; for similar inversions cf. iii. 87. 14 ; 215. 33-4 ; 318. 2-3.

P. 263, II. *sowterly*] i.e. shoemaker-like, but often used in a vague depreciatory sense ; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. iii. 52.

10-15] This seems to bear out Chettle's 'twofold Edition of Inuictiues' ; see pp. 152-3.

24. *Saint Fame for mee*] Harvey afterwards made much ridicule of this expression. He seems to have intended to follow *Pierce's*

Supererogation, by 'certaine larger Discourses, intituled Nashe's S. Fame'; see title-page of the former.

P. 265, 5. *Fawneguest*] i.e. sycophant, toady.

10-11. *some matters of Note*] See title of the *Four Letters*, G.H. i. 153. 7. *Strange News* and *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* contain, of course, a large number of allusions to, and quotations from, the writings of Harvey to which they reply. As the index to Grosart's edition of his works is only of occasional service in finding the passages referred to, I have thought it best to give references for them, numerous as they are, in these notes. I feared that if I should take it for granted that no one, save myself, would ever wish to look them up, I might prove as wrong as Nashe himself was in supposing that no one at all would ever trouble to do so (iii. 45. 2-5). I give signatures of the original edition, and vol., page, and line of Grosart's edition (referred to as 'G.H.'). To save space, when two or more passages are taken together from the same page of the original I do not repeat this.

12. *iumpē*] i.e. exactly, fitly.

13-14. *ouer the head*] I cannot explain this.

17. *melodiouslie addoulce*] 'my Melody addoulce', 4 *Let. I* 3, G.H. i. 247. 15.

17. *deuine Entelechy*] G.H. i. 247. 8.

18-19. *O man in Desperation*] A tune which is several times referred to; cf. Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 770; Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, ll. 14-16, 'What resteth then but wee... sing out our ill fortune to the tune of *O man in desperation*.' See also *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, 1907.

19. *Marenzos Madrigals*] i.e. the Madrigals of Luca Marenzio, an Italian composer of great celebrity († 1599). A number of his compositions appear in the English music-books, such as *Musica Transalpina*, 1588, which contains ten, and *The First Set of Italian Madrigals Englished*, 1590, where twenty-three out of twenty-eight are his (see contents of these in *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, and long list of his works in Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker*). A friend learned in the music of the period tells me that there is no reason for regarding mournfulness as a special characteristic of Marenzio's work.

21-2. *Entelechy*] No example in *N.E. D.* earlier than 1603.

26] 4 *Let. A* 2, G.H. i. 155. 1-2.

28. *Megge Curtis*] I have no notion who this person may be, though from her habitat it may be guessed that it was not for her virtues that she was known. In the curious list of disguised names in Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, 1607, l. 1575, there is one 'Mega Court'. It seems not impossible that the same person is referred to.

29. *to stop mustard pots with*] See note on i. 192. 22-3.

P. 266, 1, &c.] 4 *Let. A* 1^v, G.H. i. 154.

P. 267, 2-3] Nashe in what immediately follows is dealing with Harvey's Epistle 'To all Courteous Mindes'; what precisely he means by 'Orator Gabriel to the Catilinaries or Philippics' I do not know. He would, we may suppose, call his own work, not that of his enemy, a Catilinary or Philippic, but the phrase is Harvey's, 4 *Let. F1^v*, G.H. i. 210. 1.

4-7] See 4 *Let. A* 2-2^v, G.H. i. 156. 17-18; 157. 3-4; 157. 22-3; 158. 4.

9] See 4 *Let. A 2*, G.H. i. 155. 7.

10. L] i.e. letter, inserted, as occasionally elsewhere, to show that the writer is quoting; see 4 *Let. A 2*, G.H. i. 155. 3-6. Nashe of course arranges his quotations so as to make them appear as ridiculous as possible, even when the words quoted are not altered. Here, for example, Harvey does not 'take precise order' to endite things unworthy to be published, as Nashe pretends, but he craves pardon for enditing such things and 'wil hereafter take precise order, either neuer to importune you more, or to sollicite you for more especiall cause'. As it will be quite impossible in these notes to call attention to any but a few of the most important of Nashe's misrepresentations of Harvey, it should be understood that the quotations must not be taken accurately to represent what Harvey wrote, which is far less absurd than Nashe would make out.

14-16] I allowed the bracket to stand as in the original, but it would have been better to read as follows: 'amongst the which Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches (his fathers pouerty, and his owne pride) were none of the meanest.' The reference is, of course, to Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*.

21. M. Bird] i.e. Christopher Bird, the writer of the first epistle in Harvey's *Four Letters*, introducing Harvey to Emmanuel Demetrius. He was a fellow townsman of Harvey's at Saffron Walden, where he was then residing (4 *Let. A 3, 4*, G. H. i. 160. 2, 15-16; 162. 2-3), but Harvey cannot have been intimate with him, for he says, in 1593, that he never dined or supped in his company 'these six yeares' (*Pierce's Supererogation*, E 1^v, G. H. ii. 74, 6-7). I am not aware that anything is known of him beyond these references. Harvey was also acquainted with a Richard Bird, fellow of Trinity College, and in 1576 curate in the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden, *Letter-book*, 173-6.

M. Demetrius] Emanuel Demetrius, a friend of Bird. From the heading of Bird's letter to him, 4 *Let. A 3*, G. H. i. 159, it appears that he lived 'by the Church in Lime-streete in London', and from G. H. i. 162. 4-5, that he was absent from London at the time of Harvey's arrival there. From *Pierce's Supererogation*, E 1^v, G. H. ii. 74. 7-8, we learn that Harvey had never drunk with him, which is as much as to say that his acquaintance with him was of the slightest. He seems to have been a somewhat distinguished foreign merchant, for we hear of his being several times called upon by the Privy Council to act as arbitrator, in conjunction with other citizens of good position, in cases affecting merchant strangers. See *Acts of the P. C.* 17 Jan., 15 Feb. 1590/1 and 29 Sept. 1600. In the last case he is called an Italian merchant and his colleague in the arbitration is one Phillip Corsini. The name seems, however, rather Dutch than Italian, and we find him on 5 July, 1591, acknowledging a debt to the Queen, in apparent partnership with Abraham van Hericke, a manifest Dutchman. These are letters from Demetrius in MS. Cotton, Jul. C. iii.

23-4] Cf. 4 *Let. A 2*, G. H. i. 155. 13-15, which runs, 'albeit [my writing is directed] against those, whose owne Pamflets are readier to condemne them, then my Letters forwarde to accuse them.'

26-7] 4 *Let. A 2*, G. H. i. 156. 5; 'in euerie meade' is an addition.

29-30] 4 *Let. A 2*, G. H. i. 156. 9-10; cf. 4 *Let. G IV*, G. H. i. 220. 18-19.

P. 268, 3. *Rhetor*] i. e. *G. Harveii Rhetor*, 1577.

10-11. *when hee mist the Oratorship of the Vniuersitie*] Harvey was a candidate for the Public Oratorship on the resignation of Richard Bridgewater in Oct. 1579: he was, however, defeated by Anthony Wingfield, fellow of Trinity. See *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, p. xxxviii.

11. *in the sequelle of his booke*] 4 *Let. C 2*, G. H. i. 179.

14. *subaudi*] i. e. signify, mean; the somewhat odd sense is apparently derived from the regular use of the word in the grammars for 'understand' or 'supply'. Cf. Dekker, *Hon. Wh. III. iii., Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 51, 'You, goody Puncke, *subaudi* cockatrice,' and Middleton's *Family of Love*, III. ii. 28. 'Love, *subaudi* lust.'

15-17] This is a most puzzling statement. Mr. Fleay supposes 'Piers' father' to mean Lylly, *Biog. Chron.*, ii. 134, which is somewhat out of accord with the opinion expressed on p. 126 of the same volume that the *Almond* is neither by Nashe nor by Lylly. See Introduction as to the authorship of the *Almond*. For Mistress Lawson see note on i. 83. 13.

19-20] Cf. 4 *Let. A 2*, G. H., i. 156. 12-13; 'aprooued truth' is added.

22, 24-5] Cf. G. H., i. 156. 15-17.

26] G. H., i. 156. 20, 22.

29. *Respice finem*] Alluding to his father's trade of rope-maker. Cf. *Com. of Errors*, IV. iv. 44-6, 'Mistress, *respice finem*, respect your end; or rather the prophecy, like the parrot, *Beware the rope's end*'. Steevens notes that the phrase occurs in Dekker's *Satiromastix* [Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 233], 'but come: *Respice finem*.' It must surely be an alteration of '*respice finem*', but this has apparently no authority in classical Latin (see *N. & Q.* 3rd. S., vi. 417). Erasmus gives '*Finem vitae specta*', *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 3. 37. In *N. & Q.* 5th S. viii. 74, E. Marshall pointed out that the line '*Quicquid agas, prudenter agas, et respice finem*' appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 103 [ed. Oesterley, p. 431]: see also *N. & Q.* 5th S. vi. 313. *Respice finem* is of frequent occurrence, at least from 1550, at which date it is used, as if a well-known Latin tag, in Latimer's *Sermon at Stamford*, towards end.

P. 269, 4. *compard me to Martin*] In the Epistle to his *Lamb of God*, a3; see Appendix B.

8, 9] 4 *Let. A 2^v*, G. H. i. 157. 5-8.

19. *Io. Pœan*] i. e. Richard Harvey; see i. 196. 4 note. The stop after 'Io' looks as if the printer had supposed it to mean 'John'.

25. *fraterrime frater*] 4 *Let. K IV*, G. H. i. 253. 13. Harvey is referring to his dead brother John, not to Richard.

26-7. *crackt thy credit through the ring*] A combination of two common phrases, 'to crack ones credit' as in *James IV*, IV. v. 93 and frequently, and 'to be clipped or cracked within the ring', said primarily of a coin which is damaged within the outer ring of the impression and is hence not current, and then in certain obvious derived senses; cf. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 448, and Lylly, *Woman in the Moone*, III. ii. 266.

29. *sider cloke*] i. e. wider cloak.

30. *wilt obiect, thy Father was abusd*] 4 Let. B 1^v, G. H. i. 167.

P. 270, 4-5. *the sonne of a Ropemaker*] See i. 196-7 margin.

19. *in his blundering Persiual*] i. e. *Plaine Percevall the Peace-Maker of England*. This passage, which is of much importance as showing Nashe's connexion with the Marprelate controversy, is discussed in the Introduction.

23. *dribbed forth*] To 'drib' in archery was to shoot directly at a short range; cf. Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, st. 2: 'Not at the first sight, nor with a dribbed shot Love gave the wound, which while I breathe will bleed.'

But is there not here, as perhaps in *Measure for Measure*, I. iii. 2, 'The dribbling dart of love,' some confusion in the sense? Nashe evidently uses the word contemptuously for a feeble, aimless sort of shot. Cf. iii. 222. II.

32. *forme*] It may be questioned whether the word should not be 'foame'.

P. 271, 1. *Didimus*] I suppose that Nashe refers to the Alexandrian grammarian of the name, who is said to have written 3,500 or 4,000 books; cf. iii. 60. 11-12.

12-14] See the *Epistle* in Appendix B, sig. a3.

15. *beeing chiefe agent for the companie*] Mr. Fleay in summarizing the contents of *Strange News* says, 'Then Greene, being chief agent for the company [the Queen's men], for he writ more than four other [Kyd, Peele, Marlow, Lodge], canvassed the three brothers . . .' (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 134-5). I cannot agree with Mr. Fleay's bracketed annotations: 'the companie' surely means no more than the 'vs' of p. 270, l. 20, i. e. the anti-Martinist writers, while 'more than four other' is, I think, too ordinary a phrase for any definite reference to be sought in it.

17. *Sat citò, si sat bene*] A saying attributed to Cato by S. Jerome, *Ep.* 66, § 9, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 644; see Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 1. 1 end, also Suetonius, *Aug.* 25 'sat celeriter fieri, quidquid fiat satis bene.' Many similar sayings are given by Mr. W. F. H. King in his *Classical Quotations*, under 'festina lente'.

18. *Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches*] i. e. the *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*. See the Introduction as to Greene's attack on the Harveys in this work.

19. *collections*] i. e. inferences, reasonings.

21. *Tria sunt omnia*] I know nothing of this proverb, which may well have reference to one of the numerous mystical significations attached to the number; cf. Ausonius, *Idyl.* 11 'Gryphus Ternarii numeri,' also the chapters on the various numbers in C. Agrippa's *Occulta Philosophia*, of which lib. ii. cap. 6 deals with three.

22. *parriall*] See *N.E.D.* s. v. pair-royal, of which this is a form, i. e. a set of three things of the same kind, especially in card-games a set of three cards of the same denomination. The present is the earliest instance of the word.

29-30. *as I sawe him make an Apparriter once in a Tauern eate his Citation*] In *Sir John Oldcastle*, II. i, a sumner is made to eat his citation, and in *George a Greene*, ed. Grosart, 136-53, Sir Nicholas Manning is compelled to eat the seals of a commission which he

brings from the Earl of Kendal. The incident is found in the prose *History of George a Greene*, on which the play was founded; of this, however, no printed copy exists of an earlier date than 1706; see Greene's *Wks.*, ed. Collins, ii. 169 foot. See also Scott's *Abbot*, note F, 'Abbot of Unreason', where a similar incident is described as taking place at the castle of Borthwick in 1547; and, for a case in Feb. 1594-5, Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, ii. 346.

32. *dog-killer*] It was customary in times of plague to kill all stray dogs for fear of their carrying infection. Strype in his edition of Stow's *London*, 1720, cites a proclamation issued in August, 1563, during a plague time to the effect that 'Notice [was] given that a Man was hired to kill Dogs, as many as he could find in the Streets; and that he had a Fee to look every Day and Night for them' (*London*, u.s., bk. v, p. 431). Among the orders for the plague of 1570 is one that the 'Common Hunt' is 'To kyll Doggs, &c. or to loose his Place', and that dogs may not be taken about the streets unlesss led (u.s. p. 433). See also Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, IV. i. 322-5:

I would 'twere lawful in the next great sickness,
To have the dogs spared, those harmless creatures,
And knock i' the head these hot continual plagues,
Women, that are more infectious,

and Mr. Bond's note in the Variorum ed. J. Taylor in *The Fearful Summer*, 1625, B3, speaking of the profit that the plague brings to certain classes, such as sextons, grave-diggers, &c., says:

And last, the Dog-killers great gaines abounds,
For braining brawling Curres, and foisting hounds.

34. *So Hares . . .*] As noted by Mr. Fleay, this line comes from *The Spanish Tragedy* [I. ii. 172], where in Mr. Boas's Kyd the reading is, however, 'beard' not 'beards'. Mr. Boas compares *King John* II. i. 137-8:

You are the hare of whom the proverb goes,
Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard.

See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iv, cent. 7. 82 'Mortuo leoni et leporibus insultant,' and 'Leo a leporibus insultatur mortuus' among the *Sententiae* of P. Syrus. Mr. C. Crawford remarks that the allied saying 'noli Barbam vellere mortuo leoni' (Martial, *Epig.* x. 90. 9-10) is cited by Montaigne, *Essaies*, iii. 5, towards end. Simpson suggested some connexion between *Histrionastix*, VI. 47, 'Poore flyes will tickle Lyons being dead' and the line quoted by Nashe.

36. *The Theater, Poets hall*] Cf. Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, beginning of chap. 6, 'The theater is your Poets Royal Exchange.'

P. 272, 4. *lambswooll*] 'A drink consisting of hot ale mixed with the pulp of roasted apples, and sugared and spiced,' N.E.D. An early instance of the word is to be found in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* (c. 1590), ed. Gummere, in Gayley, *Repr. Eng. Com.*, I. 60, 'Lay a crab in the fire to rost for lambes-wooll.'

8-9] 'I present it . . . euen vpon former premisses heretofore since your Lordships being in Cambridge to this daie, not for any future consequents hereafter,' *Lamb of God*, A2, ll. 20-4. This, as well as

the three quotations which follow, is taken from the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Essex.

10-11] 'the Booke desireth not your speciall patronage, it is not worthie of so honourable a specialtie,' *Lamb*, A 2, ll. 24-6.

12] 'neither may I trouble your excellent Lordship with Theologicall peculiars,' *Lamb*, A 2, l. 26, &c.

13] 'saued a poore wounded souldier from the mouth of the sword,' *Lamb*, A 3, ll. 2-3. The odd phrase was not Harvey's invention but a bit of pedantry; cf. Genesis 34. 26 margin (G.V. and A.V.).

14-15] 'thy heat maketh their heads to ake, their harts to pant, their spirits to faile them, that they may, as it were, call for butter out of a lordly dish, & milke out of a bottle with *Sisara*,' *Lamb*, p. 5, ll. 4-7.

19. *finicallitie*] i. e. fastidiousness; again at ii. 226. 15.

21. *inter oves & boues, & reliqua pecora campi*] Cf. *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, l. 258 and note, where the saying is traced to Psalm 8. 8 (Vulgate) 'omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, oves et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi.' Several examples are given, among them Marston's *Fawn*, II. i, 'a whole stock of cattle, *oves et boves et cetera pecora campi*'. For the theological meaning of the phrase (Churchmen, ministers, and the unregenerate) see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 36 (Augustinus 4), cols. 114-15, and *P.C.* 21 (Rufinus), cols. 677-8. Mr. Crawford points out to me that immediately after this Marston refers to 'some surly groom, the third son of a rope-maker'. This is curious, but there seems no room for an allusion to the Harveys.

24. *inckehornisme*] Earlier than first example (1597-8) in *N.E.D.* The expression 'ink-horn term' for a learned or bookish word is found as early as 1543 (*N.E.D.*). See iii. 277. 1377 note.

25-6] 'the octonarium of *Ramus*, and the sesquiamus of *Freigius*', *Lamb*, p. 9, ll. 7-8. For *Ramus* see note on i. 43. 33-4. J. T. Freigius († 1583), a German jurisconsult, was one of his strongest supporters and wrote a life of him. I cannot discover what is meant by 'octonarium' and 'sesquiamus'.

26-7] 'the Carthusianisme of *Dyonisius Rikel*', *Lamb*, p. 10, l. 8. D. de Leewis de Rickel († 1471), a Carthusian monk, wrote a large number of theological works and commentaries.

27. *Annals . . . Chronologies*] See *Lamb*, p. 10, ll. 16-17.

28] 'tropological scholemen' *Lamb*, p. 6, l. 24. The first word occurs frequently in other combinations; cf. p. 6, l. 30; p. 7, l. 6; p. 9, l. 30, &c.

28-9] 'more religious eny way then Abetilis of the Aethiopians or Preto-Ioanans,' *Lamb*, p. 10, ll. 28-9. The 'Preto-Ioanans' are the people of Prester John, who was at this time supposed to rule over the Ethiopians (cf. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.* ed. 1903-5, i. 71, vi. 169). Compare the 'Pretegoani' of Odoricus (Hakluyt, i. 436), who are, apparently, the same. For the 'Abetilis' see M. Dresser, *De Statu Ecclesiae et Religionis in Aethiopia sub Praecioso Ioanne*, in Neander's *Orbis Terrae Partes*, 1586, L1 2 'Habent Aethiopes quendam librum, quem ab omnibus Apostolis, quando Hierosolymis congregati fuerunt, scriptum esse arbitrantur. Hunc sua lingua vocant Manda & Abetylis.'

29] 'Guilielmus Minatensis,' *Lamb*, p. 6, l. 25. G. Durand, or Duranti (1230-96), Bishop of Mende (dept. de la Lozère), was a well-

known authority on canon law and ecclesiology, his most famous work being the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, first printed in 1459.

29-30] 'as S. Ierome did [i.e. left] his allegorized *Abdias* in his ripe age,' *Lamb*, p. 11, ll. 28-9. *Abdias* was the pretended writer of an Apocryphal book entitled *The History of the Apostolical Contest*. St. Jerome wrote part of a commentary on the work in his youth, and revised it thirty years later. This is now lost.

30. *Lyra*] *Lamb*, p. 6, l. 24. Nicholas de Lyra (c. 1270-1340), a French theologian, his chief work consisting of commentaries on the Bible.

Gryson] *Lamb*, p. 8, l. 16. As Harvey speaks of 'Grison or any caualliere' he must mean, I think, Federico Grisone, a writer on horsemanship, one of whose works had been translated by T. Blundeville, c. 1580, as *The Art of Riding and Breaking Great Horses*.

Porta] *Lamb*, p. 8, l. 17. I suppose that J. B. Porta, 1540-1615, the Italian physician, is meant. His *Magia Naturalis*, 1589, seems to have been widely read.

Pantaleon] *Lamb*, p. 10, l. 10. Henri Pantaleo, or -eon (1522-95), a Swiss historian.

P. 273, 1-4] Cf. [When I read . . .] 'How he tooke *Lia* for his bedfellow by night in stead of *Rachel*, I learne not to admit the bride by darke but by light, seing the obiect is now come to sensible prooфе and past imagination, specially if I be in a strange country as *Jacob* was, where all eyes are few enough,' *Lamb*, p. 7, l. 30, &c.

5-8] Cf. 'For whē I reade the history of *Jacob* the patriarche, how he was deceiued by his vnkle *Labans* wordes, I learne to take heed, and make no couenant without witnesses, writings, and seales, for more certainty,' *Lamb*, p. 7, ll. 21-5.

9-11] Cf. [When I read] 'how by laying pilled rods with white strakes in the watering places of the sheepe, they brought forth yong of party colours, I note that in carnal mixture the senses are opened, and so the conceits greater, and so the fancy stronger,' *Lamb*, p. 8, ll. 10-14.

14-15. *that Greene told you . . . kisses*] Doubtless in the passage in the *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, in which the Harveys were attacked. See Introduction—the Harvey-Nashe Quarrel.

19-20. *Homines rard nisi malè locuti malè factunt*] The English form of this saying occurs in *Christ's Tears*, ii. 72. 29-30. I have not found its origin.

20. *Olet hircum*] Horace, *Sat.* i. 2. 27; i. 4. 92. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iii, cent. 4. 66.

30-1. *a certificate (such as Rogues haue)*] Harman in his *Caveat for Cursitors* frequently refers to the licences or certificates, generally counterfeit, carried by various kinds of beggars, as the 'rogue', the 'pallyard', the 'frater', the 'counterfeir cranke', the 'dommerar', &c.

32-3] 4 *Let.* A 3, G. H. i. 159. 8; cf. 160. 16, &c.

P. 274, 3-4. *thou professest thy self a Civilian*] Harvey's study of the Civil Law seems to date from about 1578, when he was elected to a fellowship at Trinity Hall, a college especially devoted to the study of that subject.

10-11] This and the quotations which follow are from 4 *Let.* A 3-3^v, G. H. i. 160.

17. *hath borne office*] 'bare the chiefest office,' G. H. i. 160. 18.

20. *at Cambridge*] 'in Cambridge and else where,' G. H. i. 160.

20. We only hear of three, Gabriel, Richard, and John, as being at Cambridge. Cf. also 4 *Let.* I 4^v, G. H. i. 251. 11.

21. *gets his living backward*] Cf. Greene's *Quip, Wks.*, xi. 259-60—a collier is discussing a rope-maker—'Honest with the Diuell, quoth the Collier, how can he be honest, whose mother I gesse was a witch, for I haue heard them say, that witches say their praiers backward, and so doth the Ropemaker yearne his liuing by going backward, & the knaues cheefe liuing is by making fatall instruments, as halters and ropes, which diuers desperate men hang themselues with.' This saying against ropemakers is found in Rabelais iii. 50 (cf. *Prognoſt. Pantag.*, c. 2), and is of frequent occurrence in English, but so far as I can learn the real point of it has not been explained. Cf. 303. 34-5.

22. *ridiculouslie*] Bird's letter has 'well'.

24. *shrunke in the wetting*] A common phrase; cf. G. Harvey, *Wks.*, i. 68. 7; Lodge, *The Devil Conjoured*, 1596, A 2^v; *Tarlton's Jests*, in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 214.

27-8. *returning sicke ... was past writing any more Almanackes*] As Gabriel Harvey tells us, 4 *Let.* D 1^v, i. 187. 28-188. 6, his brother 'liued not to see nine and twentie yeares, and died not, till the Vniuersitie of Cambridge had bestowed upō him a grace to bee a Doctor of his facultie, and till hee was reputed in Northfolke, where he practised phisicke, a proper toward man, and as skilfull a Phision for his age as euer came there: how well beloued of the chiefest Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen in that Shire, themselues testifie.' For his Almanacks see list of the Harveys' works in Appendix A.

31. *Liuor post fata quiescat*] 4 *Let.* A 3^v, G. H. i. 161. 1, from Ovid, *Amores*, i. 15. 39 'Pascitur in vivis Livor, post fata quiescit.' I know nothing of 'Mother Liuers': cf., however, the quotation from Clowes in note on i. 182. 4; possibly she was the old woman at Newington.

P. 275, 1. *judgen*] i. e. trashy, worthless.

2. *Sonnet*] i. e. that by Christopher Bird, 'A due Commendation of the Quipping Author [i. e. Greene],' 4 *Let.* A 3^v, G. H. i. 161.

3. *Put vp ... Peter*] The name Peter seems to have been a current gibe at a hot-tempered man, taken of course from the story of St. Peter in John 18. 10, 11; cf. Lodge and Greene's *Looking Glass for London and England*, Greene, ed. Grosart, xiv. 17 (ed. Collins, i. 209), 'O Peter, Peter, put vp thy sword, I prithie heartily, into thy scabbard.' Also Dekker, *Satiromastix* (*Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 237), 'Done Peter, put vp your smeeter.'

6. *bayards*] i. e. blindly ignorant persons; the expression is connected with some forgotten story about 'blind bayard', constantly referred to in the proverb, 'as bold as blind bayard.' A bayard is a bay horse—also used as a horse's name; cf. Chaucer, A. 4115.

7. *a false gallop*] i. e. canter, but most frequent in a figurative sense, as here.

9-10] Mr. Crawford compares B. Jonson's *Discoveries*, concluding lines, 'You admire no poems, but such as run like a brewer's cart upon the stones, hobbling.'

13. *mechanical*] i. e., as usual, unlearned, boorish; Nashe does not

mean that Harvey's verses were 'mechanically constructed' in the modern sense.

15] 'Now sick, as a Dog: and euer braine-sick,' 4 *Let. A* 3^v, G. H. i. 161. 8.

20] G. H. i. 161. 12-13, 'and Enuy salutes with shortest vowels, and with longest mutes.' I suppose the meaning of this curious phrase to be—he says little and, so far as possible, keeps silence; cf. 4 *Let. E* 3, G. H. i. 203. 16-22.

21. *mute*] i. e. to void excrement; properly said of birds—as of the sparrows in *Tobit* 2. 10.

26. *vp and downe*] i. e. exactly; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, IV. i. 85, '[he] has euen my maistrisse face vp and downe.' Cf. ii. 237. 35.

28. *the Connycatcher*] In reference to his pamphlets on 'Cony-catching'.

31. *Whip it*] Cf. 'Whippet' in iii. 201. 6. The lines are evidently not intended to make sense.

32. *falangtedo*] Cf. iii. 239. 182.

33. *conatus in fiddle*] I do not know if this has any meaning.

P. 276, 2. *at the hard heele*] i. e. close at the heels. This is before the instances given in *N.E.D.*, but similar phrases, as 'to the hard ears', are common much earlier. Thus Ben Gorion, *Hist. of the Jews*, ed. 1575, S 3-3^v, 'he besieged Hierusalem, euen at the harde gates.'

4. *trip and goe*] Cf. iii. 240. 212.

6-7] 4 *Let. A* 4, G. H. i. 162. 1-3.

17-18] 4 *Let. A* 3, G. H. i. 159. 8.

25. *bolsterer*] Perhaps a misprint for 'bolsterers'.

26. *go through stitch*] i. e. deal thoroughly, completely.

30. *Thraso*] Cf. i. 242. 4.

34. *Timothie Tiptoes*] To go on tiptoes was synonymous with to bear oneself proudly; cf. iii. 65. 9-10, also *Hen. V*, IV. iii. 42.

34-5. *made a Latine Oration to her Maiestie*] i. e. on the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to Audley End, in July, 1578; see Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, ii. 111-15. She was there visited by the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and the Masters of various Colleges of Cambridge, who made her various presents, and entertained her with Latin orations, and with a philosophical disputation in which the two theses 'Clementia magis in Principe laudanda quam severitas' and 'Astra non imponunt necessitatem' were maintained by Mr. Fleming of King's College, and opposed by G. Harvey, Palmer, and Hawkings.

P. 277, 5-6. *a lookes like an Italian*] This was doubtless intended as a compliment, for Elizabeth liked Italians; cf. F. W. Maitland in *Camb. Mod. Hist.* ii. 563.

8-9. *volume of Verses*] The *Gratulationes Valdinenses*. See Appendix A.

20-1] G. H. i. 82. 5-6. Verses in a letter to Spenser in the *Three Proper Letters*, 1580, E 2. The original has 'might' for 'may' and 'Laurell' for 'Ewe tree'. In the second line I restore 'I' as in Harvey.

25-6] The lines, if not the invention of Nashe, must have been gathered by him from tradition. They do not appear in Harvey's works.

34. *thou never wentst up to it yet*] See note on 256. 35-6.

P. 278, 12. *regentium & non*] As to the powers of the regents and non-regents (generally speaking, those actively engaged in teaching, and those not so engaged), see Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, i. 142-3.

12-13. *two faces in a hoode*] A very common saying—here, of course, used jestingly; cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 39; Greene's *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii. 94. 12, v. 43. 21-2.

17. *Noli me tangere*] The expression comes, I suppose, from John 20. 17 'Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum.' It had doubtless long lost all sense of its origin.

22-3. *in arenam & puluerem Philosophicum*] Not found. Cf. iii. 370. 1.

24. *Aih me, quoth Wit in lamentable sort*] This must be a quotation, but I have not succeeded in tracing it.

27. *No point*] i. e. by no means; cf. *L. L. Lost*, II. i. 190, and Florio, *World of Words*, 1598, 'Punto . . . neuer a whit, no iota, no point, as the frenchmen say' (*N.S.S. Trans.*, 1880-6, p. 560).

31. *Pumps and Pantofles*] Nashe is attacking Harvey's supposed pride. Pantofles, though used in several senses, means here high-heeled shoes—chopins (cf. Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, N.S.S. i. 57-8), and 'to stand upon one's pantofles' was a common phrase for to stand on one's dignity, to be arrogant, or assertive; see *N.E.D.* s. v., also indexes to Grosart's Nashe and Dekker for many examples. What 'pumps' were I do not know. In some cases low slippers are evidently meant, which were of course an alternative foot-wear to pantofles; cf. *Tell-Troth's Message* in *T.-T.'s New Year's Gift*, N.S.S., p. 122:

Some dames are pumpt, because they liue in pompe,
That with *Herodias* they might nimblly daunce,
Some in their pantophels too stately stompe,
And most in corked shooes doe nicely prauince.

Sometimes, however, it seems as if pantofles and pumps were worn together; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 43, 'On their legs they had fine yellow stockings; pumps and pantofles on their feet'; *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 23, 'One standing all vpon his pumps and pantables, will be aboue a Shomaker'; and Dekker, *Hon. Whore* Pt. i, V. ii, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 83.

P. 279, 1-2. *Vnde habeas . . .*] Ennius, in Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 207.

2. *Dorbell*] See note on i. 198. 13.

9-10. *Hauke . . . walnut-tree*] I cannot learn that a hawk was supposed to have any special liking for a walnut-tree, as seems here to be implied.

11-12. *and there are confirmed in the same degree*] See note on 256. 35-6.

18. *dodkin*] i. e. a doit, a small Dutch coin, hence any coin of little value.

20. *write himselfe Right worshipfull*] See the heading of Spenser's sonnet 4 *Let. K 2*, G. H. i. 253.

23-6] Cf. 4 *Let. A 4*, G. H. i. 162. 10-16.

24. *hearing*] This spelling of 'herring' is not uncommon; cf. 288. i, also *Merry Wives* (Qto. i) vii. 6 (*Cambr. Sh.*, = II. iii. 12).

26] i. e. to omit the references to the Harveys in Greene's *Quip*. This was done by means of a cancel. See Introduction.

P. 280, 6. *conscious minde*] G. H. i. 162. 18.

7. *halfe fac'd*] Properly applied to a coin bearing a face in profile, but common as a term of contempt, imperfect, second-rate; cf. 'half-fac'd groat' in *Downf. of Rob. E. of Hunt.* V. i. in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 188, and *King John*, I. i. 92-4; similarly 'halfe faced friends' in *Martin's Month's Mind*, B 3^v, Grosart's Nashe, i. 154.

15. *Thomas Delone*] T. Deloney (1543?-1607?) a silk-weaver by trade, and a writer of ballads, besides, as it is supposed, certain prose works, such as *The Gentle Craft*, which attained great and long-enduring popularity. Nashe has several references to him.

Phillip Stubbs] The author of the *Anatomy of Abuses*. He wrote two or three Puritan ballads in his youth; see *Anat.*, ed. Furnivall for N. S. S., 56*-60*, where some short extracts are given.

Robert Armin] Actor and dramatist (1570?-1611?), acquaintance, and, to some extent, pupil and successor of Tarlton, author of *A Nest of Ninnies*, the *Two Maids of More-clacke*, &c.

16. *Elderton is abus'd*] 4 Let. A 4, G. H. i. 163. 6-9. He is called a 'drunken rimester'.

20. *feare no colours*] i. e. fear no foe. This is an early instance of the expression, which later is frequent. Cf. iii. 32. 20 and 2 Hen. IV, V. v. 93.

21. *bonauenture licour*] The meaning is not clear. *N.E.D.* gives examples of the word in 1592 as a kind of ship, and in 1598 as '? an adventurer', quoting for the latter 'Chapman, *Blinde Begg. Plays*, 1873, I. 14, "Oh sir, you are but bonaventure, not right spanish I perceave."

29 *great frost*] Cf. note on iii. 29. 20-5.

30-1. *in his . . . Earthquakes*] i. e. in Harvey's *Three Proper Letters*, 1580, 'Master H^s. short, but sharpe, and learned Iudgement of Earthquakes.' G. H. i. 51, &c. For the reference to Elderton, see C 4, p. 62.

32. *Broome boyes*] *N.E.D.*, quoting this passage, explains '? a street-sweeper, or broom-seller'. The latter is, I think, the meaning; cf. i. 63. 19-20 and note, from which it appears that broom-sellers also acted as old-clothes men, an occupation which has always been considered somewhat disreputable. Greene in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 238. 7, contrasts 'a brome man in Kent streat' with a courtier, as if occupying opposite ends of the social scale. Kent Street is in Southwark; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iv, p. 31; it was 'a Street very long, but ill Built, chiefly Inhabited by Broom Men, and Mumpers [i.e. beggars]'.

cornecutters] i. e. chiropodists (*N.E.D.*, with this example).

35. *handsmooth*] i. e. flat, as if smoothed by the hand; again at 324. 33.

P. 281, 6. *Paris Garden*] Cf. note on i. 83. 5.

6-7. *the interpreter of the Puppits*] See i. 173. 11 note.

7-8. *Harry of Tame and great Ned*] Probably well-known bears, but I have not seen any list of the Paris Garden bears earlier than J. Taylor's *Bull, Bear, and Horse*, 1638. It is, I suppose, too early for Harry Hunkes and Ned Whiting to be referred to (see *Epigrams* by

J. D., No. 43, in Marlowe, ed. Bullen, iii. 242 and Jonson's *Epicoene* III.i). The latter was contemporary with George Stone (d. 1606; see *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg. p. 105). But the fact that so many of the bears are mentioned by name, as if well known, suggests that they lived for a considerable time.

8-10] 4 Let. A 4^v, G. H. 163. 27-164. 8.

8. *Titius shall not upbraid Caius*] I cannot explain the allusion.

9. *flurt*] Harvey has 'flurt at', which seems to have been the more usual construction.

12. *hoddy doddy*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 135, says, 'Dr. Doddipol again'; see note on iii. 14. 8. The expression was, however, quite common; cf. *Roister Doister*, I. i. 25, 'Sometime I hang on Hankyn Hoddydoddies sleeve,' and *Nobody and Somebody* (in Simpson's *Sch. of Sh.*), l. 376, 'a very hoddy doddy, all breech.'

17-18] 4 Let. A 4^v, G. H. i. 164. 14-16.

19. *what mister wonders*] Nashe apparently means 'what kind of wonders'; see *N.E.D.* s.v. *mister sb.*¹ 5.

21] Cf. 4 Let. A 4^v, G. H. i. 164. 14-21.

24-30. *Mother Hubbard...*] 4 Let. B 1, G. H. i. 164. 22. Spenser's satire on court vices and follies was published in 1590, in the volume of 'Complaints', though written much earlier. As to the question of whether it was called in, as has been stated, see Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 539, ii. 326-7.

25. *nodgscombe*] i. e. ninny; the earliest instance in *N.E.D.*, but 'nodgecock' in a similar sense occurs in 1566. Again at iii. 79. 29.

31] 4 Let. B 1, G. H. i. 164. 23.

P. 282, 11-12. *the imputation . . . friendship*] i. e. the blame of being this idiot's friend, or, possibly, the accusation which the idiot in his friendship brings against you.

23. *Asse in presenti*] This frequently occurring jest is derived from W. Lily's Latin Grammar, in which some hexameters headed 'G. L. de simplicium verborum primae coniugationis communi praeterito' begin 'As in præsenti, perfectum format in aui. Vt no nas nau: vocito vocitas vocitau'. (*A Short Introduction of Grammar*, 1577, G 3^v.)

32. *idem per idem*] Again at iii. 361. 31. Nashe repeats the idea at iii. 151. 29, &c.

35-6] 4 Let. A 4^v, G. H. i. 164. 16-17.

P. 283, 1. *Iacke of the Falcon*] I know nothing of him; he is again mentioned at iii. 68. 32.

5-8] For all these see 3 Let. D 3, G. H. i. 71. Grosart incorrectly prints 'dubble sacred Tani' for the 'dubble faced *Tani*' of the original.

11-18] 3 Let. D 3-3^v, G. H. i. 72. 21-73. 2.

19-21] Cf. 4 Let. C 2, G. H. i. 178. 10-13; 'cut and longtaile' is Nashe's. Harvey has, 'I can easely defie the proudest.'

22-3, 25-6] 4 Let. A 4^v, G. H. i. 164. 19-20, but Harvey does not include Tully and Horace among the 'venemous . . . railers'.

32. *Epistles to Collin Clout*] i. e. the *Three Proper Letters*, 1580; see F 1, G. H. i. 93. 15-20.

P. 284, 3. *Dic sodes*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 1. 62 and 16. 31; Terence, *Andria*, i. 1. 58, and very frequently.

Dicke Sothis] I have no notion what is meant by this unless, as I have suggested, it stands for 'Dicke Sot his' (of course punning on 'Dic sodes'). Florio, in the Preface to the Reader of his *World of Words*, 1598, A 5^v, has 'Hugh Sot' as a burlesque name. A morrice dancer seems to be referred to, but none of the name 'Sothis', or who might have been called 'Dick Sot', seems to be known.

20. *art-thriuing]* Intended perhaps to mean—in which the arts thrive.

24. *draw a curtaine . . . picture]* The drift of the whole of this passage is far from clear. Nashe seems merely to mean that it is easier—and less meritorious—to pass over faults in silence than to attack them.

35-6. *Phrygian melodie . . . Dorian tune]* Probably taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 28, 'Porphirius termeth it [i.e. the Phrygian measure] barbarous, because it is onely fitte to stirre vp men to battaile, and furie.' (The Latin has, 'ad furorem et pugnas.') It was, however, the Lydian, not the Dorian, mode that favoured mirth. Agrippa calls the former 'meete for such as are by nature merrie and pleasaunt', while the latter is 'the grauest and honestest' and 'profitable to liue well and vprightly'.

P. 285, 4-5. *all Lawe and no Gospell]* i.e. threaten them with punishments and say nothing of mercy. The phrase was, I believe, proverbial; it occurs again at i. 373. 32. I know nothing of the 'preachers to the Curtizans'.

7. *thou mad'st a man runne and hang himselfe]* It was the daughters of Lycambes, not the man himself, who committed suicide in consequence of Archilochus's attacks.

21. *Dromidote]* Dromodotus or Dromodotus is the name of the pedant in *Pedantius*; cf. ed. Moore Smith, page v, note.

Ergonist] i.e. 'wrangling logician,' *N.E.D.*, where this is the only example of the word; cf. 'Gabriell Ergo' at iii. 67. 1.

25. *Hugh Copland]* I can learn nothing of him. Two or three pamphlets and broadsides were, however, issued under the initials H. C., such as the 'Dolefull Ditty, or sorrowfull Sonnet of the Lord Darley' (Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 70).

P. 286, 4-5. *Kings are Gods on earth]* Proverbial; cf. Menander (in Apx. to *Aristophanes*, Didot, p. 91 l. 79), Βασιλεῖα δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστιν ἔμψυχος θεοῦ.

7. *Seneca]* Nashe seems to consider that the tragedy of *Octavia*, doubtfully attributed to Seneca, was the cause of his being compelled to kill himself.

8. *Lucan]* He was condemned to death by Nero for his share in the conspiracy of Piso. The phrase 'sprinkled . . . chayre' reads like a quotation, but I cannot trace it.

10-11. *Ouid once saw Augustus . . . seene]* The cause of Ovid's banishment is of course unknown. Nashe seems to refer to a view based chiefly upon *Tristia*, ii. 103 ff., iii. 5. 49-50, but it has usually been held that Ovid witnessed some crime committed by a member of Augustus's household, rather than, as Nashe seems to think, by the emperor himself.

13. *blinde]* i.e. veiled, by secret allusions.

15. *scapes]* i.e. 'escapades,' almost invariably used in this special

sense; cf. Wilson, *Art of Rhet.*, 1584, p. 112, 'Maidens that haue made a scape, are commonly called to be [wet-] Nurses.'

15-20. *Licaon . . . Narcissus*] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 216 ff., ii. 683 ff., iii. 143 ff., xi. 85 ff., iii. 341 ff.

21. *Carpet Knight*] Cf. Whetstone, *Rock of Regard*, 1576, ed. Collier, p. 82, 'Now he consults with carpet knights about curious masks, and other delightful shewes.' This is the earliest instance in *N.E.D.*; later the expression is very common.

22. *Hermaphroditus*] Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 285 ff.

28. *Jobbernoule*] i.e. blockhead; earliest example in *N.E.D.*.

31-3] Cf. 4 *Let.* B 2, G. H. i. 168. 1-2. The words 'for calling thy Father Ropemaker' are added.

P. 287, 5-6. *Kentish-tayld*] Cf. the expression, 'Kentish long-tails . . . A note of disgrace on all English men, though, it chances to stick onely on the Kentish at this day.' Ray, *Collect. Prov.* 1670, 233 (*N.E.D.*, s. v. Kentish 2). The old fancy that Englishmen had tails is fairly frequently referred to. See a note in Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, N.S.S. 287, ll. 10-13, where the article in Ducange on *Caudatus* is referred to. Ducange quotes Jacobus de Vitriaco († 1244) *Hist. Occid.* cap. 7 'Pro diversitate regionum mutuo dissidentes . . . opprobria impudenter proferebant, Anglicos potatores et Caudatos affirmantes'. See also Bale, *Acts of Engl. Votaries*, ed. 1560, i. E 4^v-5, 'Iohan Capgraue [*Nov. Leg. Angl.*, ed. C. Horstman, 1901, i. 96. 23, &c.] and Alexander of Esseby [i. e. 'Ashby'] sayth, that for castynge of Fyshe tayles at thys Augustyne, Dorsette Shyre Menne hadde Tayles euer after. But Polydorus [Pol. Vergil, *Angl. Hist.*, ed. 1555, p. 218. 13-20] applieth it vnto kentish men at Stroud by Rochester, for cuttinge of Thomas Becketts horsses tail. Thus hath England in all other land a perpetuall infamy of tayles by theyr wrytten legendes of lyes.' Cf. M 7^v-8, 'an englysh man now cannot trauayle in an other land by way of marchandyse or any other honest occupyinge, but it is most cōtumeliously thrown in his tete, that al English men haue tailes.' The story told in the *Nova Legenda* about St. Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, is also in the *Legenda Aurea* (trans. Caxton, Temple ed. iii. 201).

8. *like the spire of a steeple*] Cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, B 4^v, 'his [i. e. the devil Boasting's] beard is cut like the spier of Grantham Steeple.'

14. *tainting*] 'tenting' is, I suppose, meant; i.e. probing or sounding.

18. *Lord*] i.e. Lord Oxford.

18-19] 4 *Let.* C 4, G.H. i. 184. 6-7.

19-20. *pist as much against the walls*] Cf. i. 206. 15-16. Also *Utopia*, 'Temple' ed., p. 99, 'And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themselves have pyssed it agaynst the walles, yet . . .'

34. *Will. Monox*] I can learn nothing of him.

P. 288, 1. *hearing*] i.e. herring; see 279. 24.

3-4. *though . . . contrarie*] Cf. 4 *Let.* B 3, G. H. i. 171. 13-14.

9. *goose turd greene*] The colour is mentioned by Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, 1587, bk. ii, cap. 7, end, together with 'pease porridge tawnie, popingale blue,' and 'lustie gallant' as one of 'a sort of hewes deuised

for the nonce, wherewith to please phantastical heads'. Cotgrave has, '*Ver d'oye.* Goose-turd greene; a greenish yellow; or a colour which is betweene a greene and a yellow' (note in N.S.S. *Harrison*).

12. *By S. Siluer*] A merely burlesque saint, I suppose.

13. *casting for the worlde*] i. e. contriving in worldly matters.

16-17. *Frustra fit per plura . . . pauciora*] A law maxim; see the *Sententiae sive Loci Communes Utriusque Iuris*, 1585, C 4^v.

19] 4 *Let.* B 3, G.H. i. 170. 11-12. The passage, Harvey's first reference to Nashe, runs: 'Alas, euen his fellow-writer, a proper yong man if aduis'd in time, that was a principall guest at that fatall banquet of pickle herring, (I spare his name, and in some respectes wish him well) came neuer more at him: but either would not, or happily could not, performe the duty of an affectionate, and faithfull frend.'

24. *my Lord Welles*] I am unable to explain the allusion.

30-1. *thy Muses foot of the twelves; old long Meg of Westminster*] There was, perhaps, some saying as to the size of Long Meg's feet, and to this Deloney seems to refer in a passage in *The Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 13-14, where Meg being measured for a pair of shoes by Richard Castelar, the latter says that he has not a last big enough—'as in height thou overlookest all, so in the length of thy foot thou surpasest all.' The exact sense of Nashe's words is not very clear. Cf. 1 *Ret. from Parnassus*, ll. 463-4, 'Why, here's poetrie hath a foot of the twelves! why, I cannot abide these scipjake blanke verses.' This also is not clear; the characters have been talking in rime, and the last line is a fourteener.

35-6] 4 *Let.* B 4, G.H. i. 173. 7-8.

35. *Mistris Isam*] The person, apparently the wife of a shoemaker near Dowgate, with whom Greene lodged during his last illness (4 *Let.* B 3, G.H. i. 171. 5, cf. A 4, 162. 8-9). For the bays with which Mistress Isam crowned the dead Greene see 4 *Let.* B 3^v, G.H. i. 172.

P. 289, 9-10] 4 *Let.* B 4, G.H. i. 173:

Heere Bedlam is: and heere a Poet garish,
Gaily bedeck'd, like forehorse of the parish.

The lines are referred to in 2 *Ret. from Parnassus*, I. ii. 67-8 (ll. 185-6), 'What have we here? The Poett garish Gayly bedeckt like forehorse of the Parish.' Greene was buried in the 'New-church-yard near Bedlam'.

11] Cf. 4 *Let.* B 4, G.H. i. 174. 9.

i. 174, 24-5. 13-15. *The next weeke . . . French occurrences*] 4 *Let.* B 4^v, G.H.

18. *newes out of Calabria*] Cf. note on i. 23. 24-5.

23. *fly-boat*] i. e. a light, swift boat; cf. i. 118. 20.

26-7. *out of which . . . time*] I know nothing of this.

28] 4 *Let.* B 4^v, G.H. i. 175. 2-3.

31-5] Cf. 4 *Let.* C 1, G.H. i. 175. 25-176. 1. 'Poet Hobbinol'—Spenser's name for Harvey in the *Shepherd's Calendar*—is Nashe's addition.

P. 290, i. *compiled a Pamphlet called Ciceronis Consolatio ad Dolabellam*] I can make nothing of this extraordinary story to which Nashe again alludes at iii. 94. 28, and which Harvey merely ridicules

(*P.S. E 2*, G. H. ii. 74). Nashe must be referring to the well-known work put forward under the name of Cicero, but supposed to have been written by C. Sigonio, which begins ‘Quamquam recentibus morbis medicinam adhibere vetant sapientes . . .’ It was published in 1583 under the title, ‘*M. T. Ciceronis Consolatio. Liber quo se ipsum de filiæ morte consolatus est. Nunc primum repertus et in lucem editus. Apud H. Polum: Venetiis, 1583.*’ an edition being printed in England by Henry Middleton for William Ponsonby in the same year (copy in the Bodleian). Tullia, Cicero’s daughter, was the wife of Dolabella. There seems to be not the slightest reason for supposing that Harvey had anything whatever to do with the book or its publication, but there may have been some report to that effect. It is curious that in a letter of Robert ‘Battus’ to Stephen Waterhouse on August 31, 1583 (Bodl. Rawl. D. 985, fol. 46) the writer passes directly from discussing the Harveys to discussing this new-found work of Cicero (‘quem licet suppositum arbitrantur nonnulli’), though he does not suggest any connexion between the two subjects.

8. *Barnewell wall*] Barnwell is one of the parishes of Cambridge, and at this time there was a Barnwell Gate, opposite to Christ’s College, and a ‘Barnwell Cawsey’ which continued Jesus Lane, but I can learn nothing of a wall so named. Possibly it may have been the wall of the old Augustinian priory of Barnwell, which was situated on the river bank.

21. *Carrel*] i.e. Nicholas Carr, 1524–68, the famous Greek scholar, Fellow of Pembroke Hall and Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. He translated several orations of Demosthenes into Latin.

25] Harvey’s letter to Spenser in *Two Other very commendable Letters*, 1580, is subscribed, ‘Trinitie Hall, still in my Gallerie.’

34. *kulleloo*] I do not know the word,—evidently a term of derision.

P. 291, 7. *Ad ruentem parietem ne inclina*] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 6. 69 ‘In caducum parietem inclinare,’ a saying of the Emperor Hadrian; see Spartanus, *Adr. 23*.

20–1] 4 *Let. B 4v*, G. H. i. 175. 19–20.

24–5] Harvey praises the Earl of Essex and Sir John Norris at i. 175. 8–9.

28. *Batillus*] i.e. Bathyllus, an inferior poet mentioned in the life of Vergil ascribed to Donatus.

P. 293, 3–7] 4 *Let. C 1*, G. H. i. 176. 7–10.

17. *non causam pro causa*] A logical fault of obvious nature; cf. Wilson, *Rule of Reason*, 1551, S 6, ‘This is as thei saie in English, better a badde excuse, then none at all, in Latine it is called, *non causa pro causa posita*’, and Whitgiff’s *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, pp. 27, 293–4.

So also Harvey, 3 *Let. C 4v*, G. H. i. 63. 22–4, ‘we mistake *Non causam pro causa*, and sophistically be entrapped *Elencho Finiū*’, and *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, l. 840.

28. *like Tamberlaine*] See *Tamburlaine*, Pt. ii., IV. iv. The scene was constantly alluded to; cf. Dyce’s Marlowe, p. xvii, or the note to ll. 3978 f. in Wagner’s edition, and was imitated by Lodge in the *Wounds of Civil War*, I. iii.

30–2] Cf. 4 *Let. C 1v*, G. H. i. 177. 8–10. Harvey has ‘schollers,’ which we should perhaps read here; cf. p. 294. 3.

33. *Ille ego . . .*] The first of four lines, now generally acknowledged to be spurious, prefixed to the first book of the *Aeneid*.

P. 294, 6-7] Cf. 4 *Let.* K 1, G. H. i. 252. 12-13. 'Bodkin' is Nashe's perversion of the name of Jean Bodin (1530-96), the author of a well-known political work, *De la République*, 1576, and of *La Démonomanie des Sorciers*, 1580, in which he upheld the existence of witches, and which was severely dealt with in R. Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*.

11. *Titius and Sempronius*] 4 *Let.* C 1^v, G. H. i. 177. 20-1, 'I had rather name *Titius*, or *Sempronius*, then my selfe.' Harvey merely means—others.

15. *Habemus reum confitentem*] Cf. Cic. *Pro Ligario*, 1. 2 'Habes . . . confitentem reum,' as noted by Prof. Moore Smith in *Pedantius*, l. 2702, where the expression occurs. It is given in Bouvier's *Law Dict.*, as a maxim, in the form 'Habemus optimum testem confitentem reum'.

19. *Fortune my foe*] 4 *Let.* C 2, G. H. i. 178. 8-9. See Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 162, where a large number of references to this ballad and tune are collected.

21-2] 4 *Let.* C 2, G. H. i. 178. 9-11, 'But in the plainnesse of my nature, and simplicitie of my Arte, I can easely defie the proudest, that dareth cal my credite in question.'

23. *infractissime Pistlepragmos*] I have not been able to discover any possible source for the name.

23-8] 4 *Let.* C 2, G. H. i. 178. 19-21, 17-18.

31] Cf. G. H. i. 179. 4, 6.

32] Cf. 267. 29, &c.

34] G. H. i. 179. 9.

P. 295, 1-4] Cf. 4 *Let.* C 2, G. H. i. 179. 10-12.

2-3. *our high Chauncelors commendation*] i. e. Lord Burghley, who had written in support of Harvey's candidature for the Public Oratorship; cf. *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, p. xxxviii.

18-19] 4 *Let.* C 2-2^v, G. H. i. 179. 15-17.

20. *cutte his bridle*] Evidently proverbial, but unknown to me elsewhere.

22-3] Cf. 4 *Let.* C 2^v, G. H. i. 179. 17-19.

24. *Coppinger and Arthington*] Two religious fanatics who caused considerable disturbance in London in July, 1591, by proclaiming one Hacket to be Christ Jesus come to judge the earth. See Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 760-1, &c., and also the *Conspiracie, for pretended Reformation*: viz. *Presbyteriall Discipline* . . . [By R. Cosin], 1592.

27-8. *a Noble-man stode in his way*] One of Harvey's letters to Spenser published in 1580 (3 *Let.* E 2^v, G. H. i. 84-5) contained a poem by the writer in English hexameters, entitled, 'Speculum Tuscanismi,' which seems to have been generally taken as an attack upon the Earl of Oxford, with whom the 'passing singular odde man' therein described had, it would appear, an unfortunate resemblance. It is impossible to say whether the verses were really intended as an attack or not, but seeing that the Earl of Oxford had travelled in Italy in 1575-6, and had, in the year before the letter was published, quarrelled with Spenser's great friend Sir Philip Sidney, it must be confessed that there were at least reasonable grounds for

supposing them to be so meant. Harvey totally denied that Oxford was in any way aimed at, and as the passage is of some importance it must be quoted in full (*4 Let. C 4*, G. H. i. 183. 21, &c.): ‘an other company of speciall good fellowes, (whereof he was none of the meanest that brauely threatned to coniure-vpp one, which should massacre Martins wit, or should bee lambackd himself with ten yeares prouision) would needs forsooth verye courtly perswade the Earle of Oxforde, that some thing in those Letters, and namely the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordeship I protest I never meante to dishonour with the least prejudiciale word of my Tongue, or pen: but euer kept a mindefull reckoning of many bounden duties toward The-same: since in the prime of his gallatest youth, hee bestowed Angels vpon me in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gratiouse fauours at the affectionate commendation of my Cosen, M. Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas, shortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland.’ The person alluded to as having persuaded the Earl of Oxford that he was pointed at in Harvey’s verses was the author of *Pappe with a Hatchet*, where we read (Lylly, ed. Bond, 400. 25–35): ‘And one will we coniure vp, that writing a familiar Epistle about the naturall causes of an Earthquake, fell into the bowells of libelling . . . If he ioyne with vs, *periisti Martin*, thy wit will be massacred: if the toy take him to close with thee, then haue I my wish, for this tenne yeres haue I looke to lambacke him.’ The cause of the ill-feeling between the writer, whom we may take to have been Lylly, and Harvey is not known. Cf. *P. S. R 3*, G. H. ii. 209–10.

32–4. *Doctour Pernes picture . . . defac’d*] See the passage from Harvey quoted by Nashe at 283. 11–18.

35. *Signior Immeritò*] Immerito is the pseudonym used by Spenser in his correspondence with Harvey, as also in the *Shepherds’ Calendar*. In the *Letter-book* we find him addressed either thus or as ‘Benevolo’.

P. 296, 4–5. *Spencer . . . print*] Harvey states that the letters between Spenser and himself were printed against his will by ‘mali- cious enemies, or vndiscreete friends’ (*4 Let. C 2v*, G. H. i. 180. 12), but does not actually charge Spenser with being concerned in the matter. See, however, the curious letter to Spenser (as Signor Benevolo) in the *Letter-Book*, pp. 58–64, which seems to point to the publication by Spenser of some verse of Harvey’s. No copy of any such work is now known, and the letter may have been merely an exercise in view of possible, and perhaps expected, action on Spenser’s part. It any case it belongs to the summer of 1579, while these letters were not printed until the following year. The draft of a title-page which is found in the *Letter-Book*, p. 89, and which is given by Grosart in *Wks.* i. 111, is perhaps another exercise, and has evidently nothing to do with the letter, for it bears the date August 1, 1580.

12. *Hay gee*] Cf. iii. 261. 894–6 and note; also J. Taylor, *Wks.*, 1630, Aaa 6, ‘every Carthorse doth know the letter G, very under- standingly’.

12–15] I do not understand these allusions.

14. *Turlery ginkes*] Harvey in *P. S. V 4v*, G. H. ii. 246. 6, speaks

of *Strange News* as 'a Turlery-ginkes of conceit'. Cf. iii. 178. 19-20. The precise meaning of the word is unknown to me.

19] Nashe is referring to the heading of the Epistle before the *Three Proper Letters*, 'To the courteous Buyer, by a Well-willer of the two Authors.'

21-2. *Est in te facies . . .*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 3. 13 'Est etiam facies . . .'

22-3. *fast and loose*] On the game or trick so called see Mr. Hart's note to *Love's Labour's Lost* (Arden ed.), I. ii. 147 (162); but the phrase seems to have been used at this date with almost as little reference to its origin as it has at present. Scot describes two forms of fast and loose in the *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 336-7.

26-34] From the Epistle before the *Three Proper Letters*, G. H. i. 32.

P. 297, 2-3. *an undiscreete friend*] See note on 296. 4-5.

4-11] Cf. 4 Let. C 2^v, G. H. i. 180. 10-18.

9. *to the Fleet*] Greene, in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, had evidently stated that Harvey had been put in the Fleet for his *Three Proper Letters*; see 4 Let. C 3^v, G. H. i. 182, and Harvey's denial on the following page; cf. iii. 127. 6-11. Harvey says 'Happy man I, if these two be my hainousest crimes, and deadliest sinnes: To bee the Inuentour of the English Hexameter, and to bee orderlie clapt in the Fleete for the foresайд Letters: where he that sawe mee, sawe mee at Constantinople'. For the meaning of the last phrase cf. Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iv, p. 30^a, where it is stated that for a bribe the Marshal will allow prisoners in the King's Bench to go where they please 'insomuch, that when any one asketh the Rules, or Limits of this Prison, Answer is made, At Constantinople; and indeed any where'.

10. *M. Valanger*] He is referred to by Harvey in 3 Let. F 2^v, G. H. i. 100. 17-19, 'Indeed I remēber, who was wont in a certaine brauerie, to call our *M. Valanger*, Noble *M. Valanger*'. The point apparently lies in some mispronunciation or misaccentuation of the name. I can learn nothing about him.

12-19] Cf. 4 Let. C 3-3^v, G. H. i. 180. 24-181. 6.

28-30] Cf. 4 Let. C 3^v, G. H. i. 181. 15-18, much altered.

P. 298, 7-8. *Musa Richardetti . . .*] The line is to be found in a poem headed 'Italorum duorum Xenia Encomiastica, à peregrino quodam, ante sex menses Typographo tradita, vt typis perulgata ederetur', see *Grat. Vald. D* 2^v:

Musa Richardetti fratrizat sat benè: plures
Inuideo Harueios egomet tibi: sufficit vnu—

'tibi' is England.

8. *dappert Dickie*] A frequent term for a spruce little fellow; cf. Kendal, *Flowers of Epigrams*, 1577, N 7^v, 'Dispise not this thy suter small... In bodies deft of dapper Dicks Great vertue ofte doth dwell,' and the quotation from Greene in note on i. 173. 1-3. 'Dappert' is an erroneous but not uncommon form of 'dapper'.

10. *Nostri manum & stilum*] Harvey uses the phrase at the end of the last of the *Three Proper Letters*, G. H. i. 107; cf. also D 3^v, 74-10. The appearance of the phrase in *Pedantius*, 2567, where there is

so much which has apparent reference to Harvey perhaps indicates that his fondness for the expression was well known. See *Ped.*, ed. Moore Smith, xlix and xxxix.

18. *true man*] Cf. note on ii. 319. 21-2.

22. *Fantasticalitie*] 4 Let. D 2, G 2^v, G. H. i. 190. 7, 223. 20.

23. *Tubalcan*] See 4 Let. C 3, G. H. i. 181. 19-23; Nashe perhaps wrote 'Tubalcain'. Harvey is referring to the lost passage in Greene's *Quip*, where he and his brothers were attacked; he says, 'It goeth somewhat hard in my harsh Legend, whē the father of Musicke must be mocked, not Tubulcain, as he mistearmeth him, but Tuball, whom Genesis voutsafeth honourable mention.' Greene seems to have confused Tubal-cain, 'an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron,' with Jubal, 'the father of all such as handle the harp and organ' (Gen. 4. 21-2); Harvey's 'Tuball' is perhaps a misprint. It may be noted that Tubalcain is elsewhere mentioned in the *Quip* (Greene, *Wks.*, xi. 237. 14), but this cannot be the passage to which Harvey refers.

26-8. *Gabriel Howliglasse was the first inuenter of English Hexameter verses*] Harvey was undoubtedly one of the leaders of the school of 'classical' metrists, and in a letter to Spenser (3 Let. D 4, G. H. i. 75. 13-16) implies that it was through him that Sidney and Dyer were led to experiment in verse of this sort, but, so far as I am aware, he makes no claim to have actually invented it. Indeed his references to Ascham are hardly consistent with any such claim (see 3 Let. D 4, F 3, F 4, G. H. i. 75. 25, 101. 15, 103. 28). His answer to Greene's mocking charge is—'If I neuer deserue anye better remembraunce, let mee rather be Epitaph, The Inuentour of the English Hexameter; whom learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill; and excellent Sir Philip Sidney disdained not to follow in his *Arcadia*, & elsewhere: then be chronicled, The greene maister of the Blacke Arte: or the founder of vgly oathes; or the father of misbegotten *Infortunatus*: or the Scriuener of Crossbiters: or as one of his own sectaries termed him, the Patriarch of shifters' (4 Let. C 3-3^v, G. H. i. 182). Now this can surely not be considered as a boast: it is merely a fair retort—'If Greene chooses to call me the inventor of English Hexameters, that is at least a much more honourable title than any to which he can lay claim.' It appears to me that Harvey neither accepts nor repudiates Greene's description of him.

P. 299, 5] 4 Let. C 3, G. H. i. 181. 24-5. Harvey has 'how valorous Autors'.

14. *Gilgilis Hobberdehoy*] Nashe perhaps found Gilgilis in C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 90, trans. 1569, fol. 158^v, where are mentioned 'the obscure names, & vsed by no other [than alchemists] of *Giber*, *Morienus*, *Gilgilis*, and others of that sort.' Hobberdehoy is a form of 'hobbledehoy', an abusive term of somewhat indefinite meaning.

15-16] 4 Let. C 3, G. H. i. 182. 1-2.

19-20. *He had... absurd*] Harvey had merely called Stanyhurst 'learned' and perhaps claimed him as a disciple; see note on 298. 26-8. In 4 Let. F 4^v, G. H. i. 218, he names him among professed sons of the Muses. Stanyhurst's translation of *Aeneid*, i-iv, first appeared in 1582.

21. *his*] i.e. Harvey's.

21-4] See note on 298. 26-8.

23. *Infortunatus*] Harvey also refers to Infortunatus Greene, a son by Cutting Ball's sister, in 4 *Let.* B 2^v, B 3, G. H. i. 169. 13-15, 171. 9. The boy's name seems really to have been Fortunatus; see Greene, ed. Collins, i. 24.

25-6] 4 *Let.* B 2, B 2^v, G. H. i. 168. 11-12, 170. 5.

31. *butter whore*] i. e. butter-woman. Cf. “*Iniurieux en tripiere. Scolding like a Butter-whore.*” 1611. Cotgrave.’ (N.S.S. *Trans.* 1877-9, p. 470.)

cotqueane] Properly peasant woman, but frequently used as a term of abuse.

scrattop] I can give no other example of the word.

33. *Ramme-Allie*] A lane leading from Fleet Street to the Temple near where Bouverie Street now is. It was a low-class locality; see Nares's *Glossary*. In *The Return from Parnassus*, I. ii. 163, ‘Ramally meditations’ is used for coarse language; so in Rich's *Irish Hubbub*, 1617, C 2^v, to ‘speak good Rame Ally’.

34. *a wispe*] The meaning of the exclamation—if any—is unknown to me.

rippe] A frequently occurring exclamation, of perhaps little meaning. Dekker uses it several times; cf. *Shoem. Hol.*, III. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 29, ‘auaunt Kitchin-stuffe, rippe you browne bread tannikin.’

34-5. *kitchinstuffe wrangler*] ‘kitchen rhetoric’ was a term for coarse abuse; cf. Arber's *Introductory Sketch to the M. M. Controversy*, p. 180. 14-18, ‘he calleth them “an ungodly swarm of caterpillars”, “incarnate devils”, and “a hellish rabble”. But of his kitchen rhetoric I have given you a taste before, so that I need not stand upon it’; also p. 195. 13 of the same.

36. *Bedlem*] The old Bethlehem Hospital was situated between Bishopsgate Street and Moorfields. Founded in 1246 as a priory, it was given by Henry VIII to the City, and was turned into a hospital for lunatics. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. i, p. 192.

P. 300, 4. *Limbo Patrum*] *N.E.D.* gives under limbo¹ 2a many examples of the use of the expression for prison or confinement, the earliest being from Greene's *Never too Late*, *Wks.*, viii. 104. 19. See also his *Card of Fancy* (1587), iv. 27. 28.

12. *Maister Butler*] i. e. William Butler (1535-1618), a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and a very celebrated physician (cf. l. 27).

20-31] These lines, slightly varied, are given again in *Have with You*, iii. 127. 6-8, where they are attributed to Thomas Watson, the author of *Ekatoumptabia*.

29-32] See note on 295. 27-8.

31. *courtlie*] The text is correct. See note as above (p. 177, l. 7).

P. 301, 5. *a presse saile*] The expression, which I have not found elsewhere, seems to be equivalent to the modern ‘press of sail’.

16-23] See quotation in note on 274. 27-8.

20. *in casting the heauens water*] Cf. i. 196. 19. where, however, Nashe is speaking of Richard, not of John.

24. *Astra petit disertus*] Cf. Pierce's *Supererogation*, E 2, G. H. ii. 75. 1-4, ‘his gibing at Heauen, (the hauen, where my deceased brother is arriued,) with a deepe cut out-of his Gramer rules; *Astra petit disertus*: the very starres, are scarres, where he listeth.’ In his

edition of *Pedantius* Prof. Moore Smith notes that 'rostra disertus amat' in l. 2603 is from some verses 'de nominibus heteroclitis' contained in W. Lily's *De Latinorum Nominum Generibus*, Basle, 1532, p. 26 (and in editions of his *Grammar*), and compares this phrase, which he takes to be a perversion of the same.

27-8. *Vale . . . artes*] 4 Let. D 1^v, G. H. i. 188. 15. Part of John Harvey's dying words, as reported by Gabriel.

30. *Tunc tua res agitur . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 84 'Nam tua . . .

34. *vp Newgate, vp Holburne, vp Tiburne*] The route taken in conducting malefactors to the gallows seems to have been invariable, and is frequently referred to. Cf. *Sir John Oldcastle*, II. ii (Hazlitt, *Doubtf. Plays of Sh.*, p. 124), 'Newgate, up Holbourn, St. Giles's in the Field, and to Tyburn ; an old saw.'

P. 302, 7. *soker at Tullies Offices*] An allusion to Harvey's *Ciceronianus*.

13. *like a louse, he hath manie legges*] Joking, of course, on the Latin *pedis* or *pediculus*.

23. *gnashing of teeth*] 4 Let. D 3, G. H. i. 192. 24-5, 'who can tell, what dowty yoonker may next gnash with his teeth'.

23-4. *yong Phaetons . . . Babingtons*] 4 Let. D 3^v, G. H. i. 193. 8-9.

24. *Chorebi*] Coroebus was a traditional fool who tried to number the waves of the sea when he was unable to count beyond five. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 9, 64 'Stultior Corebo'. For a collection of the references to him see the note on *Aen.* ii. 341 in Conington's *Vergil*. The name 'Corebus' is given to the clown in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, ed. Gummere in Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Com.*, I. 424, &c.; see also note on p. 359. Harvey, as well as Nashe, has the incorrect *Ch.*

Babingtons] Anthony Babington, one of the leaders of the Romish conspiracy of 1586 for the murder of Elizabeth and the release of Mary Stuart. He was executed in September of that year. The family was of great antiquity and owned considerable property in Northumberland and Derbyshire.

32. *The braunches of thy stocke*] Anthony's brothers, Frauncis and George, were permitted to succeed to part of his property, as being not infected with his disloyalty.

P. 303, 1] 4 Let. D 3^v, G. H. i. 194. 1-2, 'M. Pierce Pennillesse, (still more paltry, but what remedy? we are already ouer shoës, and must now go through).'

2. *put-pinne*] i.e. push-pin, which, according to Strutt (ed. Cox, p. 311), 'is a very silly sport, being nothing more than simply pushing one pin across another.'

4. *of*] It would have been better to substitute 'of—'.

5-9] 4 Let. D 3^v, G. H. i. 194. 3-9.

16. *Pauper non est . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 12. 4 'Pauper enim non est . . .'

21. *Familiaritas peperit contemptū*] Cf. 'Familiaris rei communictatio mater contemptus existit' given by Mr. W. F. H. King, *Classical Quot.*, as from Alanus de Insulis, *Lib. de Plantu Naturae*; but the idea is much earlier; cf. instances given by G. Cognatus, *Adagia*, in Erasm. *Adag.*, 1574, ii. 430 'Nimia familiaritas contemptum parit',

and St. Jerome, Migne *Patr. Curs. 22* (Hieron. 1), col. 595 top 'Non ut plerisque accidere solet, assiduitas familiaritatem, familiaritas contemptum illius fecerat; sed . . .'

25-6. *Musarum lachrimæ*] The sub-title of Harvey's *Smithus*. See *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, ll. 2860-1; and on the general question of the identity of Harvey with the chief character in this play see the editor's introduction. It is unnecessary here to repeat the arguments which Professor Moore Smith has so ably and with such completeness put forward, and it need only be said that there can hardly be any doubt that Nashe's statement is correct, at least to the extent that the play was at one time performed with the view of ridiculing Harvey, and that, as we now have it, it contains speeches which are aimed at him. Whether it was originally conceived with this design is another matter. Nashe again refers to the *Musarum Lacrimæ* at iii. 80. 18-20. Professor Moore Smith also discusses the authorship of the play, but without being able to arrive at any certain conclusion. It seems to lie between Anthony Wingfield, or Winkfield, and Edward Forsett. To me it seems difficult to be sure that 'M. Winkfields Comœdie' means a comedy written by Winkfield, and not merely a comedy got up, or given, by him—very likely in connexion with his (successful) candidature for the Public Oratorship; while the ascription of the play in the Caius MS. to Forsett must be allowed a certain weight.

29-32] Cf. i. 158. 19-24.

34. *going backward*] Cf. note on 274. 21.

35. *Mill sixpences*] N.E.D. explains as 'a sixpence coined in a mill', with *Merry Wives*, I. i. 158, as earliest example (1598). The 'mill', a kind of screw press, was used for a time in the early years of Elizabeth, instead of the older method of striking with a hammer, and perhaps the coins so produced were regarded as superior. Nashe probably means merely 'good money'.

P. 304, 11-13] In the *Three Proper Letters*, D 2^v, G. H. i. 70. 9-13.

22-3] Harvey calls *Pierce Penilesse* 'not Dunsically botched vp, but right-formally cōueied, according to the stile, and tenour of Tarletons president, his famous play of the seauen Deadly sinnes', 4 Let. D 4, G. H. i. 194. Of Tarlton's play little is known. There is a 'platt', or outline for the prompter, of the *Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins* among the Alleyn papers at Dulwich. This is printed in vol. iii of the later editions of the 'Variorum' Shakespeare, and in Mr. W. W. Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, and consists of a series of three groups of scenes, illustrating the results of the three sins, Envy, Sloth, and Lechery. The other four, Wrath, Covetousness, Pride, and Gluttony, had presumably been illustrated in the First Part.

P. 305, 18. *In speech*] i.e. grammar. The opening words of Lily's *Short Introduction of Grammar* (1577, and other eds.) are 'In Speach be these eyght partes folowing', the words being printed in large type and having almost the air of a title to the whole. Nashe similarly uses the expression in iii. 55. 12, 279. 1476, and 324. 20.

24. *Don Diego*] a common term for a Spaniard. I do not think that there is here allusion to any particular person; cf. 'Diego Spanyard' at iii. 166. 16. For the Don Diego whose unsavoury proceeding in

St. Paul's is often referred to, see Nashe's letter to William Cotton in the Introduction.

25. *new-found phrases*] 4 Let. D 4, G. H. i. 195. 4.

28. *vino de monte*] The only *monte* known to me in connexion with wine is Montepulciano, which seems hardly to fit the context. Cf. Harvey, P. S. C 1, G. H. ii. 51. 2-3, 'the braue *vino de monte*'.

28-32] Harvey had said (4 Let. D 4, G. H. i. 195. 7-10), 'For the poore tennement of his Purse (quoth himselfe, gramercy good Tarleton), hath bene the Diuels Dauncing schoole, anie time this halfe yeare.' It is to be supposed that the phrase had occurred in Tarlton's play. See i. 165. 10-12.

32. *the summe of summes*] 4 Let. D 4, G. H. i. 195. 14-15.

P. 306, 7. *quarter Maisters*] Cf. i. 213. 3-4, where the sense is somewhat different. One may suppose the quarter-masters of Bride-well to have been the subordinate officials.

9. *no fire without some smoke*] Cf. 'nunquam ubi diu fuit ignis deficit vapor', P. Syrus; but here we should, I think, rather expect the other proverbial expression 'no smoke without some fire'. The proverb as given by Nashe occurs in Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 120.

17. *of*] Cf. i. 199. 28, 'on', but either was, I think, permissible.

18-21. *having a letter to deliver to a Scottish Lorde . . .*] This is evidently the same story as that of the Welshman who, having a letter to deliver to a certain Justice, found before his house an ape dressed up in a coat, and taking the beast to be the Justice's son delivered the letter to it. See A. C. Mery Talys, no. 46, in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, i. 69. Compare also the tale of the beggar woman and the Dutchman's ape in *Jack of Dover*, Hazlitt, u.s. ii. 346.

28. *termes of extenuating*] belittling or contemptuous expressions.

28-35] 4 Let. D 4, 4^v, G. H. i. 195. 17-18. 25-6; 196. 20; 197. 4.

30. *Fauste præcor gelida*] i.e. the *Eclogues* of Baptista Spagnuoli, known as Mantuanus, of the first of which, entitled 'Faustus', these are the opening words:

Fauste, præcor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra
Ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores.

P. 307, 1-2. *cutte out against the wolle*] Cf. iii. 42. 20; also Lodge's *Rosalynde*, ed. Greg, 141 foot, 'cut it against the hair.' Frequent.

2 *best joint*] i.e. neck; cf. *Homilies*, ed 1844, p. 278, 'many a one jeopardeth his best joint, to maintain himself in sumptuous raiment'.

7. *Richard Clarke*] Unknown to me.

8-10] Cf. 4 Let. E 1, G. H. i. 197. 10-20. Harvey has put together a string of encouraging sayings, 'A braue Hart, in extreamest distresse, neuer languisheth . . . Yet better a man without money, then money without a man', &c. Of those which Nashe quotes he has, however, only 'A mā is a man though he haue but a hose vpon his head'.

9. *Good Beare, bite not*] An ironical phrase to soothe a person who is angry; cf. 'Good goose, bite not', *Two Angry Wom. of Ab.* IV. iii. (ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.*, xi. 255), and *Rom. and Jul.* II. iv. 82.

10. *A man . . . his head*] Fairly common; cf. *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 4. 21-2, 'I know a man is a man, though he haue but a hose on his head'; *Troy Angry Wom. of Abington*, II. i. (ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.*, iv. 402), and Beaumont & Fletcher's *Love's Cure*,

II. i. Prof. Bang also refers me to *Val. Welshman*, II. v. 78 (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 301), and Tarlton's *News out of Purgatory*, Sh. Soc., 54, 'a soul'dier is a soul'dier if he have but a blew hose on his head.'

13. *Dunsiuall*] This looks like a nonce-name made from *Dunce* on the model of 'Rounceval' (cf. iii. 36. 11), and meaning 'great dunce'.

14. *casts in my dish*] reproachest me with; cf. Wilson, *Art of Rhet.*, 1560, A 5^v, 9-10, 'so that I heare no more of it, and that it be not yet ones againe caste in my dishe'; *Marriage of Wit and Science*, IV. iii (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 372), 'But yet this repulse of mine they will lay in my dish.' The phrase is very common.

17-20] Harvey ridicules Nashe's verses on p. 157-8 (4 Let. D 4^v, G. H. i. 196-7), and comments on his quotation of 'Fortuna fauet fatus', suggesting that he should remember it and cheer up.

21-2] As has been pointed out, a few of the marginal notes of the first edition of *Pierce Penilesse* are omitted in the second edition, and a much larger number in the third. Perhaps we are to take this as the fulfilment of Nashe's threat. If so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was written between the issue of the second and third editions of *Pierce*.

25. *effects of a soule*] i.e. ? outward manifestations or qualities proper to a soul. Cf. ii. 242. 33.

26. *leape like a cup of neat wine*] Mr. Crawford remarks that this is a proverbial phrase, and quotes Fletcher and Massinger's *Custom of the Country*, I. ii. 33-4, 'Cludio: Give me some wine, And fill it till it leap upon my lips.' It may be noted that 'nt in fundendo quasi subsiliat' is, according to A. de Villeneuve, a characteristic of good wine; see *Schola Salernitana*, ed. 1649, cap. 16, p. 143.

34-5 *endeuerst . . . me*] Cf. iii. 95. 33, &c.

P. 308, 4-9] See 196. 15, &c.

9. *nigrum Theta*] See note on i. 6. 5.

11. *Hoyden*] This is the earliest example of the word in *N.E.D.*

20. *hangtelow*] Perhaps a fantastic formation connected with rope-making.

22. *ouercull*] The word seems to be used in the sense of 'over-value'. One would rather expect it to mean 'pick over', 'select from.'

24-7] 4 Let. E 1^v, G. H. i. 199. 12-14; cf. ll. 7, 11. From 'Ergo' onwards is not a quotation.

35. *defensatiue against supposed Prophecies*] A work by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, published in 1583 against R. Harvey's *Astrological Discourse*.

P. 309, 1. *Discouerie of Witchcraft*] By Reginald Scot, first published in 1584. Modern reprint by Brinsley Nicholson, 1886.

8. *M. Churchyard*] Harvey says (4 Let. E 1^v, G. H. i. 199. 17-21) 'Otherwise, it were not greatlie amisse, a little to consider, that he, which in the ruffe of his freshest iollity, was faine to cry, M. Churchyard, a mercy in printe, may be orderlie driuen to crie more peccauies, then one.' So far as I am aware, nothing whatever has been discovered about this quarrel. Unless, as I have doubtfully suggested, the allusion to Cherillus at i. 45. 2 may have been taken as an attack upon Churchyard, there seems to be nothing in the *Anatomy of Absurdity*, in the Preface to *Menaphon*, or in that to *Astrophel and*

Stella, which can either be a reflection upon him or an apology to him. It is possible that the apology may exist in one of the numerous editions of Churchyard's works, but I have been unable to find it. In compliance with Nashe's suggestion that Churchyard should 'haue a saying' to Harvey for reviving this old quarrel, he referred to the matter in some verses to the readers at the end of his *Pleasant Conceit*, 1593; see Nicholls, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, 1823, iii. 239-40,

The Angell bright, that Gabrill is in sky,
Shall know that Nashe 1 love, and will doe still,
When Gabril's words scarce winne our world's good will.

9. *Letter leapper*] A word evidently formed on the analogy of 'land-leaper', or 'land-loper', a runagate, vagabond. Cf. i. 181. 11-12 marg.

11. *haue a saying to*] Not uncommon; cf. Dekker, *Shoemaker's Holiday*, II. v, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 25, 'Heark, heark, the hunters come, y're best take heed, They'll haue a saying to you for this deed' [i. e. for having killed and concealed a deer of which they were in chase]. Mr. Crawford also compares *Jew of Malta*, II. ii. 92, 'I'll have a saying to that nunnery', and Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, ed. Gummere, in Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Com.*, I. 838. Also, humorously, in Barnes' *Devil's Charter*, I. 2783, 'For I must have a saying to those bottles.'

18. *Sanctum & venerabile vetus omne Poema*] I suppose that this is merely an incorrect reminiscence of Horace, *Epist.* ii. I. 54 'adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema'.

19. *Shores wife*] Churchyard's most popular poem. It first appeared in the 1563 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and was reissued with alterations in his *Challenge* of 1593.

25. *rampalions*] i. e. ruffian, scoundrel. This is the earliest instance given in *N. E. D.*

31-2. *The Italian saith . . .*] Source not found.

35-6] 4 *Let. E 1^v*, G.H. i. 199. 21-2. See note on 310. 26.

P. 310, 2-3. *sung George Gascoignes Counter-tenor*] i. e. been in the Counter; cf. Chettle, *Kind-Heart's Dream* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N.S.S. 70, 17-18, 'to sit singing the Counter-tenor by the Cage in Southwark.' *N.E.D.* quotes a much earlier example, '1388 *Pol. Poems* (1859) I. 277 Peraduenture on ware post sumptum temporis plausus, A countur-tenur at Newgat cantabit carcere clausus.' I have not found 'counter-tenor' in Gascoigne, but in the *Steel Glass* he alludes to the 'schoolmasters' of Wood Street, Bread Street, and the Poultry (the three Counters, or debtors' prisons) as keeping their prisoners like 'birds, ful close in caytues cage' (*Chalmers, Eng. Poets*, ii. 556^a foot). It may be noted that though the Counters are generally referred to by writers of the date as prisons for the less serious offences, especially debt, and as if a short retirement thither were no disgrace, but a most ordinary incident of life—in contradistinction to the more serious imprisonment in the Fleet and Newgate, it appears from Stow's description (*London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii. pp. 50-1) that they served for prisoners of all kinds, including some arrested on capital charges.

11. *Grande doloris ingenium*] Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 574-5.

21-2. *stande under the elbowe of it*] i. e. (?) acknowledge themselves inferior to it. I have not found the phrase elsewhere.

26. *My hostesse Penia*] 4 *Let. E 1^v*, G. H. i. 199. 21-4, 'I would thinke the Counter, M. *Churchyard*, his hostisse *Penia*, and such other sensible Lessons, might sufficientlie haue taught him, that *Pennilesse* is not Lawlesse.' Harvey apparently means *Pevia*, poverty, personified in Plato, *Symp.* 203, Aristoph. *Plutus*, 415 &c., and Plut. *Isis et Osiris*, 57, but if so Nashe might well wonder at the precise point of the allusion. The name is used also by Rabelais, bk. iv, cap. 57.

29-32. *There is . . . companions*] Cf. 4 *Let. E 2*, G. H. 200. 2-5, 'There is a certaine thing, called Modestie, if they could light vpon it: and by my younge Masters leauue, some pritty smacke of discretion would relish well'.

P. 311, 3. *thou dost not contradict it flatly*] This is quite true. Harvey merely says 'The pleasant man talketh of a Bachelers hoode, turned ouer his eares, for abusing of Aristotle: and imagineth goodlie matters of casting the Heauen's water', &c., 4 *Let. E 2*, G. H. i. 200. 27, &c. Cf. i. 195. 33, &c.

10-17] See i. 196. 17-23.

15. *vnuusual*] Harvey (4 *Let. E 2*, G. H. i. 201. 3), quoting from the first edition of *Pierce* has 'vniuersal'. The word was altered to 'vnuseall' in C, again showing a connexion between *Strange News* and the third edition of *Piers*; cf. note on 307. 21-2.

It should be observed that Harvey's objection to Nashe's attack upon his brother's *Astrological Discourse* was probably far more to the language than to the matter. He was not himself an indiscriminate believer in the supernatural warnings conveyed by natural phenomena, and in a passage in his 'Judgement of Earthquakes' (*Three Proper Letters*, C 2-2^v, G. H. i. 56-7) had expressed an opinion which, if more reverently worded, really comes to much the same as what Nashe had said. He is arguing that though an earthquake may be produced by the action of God working through natural causes, and may then be intended as a warning, it is impossible to say that it cannot be produced by the natural causes alone. 'I cannot see,' he says, 'and would gladly learne, howe a man on Earth, should be of so great authoritie, and so familiar acquaintance with God in Heauen, (vnlesse haply for the nonce he hath lately intertained some fewe choice singular ones of his priuie Counsell) as to be able in such specialties, without any iustifyable certificate, or warrant, to reueale hys incomprehensible mysteries, and definitiuely to giue sentence of his Maiesties secret and inscrutable purposes. As if they had a key for all the lockes in Heauen . . .

18-21] See i. 196. 30, &c.

22-25] See i. 197. 6-9.

P. 312, 1. *in this booke*] From this statement we may infer that the sheet containing the title-page was printed off first, a fact which we might independently gather from the signatures of the preliminary matter, and, further, the book must have been sent to press in portions, as written, and the sheets sent to the author as they were printed off.

4. *T. N. his beard*] 4 *Let. E 2^v*, G. H. i. 201. 17-19. See note on 197. 28.

7. *Dionisius*] For the story of his keeping a school at Corinth see

Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 12, Justin, xxi. 5. Apparently his beard is the invention of Nashe.

10. *polwigge*] I suppose that this is the same as 'poliwog' or 'poliwig', a tadpole, though with what sense it can be applied to a beard is not easy to see.

21-7] Cf. 4 *Let.* E 2^v, G. H. 201. 23-4. From 'when he talks' to the end of the quotation from *Pierce Penilesse* (198. 13-17) is Nashe's addition.

29. *Sainte Lubecke*] Perhaps a personification of Lubeck beer; cf. ii. 249. I.

33-313, 1] 4 *Let.* E 2^v, G. H. i. 201. 27-202. 6. For the parenthesis in II. 33-5 cf. 202. 14-18 of the same.

34. *M. H.*] Gabriel calls his brother 'M. Harvey', G. H. i. 201. 28.

37. *A per se a*] Harvey's words are 'this mightie lashing Gentleman (now well read in the late exploites of Vntrusse, and for Tarletons amplifications A per se A) was not so much as *idoneus auditor ciuilis scientiae*'. Nashe takes the 'A per se A' as a joke on the name of 'Pierce' or 'Percy', and elsewhere seems generally to spell 'per se' as one word. It is even a little doubtful whether there is a space here or not. 'A per se A' was the manner of reading the first letter of the alphabet, when standing alone—as, for example, in a spelling-lesson where the child had to read 'a, ab, ac', &c.; cf. *Faustus*, 1616, scene added after sc. vi, l. 8, '*A per se a; t. h. e. the; o per se o*', and the word *ampersand* from &-per-se-and. It hence meant 'first' or 'best', and was very common, either with, or—more frequently—without, the second *a*; cf. Harvey, *Letter-book*, 104, Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, B 3, 'vrge him in Musike, he will sweare to it, that he is *A per se in it*.' The expression is still in use; cf. 'Geraint' (M. Cobbett) in the *Referee*, Sept. 4, 1904, p. 8^a, 'Horace Davenport . . . for years the aperse of amateur swimmers.'

37-313, 1. *Idoneus auditor ciuilis scientiae*] The saying, which was very common, is based on Aristotle's words in *Eth. Nic.* i. 3 (1). 5 τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖος ἀκροατῆς ὁ νέος: cf. Prof. Moore Smith's note on *Pedantius*, l. 327, 'non es idoneus auditor moralis philosophiae', and *N. & Q.* 10th S. i. 405. Given, with the Greek original, in Lipsius, *Politica*, 1589, l. iv, cap. 13, p. 205.

P. 313, 3-8] 4 *Let.* E 2^v, G. H. i. 202. 6-14.

4. *Flores Poetarum*] A book entitled *Flores Poetarum de Virtutibus et Vitiis* appeared c. 1480, and the better-known *Illustrium Poetarum Flores* of O. Mirandula in 1538; both were often reprinted; but the name was a typical one for a collection of extracts—cf. Udall's *Flowers for Latin Speaking*, from Terence; and I doubt if any particular work is referred to.

16. *Colloquium Latine*] i. e., probably, elementary Latin.

23. *Maister Knox*] There were several persons of the name connected with Cambridge, but this is probably Eleazar, second son of John Knox, the Scotch reformer, who matriculated, with his elder brother Matthew, in 1572, was B.A. 1577, Fellow of St. John's 1580, M.A. 1581, and University Preacher 1587, in which year he became vicar of Clacton-Magna in Essex. He died in 1591.

25. *Maister Jones*] I cannot learn of any Jones of Trinity College at this date; possibly William Jones (1561-1636) of Clare Hall is meant.

28. *M. Meriton*] i.e. George Meriton (d. 1624), graduated M.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge, 1588; Fellow of Queens' Coll. 1589, Dean of Peterborough 1612, and of York 1617.

P. 314, 4. *Playfere*] Thomas Playfere (? 1561–1609), Fellow of St. John's Coll. Camb., 1584; Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1596–1609. Nashe's statement as to the neglect of his merits at Court derives confirmation from the fact that when in 1595 he stood for the Mastership of St. John's, Elizabeth compelled the Fellows of the College against their will to elect instead Richard Clayton, Master of Magdalen (Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 345–6). He was later appointed chaplain to James I.

34–5. *Cure leues loquuntur ... Maiores stupent*] Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 607 'Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.'

P. 315, 14–15] Harvey's unlucky *Speculum Tuscanismi* is again referred to; cf. note on 295. 27–8.

17] 3 *Let. E* 2^v, G. H. i. 84. 27. It does not conclude the poem as Nashe states. The original reads 'Euery one A per se A ...'

23. *supplosus pedū*] See note on i. 5. 8.

33. *into patheticall posie*] Perhaps we should read 'into a patheticall posie', but Nashe may be vaguely punning on 'poesy'.

34. *Maister Orator Edge*] The only person of the name that I can hear of is a certain Giles Edge, a B.A. of Cambridge who was incorporated at Oxford on 23 July, 1574 (Wright, *Reg. of Univ. of Oxford*, II (1). 363).

P. 316, 3–19] The fact that several of the expressions which Nashe pillories as inkhornisms have now won general acceptance renders this list of interest, and I have therefore thought it well—at the risk of being charged with superfluity—to give the references to original signatures of the 4 *Let.* and to page and line of the first vol. of Grosart's Harvey. Nashe's quotations are fair, though naturally some of Harvey's phrases seem more odd when removed from the context.
 Line 3, A 4, 162. 18 : B 1, 165. 4 : B 4^v, 175. 20–1. 5, C 2, 179. 16 : C 4, 184. 12 : C 3, 181. 25–1. 6, F 3^v, 215. 3 : G 2^v, 223. 17 : G 3^v, 226. 17–1. 7, G 4^v, 230. 15 : F 3^v, 216. 7–8 : F 4^v, 210. 6–1. 8, G 4, 229. 1 : F 4^v, 218. 7 : D 2, 190. 7, G 2^v, 223. 20, (with *ph-*) D 2, 189. 12 : I 3, 247. 8–1. 9, I 4^v, 250. 17 : E 2, 200. 8 : G 4. 227. 28–1. 10, H 2^v, 236. 15–16 : F 2^v, 212. 12–1. 11, I 2, 244. 23 : D 3, 191. 27–8 : F 2, 211. 1–1. 12, E 1^v, 198. 21 : F 1^v, 210. 1–1. 13, E 3, 202. 23 : F 2^v, 212. 7 : I 2^v, 245. 17–18–1. 14, G 2^v, 223. 8–1. 15, F 2^v, 218. 5–6–1. 16, G 3, 224. 21 : I 1^v, 243. 13 : H 2^v, 236. 23–1. 17, G 3^v, 227. 15 : I 3, 227. 16 : G 4^v, 229. 27 : G 4^v, 230. 7–1. 18, G 4^v, 229. 28 : G 4^v, 229. 17 : F 3^v, 215. 19–1. 19, C 1^v, 177. 27 : G 3, 226. 2 : G 4^v, 230. 12.

21. *absonisme*] i.e. 'something absonous or discordant in the use of language: solecism,' *N.E.D.*, where this is the only instance.

24. *Traynment*] Harvey also uses the word in 4 *Let.* G 4, i. 227. 23.

29. *indesinence*] 'Want of proper ending', *N.E.D.*, the only instance given.

31. *Chaucers authoritie*] So far as I am aware, Chaucer's authority could not be alleged for any of them.

P. 317, 11–12. *Vtere moribus præteritis ...*] Cf. Aul. Gel. i. 10 'Vive ergo moribus præteritis; loquere verbis præsentibus'. This was a

saying of Favorinus; it is another which is attributed by Gellius to C. Caesar.

15. *thy olde Trewantship*] Harvey refers to himself as 'an olde Truant, meeter now to play the Dumme Dog, with some auncientes, then the bauling Cur, or the hissing Snake, with you springals', 4 *Let.* H 2^v, G. H. i. 235. 21-4.

17. *horizonant*] i.e. inharmonious; it should of course be spelt with *s* (*Lat.* *horrisonus*).

25-6. *as Quintillian tearmed Seneca all lime and no sande*] An alteration of a saying ascribed by Suetonius (*C. Calig.* 53) to Caligula, 'lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam, tum maxime placenter, commissiones meras componere, et arenam esse sine calce diceret'. Nashe's erroneous ascription of it to Quintilian is probably due to careless reading of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 3, trans. 1569, fol. 10^v, where we find, 'Seneca was called Lime without Sande, whom Quintilian reproueth with these wordes: *If he had despised none of his equales*' [&c., quoting from *Inst. Or.* x. i. 130]. The Latin text has also the incorrect 'calx sine arena'.

29. *galimafrier*] i.e. mingler.

32-3. *putter . . . to it*] i.e. hard-driver. When Harvey has once got hold of a good word he uses it in and out of season.

P. 318, 1-2. *in the Chronicle*] See Holinshed, *Chron.*, an. 1583 end, ed. 1807-8, iv. 510-11. The quotation, though greatly abbreviated, is fair.

20-1] 4 *Let.* E 2^v, G. H. i. 202. 12-13.

27-8] 4 *Let.* H 4, G. H. i. 240. 6, 7. From a somewhat obscure sonnet entitled 'The miserable end of wilful desperatnesse' which apparently refers to Greene.

29. *chambling rowe*] Apparently a term for bad verse; but the expression is unknown to me. Presumably 'chambling' = 'shambling'.

30. *Præfaces two*] i.e. to Greene's *Menaphon*, and to Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*.

34] 4 *Let.* E 3, G. H. i. 203. 1.

P. 319, 4. *from under the wals of Troy*] This is apparently an allusion to some lost work of Tarlton's. Cf. iii. 332. 16.

6. *stumbling of whetstones*] See Nares, *Glossary*, as to the whetstone as a proverbial prize for lying. The point of the present allusion is far from clear.

9-10. *median vaine*] A vein in the arms.

10. *man*] Prof. Gregory Smith in *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ii. 243. 18, reads 'vaine', which is probably correct.

13-14] Tarlton died in 1588, so Nashe can hardly have seen much of him in London. He may, however, have met him at Cambridge, if Tarlton was ever there. He certainly visited Oxford; cf. 4 *Let.* D 4, G. H. i. 194. 19.

17. *this ten yeare*] Nashe matriculated at St. John's Coll. in Oct., 1582, so the statement is just within the bounds of possibility.

20] Cf. 275. 20.

27] Cf. 4 *Let.* E 3, G. H. i. 203. 16.

28. *reuiest*] a term of card-playing, to respond to a stake by a larger one; hence, to outgo.

29] cf. G. H. i. 203. 20-1.

35. *Bull*] He appears to have immediately preceded the much

better known hangman Derrick, who held office from c. 1601 to c. 1647. The references to him tell us little, but he was evidently remembered as late as 1638, when J. Taylor refers to him in *Bull, Bear, and Horse A 5^v*. On the London hangmen see *N. & Q.*, 2nd S. xi. 314, 445.

P. 320, 3-4] 4 *Let. E 3^v*, G. H. 204. 14-15.

10. *Agrippa*] i. e. Cornelius Agrippa. The allusion is of course to the *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnium Scientiarum*.

26-8] 4 *Let. E 3^v*, G. H. 204. 18-21; the 'Prince of darkenesse' is from the next page, 205. 16.

35] See i. 221. 15, &c. As I have stated in the note there, I think Nashe's repudiation of any allegorical meaning in the story need not be taken too seriously.

P. 321, 10-5] See i. 225. 1-3; 224. 4-6, 7-9.

16-17] 4 *Let. E 3^v*, G. H. i. 205. 3-5, 'they can tell parlous Tales of Beares and Foxes, as shrewdlye as mother Hubbard, for her life.'

21. *Phobetor*] A son of Sleep, brother of Morpheus, who is able to take the shape of any animal (Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 640). The point of the allusion is not particularly clear.

22. *geremumble*] The word is used as a verb in iii. 207. 31; see note there. Here it probably has little definite meaning.

tirleriwhisco] Also apparently meaningless.

23-4] See i. 195. 20-1, and 4 *Let. E 3^v*, G. H. 204. 24-5.

26. *Galpogas*] Not known to me.

28. *Tom a Lincoln*] A great bell in Lincoln Cathedral. See Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 261. The context seems rather to demand that this should be the name of a piece of ordnance, but I can learn of none so called.

28. *with a witnes*] A fairly frequent intensive expression, equivalent to 'with a wanion', 'with a vengeance', &c. Cf. Harvey's poem *Speculum Tuscanismi* in 3 *Let. E 2^v*, G. H. i. 84, 'French Camarick Ruffes, deepe with a witnesse, starched to the purpose.' Cf. iii. 112. 28, 356. 31.

P. 322, 4. *the widows Almes*] Evidently leg-irons of some sort, but no details seem to have come down to us. Again mentioned at iii. 100. 19. The only other reference to them that I have found is in Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 205, where we learn that Richard Husband, keeper of the Breadstreet counter, 'was sent [in 1550] to the Goal of Newgate, for the cruel handling of his Prisoners. And it was commanded to the Keeper, to set those Irons on his Legs, which are called the Widows Alms. These he wore from Thursday, till Sunday in the Afternoon'.

6. *the Poet Accius*] Apparently an error for Philetas, the Coan poet, of whom this is related by Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 14 (cf. x. 6), and by Athenaeus xii. 77. I cannot find that anything similar was told of Accius. Mr. Crawford notes that Lylly tells the same story of 'Mizaldus' (Antoine Mizauld) in *Euphues and his England, Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 221. 21-3. Perhaps Lylly had carelessly copied from T. Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things*, ed. n. d. [? 1595], B 1^v, where we read, 'A certayne Poet by the report of Mizaldus, dyd ware leaden soles under his shoes, . . .' cf. Mizaldus, *Memorabilia sive Arcana*, 1573, cent. i. 71.

9. *Those that catch Leopards . . .*] See J. B. Porta, *Magia Naturalis*, xv. 8 'Pardi inebriantur.—Docet Oppianus [Cynegetica,

iv. 320-53] modum, et quomodo ebrii capiantur. In Libya ubi primum fontem animadverterunt, et unde pardales prima luce bibere solent, eo venatores noctu permultas amphoras succo vini plenas offerunt, et inde non procul stragulis tecti sedent: eae autem ardenter sientes ad fontem accedunt, et simul ut vino, cuius potione studiosae sunt, sitim explerunt primo saltatione ludunt, deinde obdormientes humi sternuntur, itaque graviter dormientes nullo negotio comprehenduntur.'

19. *pin-dust*] 'Small particles of metal produced in the manufacture of pins,' *Cent. Dict.*—an unsatisfactory explanation, but I can offer no better.

21-2] 4 *Let. E* 4, G. H. i. 206. 13; E 4^v, G. H. i. 207. 23.

23] Cf. 4 *Let. E* 4^v, G. H. i. 207. 24-5, 'Young schollers can tel how Vlysses handele Irus.'

24. *Irrita sunt hæc omnia*] Cf. Plautus, *Asin.* i. 2. 10 'Ingrata atque irrita esse omnia intelligo, Quae dedi.'

sleevelesse] i.e. purposeless, useless; more frequent in such phrases as 'sleeveless errand'; see note on iii. 211. 18-19.

25. *besliu'd*] The same pun on sleeve occurs in iii. 32. 35-6. The *N. E. D.* explains 'besleeuing' in iii. 369. 7. as a nonce-word, meaning to take the sleeves from a bishop. The apparent sense of the word is, however, to beat.

29-30] Cf. 2 *Ret. from Parnassus*, IV. ii. 185-6 (ll. 1720-1), 'and the silly Poet goes muffled in his Cloake, to escape the Counter.' For the Counters see note on 310. 2-3.

31. *The ragged cognizance*] i.e. the bear and ragged staff, the badge of the Dudley family.

32. *meate in the mouth*] The expression is frequent; cf. 4 *Let. E* 2, G. H. i. 200. 13-16, 'although the Grecians generallie were ouerlightheaded, and vain-spoken, yet their leuitie sauoured of elegant wittinesse, and the flying birde carried meate in the mouth'; also G. H. ii. 47. 14-15. In the passage quoted Harvey seems to connect it with the story of Elijah and the ravens, 1 Kings 17. 6.

35. *pia mater*] Properly one of the membranous integuments of the brain and spinal cord, but here used for the brain itself.

to proue base births . . .] See 4 *Let. E* 4, &c., G. H. i. 205. 21, &c. Harvey's argument is no more than 'Euery man is to answer for hys own defaultes: my trespass is not my fathers, nor my fathers mine' (F 1, 208. 20-2).

P. 323, 6. *My margent note . . .*] See i. 158. 26-7 and 4 *Let. F* 1^v, G. H. 209. 21, &c.

8. *tiptoe*] See note on 276. 34.

14-15. *Miles gloriosus*] The title of Plautus's comedy was used even in Cicero's day as a proverbial term for a braggart; cf. *Off.* i. 38. 137.

17. *call mee cut*] A very common phrase, equivalent to 'call me any name you like'; 'cut' is a curtall horse.

18. *brought vp at Hoggenorton*] Cf. *Youth*, ll. 596-7:

'were thou borne in trumpington
and brought vp at Hoggess norton.'

There seems to have been a tradition that the inhabitants of Hogs-

Norton or Hoch-Norton in Oxfordshire were particularly boorish in their behaviour, probably derived—as the reference to the organ—from the form of the name. Cf. Nares, s. v. Organs and Hog's Norton.

24-5] Cf. 4 *Let. F 2*, G. H. i. 211. 5-9.

29-30] Referring to the first of twelve lines of Harvey's hexameter verse, quoted in 4 *Let. F 2*, G. H. i. 211-12:

'Wher shud I find, that I seeke, A person clere as a Christal?'

31-2] 4 *Let. F 2^v*, G. H. i. 212. 16-17.

P. 324. 6-9] 4 *Let. F 3*, G. H. i. 214. 11-14.

8-9. *Carters Logique*] Cf. T. Wilson, *The Rule of Reason*, 1551, V 3, 'Som cal suche rough dealyng, Carters Sophistrie, when the fiste reasoneth a matter by buffites, which the tongue should proue by Argumentes.'

11] Cf. 281. 9-10.

12. *reasty*] i. e. restive, generally in the sense balky, refusing to move or given to backing. Cf. *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (Simpson's *School of Sh.*) III. 112, 'He's at a stand, like a resty Iade.'

in a country] It may be remarked that in similar contexts the phrase 'in a country' was usual, where we now say 'in the country'. Examples are innumerable; cf. iii. 72. 31; 282. 1568-9; Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, Wks., ed. Grosart xii. 144. 13. (*Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 30. 35); Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, 1596, H 1, l. 4; also Chaucer's 'of a lond' in *Prologue*, 194.

13-14] 4 *Let. F 3^v*, G. H. i. 215. 4-6.

20-1. *thy inuective against Greene*] See 4 *Let. B 2-B 3^v*, G. H. i. 168-71, and particularly 170. 5-7, 171. 7-11.

23. *cum ratione insanire*] Terence, *Eun.* I. i. 17-18 'nihilo plus agas Quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias'.

28] 4 *Let. F 4*, G. H. i. 216. 23-4.

32. *spirit of the buttery*] i. e. the 'spirit' of wine; examples in *N.E.D.* from 1530. Also applied to Robin Goodfellow; cf. Tarlton's *News from Purgatory*, ed. Sh. Soc., 1844, p. 55, 'Hob Thrust, Robin Goodfellow and such like sprites, as they tearme them of the buttry,' and *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, A 4^v, 'This makes *Robin Goodfellow* that was so merrie a spirite of the butterie, to leau all, and keep himselfe in Purgatorie.'

34. *Bucklarsbury*] A street off Walbrook inhabited chiefly by Druggists, Furriers, and Grocers, Stow, *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii. 200, bk. iii. 27, 50. Dekker refers to the druggists' shops in it, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 112; so also *Merry Wives*, III. iii. 79. The point of the present allusion is not very clear, but perhaps depends on the similarity of sound of 'butler' and 'buckler'; cf. Morclake for Mortlake.

36] Cf. p. 198. 25-199. 1.

P. 325, 10. like a Parson in Lancashire] Cf. i. 25. 3-4, where the same thing is related of an 'abscedarie Priest in Lincolneshire'.

13-15. *Did I exhort . . . more*] Cf. 4 *Let. F 4*, G. H. i. 217. 7-8.

24-7] Cf. 4 *Let. F 4^v*, G. H. i. 217. 23-218. 4. Harvey does not beg Nashe to hold his peace, but urges him to use his talent in a more worthy subject than such writings as *Pierce Penilesse*.

30-3] 4 *Let. F 4^v*, G. H. i. 218. 22, &c. 'Such liuely springes of

streaming Eloquence: & such right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte: I cordially recommend to the deere Louers of the Muses: and namely, to the professed Sonnes of the-same; *Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanhurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuel Daniell, Thomas Nash*, and the rest, whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeouours, commendably employed in enriching, & polishing their natvie tongue, neuer so furnished, or embellished as of late.'

34-5] 4 *Let.* G i, G. H. i. 219. 24-6.

P. 326, 1-4] 4 *Let.* G i, G. H. i. 219. 28—220. 4, 11-13. Harvey does not promise to cancel the pamphlet, but says, 'were it not more for other, then for my selfe, assuredly I would be the first, that should cancell this impertinent Pamflet: and throw the other twoo Letters, with the Sonnets annexed, into the fire.'

2. *Ingle*] i.e. boy favourite (in a bad sense); the earliest example in *N.E.D.*

9. *in cleane life*] i.e. in good condition. Cf. Dekker, *Witch of Edmonton*, II. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, iv. 373 foot. For the original sense, i.e. blameless, cf. *Golden Legend*, Temple ed., i. 28. 22, 26.

10-11] 4 *Let.* G iv, G. H. i. 221. 1-2.

16. *Ageas*] I keep the spelling, for Augeas, as it does not seem a very likely misprint.

18. *golden lanes*] Golden Lane is said to have been 'of no great Account, either for Buildings or Inhabitants', Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 93. Perhaps known as an offensive locality.

19-20] 4 *Let.* G iv, G. H. i. 221. 11-12.

23. *impostumate*] Cause a tumour in; earliest instance in *N.E.D.*

24. *pan-pudding*] Apparently any pudding baked in a pan, here probably with no definite meaning; earliest instance in *N.E.D.*

28. *regenerate verses*] See sonnets 4 and 10 at end of 4 *Let.*

34. *the last Sonnet of M. Spencers*] The one beginning, 'Haruey, the happy aboue happiest men I read; that sitting like a Looker-on'; quoted with omissions on p. 328.

P. 327, 7. *shipmans hose*] See note on i. 172. 16.

10. *out a crie*] i.e. 'out of cry,' a common phrase meaning excessively.

14. *Maister Bunny*] i.e. Edmund Bunny (1540-1619), a Calvinistic theological writer. The work referred to is, '*A Booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to Resolution . . . By R. P[arsons]. Perused, and accompanied . . . with a Treatise tending to Pacification*; by E. Bunny, 1584, and several later editions. The 'second part' was, I think, Nashe's invention; the work appears to be complete.

25. *his ill consumed defectes*] If the text is correct it perhaps means 'not yet exhausted'. Though his enemies have found much to say against him he is vulnerable in many more points.

29-30] 4 *Let.* F 3^v, G. H. i. 215. 27-8.

32-3. *white wine*] White wine seems generally, though not always, to have been preferred for medical purposes, for making lotions for the face, &c. More than sufficient information on the subject will be found in Gratarolus, *De Vini Natura*, cap. xxv, xxvi (see ed. 1565, pp. 244, 328). Cf. iii. 268. 1102.

P. 328, 1-2] 4 *Let. H 1^v*, G. H. i. 233. 16-17.

3] 4 *Let. H 2*, G. H. i. 233. 28—234. 1.

4] 4 *Let. H 2*, G. H. i. 234. 23-5, ‘For if any thing indeede, be a right Asse in print, it is the one: and if any thing, indeede, be a right Calfe in print, it is the other.’ Harvey is referring, at least ostensibly, to Ignorance and Want of Experience.

5-8] Cf. 4 *Let. G 2^v*, G. H. i. 223. 18, ‘the Ringleaders of leud Licentiousnes,’ and i. 224. 4-7.

15-24] Spenser’s sonnet from the end of the *Four Letters*. Nashe omits the first line and part of the second, also ll. 5, 8, and 14.

27-9. *Cornelius Agrippa maketh all the Philosophers . . . Asses*] See the *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 102, trans. 1569, fol. 183^v, &c. ‘A Digression in praise of the Asse,’ especially 184^v, ‘I wil now aduertise you famous professours of sciences, naye rather *Cumane Asses*, that if the vnprofitable burdens of humane knowledges be not set aparte, and that Lyons borrowed skinne put of, . . . yee be not tourned againe into bare and mere Asses, that yee be vtterly and altogether vnprofitable to carrie the mysteries of diuine wisdome . . .’ It is, however, the simple-minded whom Agrippa has been praising as asses, including the Apostles, whom at the end of the preceding chapter he has called, ‘voyde well neare of al knowledge, vnskilful, and Asses.’ Hence the chapter on the virtues of the ass, in order to explain his meaning.

31. *Cumane Asse*] i.e. the ass in the lion’s skin; see Lucian, *Piscator* 32, and Camerarius, *Fab. Aesopicae*, ed. 1571, pp. 574-5.

P. 329, 9. *breakes no square*] i.e. does no harm, makes no difference.

21. *civil ornge*] The usual spelling of Seville seems to have been ‘Sivil’; but ‘Ciuill Oranges’ in *Wit’s Misery*, 1596, B 2^v.

22. *I . . . conuerse in a house of credit*] Nashe was at the time staying with Sir George Carey, Governor of the Isle of Wight. The expression ‘my Lord’ in l. 27 seems, however, to indicate that Nashe is referring to the household of the nobleman who had been his patron in London, and by whom he had perhaps been temporarily transferred to Carey.

P. 330, 3-4. *Friday at night suppers*] There was no regular supper in most of the colleges on that day—it being a fast. Thus it was a complaint against Emmanuel College that they had suppers on Fridays, a custom which was classed with the disuse of surplices as Puritan (Mullingar’s *Cambridge*, ii. 313-14). Cf. also Peacham’s *Complete Gentleman*, ed. 1906, p. 33, where we hear of undergraduates whose chief concern was ‘to expect the next Carrier, and where to sup on Fridayes and Fasting nights’.

9. *writ another Galatæo of manners*] The work of Giovanni della Casa (1503-56), Archbishop of Benevento, entitled *Il Galateo*, was first published in 1558 and was translated into English by Robert Peterson in 1576. It is, in general, a manual of polite behaviour, and is of no great interest, though it was popular in its day.

11-12. *Something there was which I haue heard, not seene*] Unfortunately the statement is too vague for us to guess what Nashe means. There is, of course, the story of Greene’s selling *Orlando Furioso* to the Queen’s men, and reselling it, when they were in the country, to the Admiral’s men (*Def. of Conycatching*, Greene, *Wks.*, ed.

Grosart, xi. 75-6). This, if true, might perhaps be called ‘base shifting’.

15. *Calimunco*] i. e. calamanco, a woollen stuff made in Flanders. As applied to a person, the sense is not quite clear; cf. *Sir T. Wyatt*, Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, iii. 115, ‘a Spaniard is a Camocho, a Callimanco, nay which is worse a Dondego.’

22-3] 4 *Let. G* 2^v, G. H. i. 224. 5-8.

P. 331, 13. *euerie sentence of his is a discourse*] 4 *Let. G* 3-3^v, G. H. i. 226. 5-7, ‘I am not to dilate, where a sentence is a discourse, and a woerde more then inough.’

14. *Quods*] *N.E.D.* suggests that this is a variant of ‘Cods’, i. e. God’s, and compares ‘Od’s buds’, &c.

Text pen] Cf. i. 99. 27.

16-18] 4 *Let. G* 4^v, G. H. i. 230. 3-5. The names cited in ll. 18-24, 34-5 are ‘secretaries of art and nature’ mentioned by Harvey.

18-19. *Bacons brazen nose*] For the story of Bacon’s brazen head see Dr. Ward’s edition of *Faustus* and *Friar Bacon*, or Prof. Collins’s edition of Greene, ii. 6-9, where the chapter dealing with it is reprinted from *The Famous History of Friar Bacon*.

19-21] Cf. the very similar passage in *Summer’s Last Will*, iii. 235. 60-2, where the text reads, probably in error, ‘fiery breathing goares.’

19. *Architas wodden dooue*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 22, trans. 1569, fol. 33^v, ‘*Architas Tarentinus* also did in suche sorte make a dooue of timber with Geometricall proportions, that he rose vp on high and flewe.’ Mentioned also in cap. 43 as ‘the wodden dooue of *Architas* . . . which flewe’ together with ‘the Brasen heade forged by *Albert* the great, which as it is saide did speake’. See Aulus Gellius x. 12.

19-20. *dancing bals, fire breathing gourdes*] See C. Agrippa, u.s. fol. 33^v, ‘as balls daunsinge by themselues: . . . and gourdes that breathe fire out of them.’

20. *artificiall flies*] Probably referring to the one supposed to have been constructed by Regiomontanus. See note on l. 24.

21. *an egshell that shall run vp to the toppe of a speare*] Apparently the trick somewhat obscurely described in T. Lupton’s *Thousand Notable Things* [1579], Oo 1, ‘To make an Eg ascend into the ayre. In the month of May, fyll an Eg shell cleane emptied, with dew, and stop the hoole well, wherin you dyd put the dew, then lay the Eg in the hotte Sunne about noone: and it wyll be lyft vp. But if you set a staffe by it, it wyll ascend the more easlye. *Jacob. Weckerus.*’

22. *Archimedes made a heau’n of brasse*] See Agrippa, u.s., ‘And it is reade moreouer, that *Archimedes* first wrought an heauen of brasse with so great workmanshipe, that therein the motions of all the Planetes were moste manifestly perceaued.’ See Cic. *Tusc.* i. 25, *Nat. Deor.* ii. 35, *Sext. Emp. Adv. Physicos*, i. (*Adv. Math.* ix) 2. 115.

24. *Appollonius Regimontanus*] Read perhaps ‘Appollonius and Regiomontanus’. The ‘iugling tricks’ of Appollonius of Tyana are recorded by Philostratus. Johannes Müller, called Regiomontanus from his birthplace, Königsberg in Franconia—or, as others say, Königshoven—was born in 1436 and studied mathematics and astronomy at Leipzig and Vienna. He later visited Italy and Hungary,

and finally settled at Nuremberg, where he established a press at which were printed a large number of scientific works. He died in 1476. For the story of the artificial fly and eagle which he was reputed to have made see the long article on him in the *Biog. Univ.*, 1821. xxx.

29. *Mates Pumpe in Cheapeside*] I can learn nothing of this contrivance, surely a somewhat remarkable one. Nashe may, however, merely intend a jesting reference to one of the force-pumps for supplying water to the City, of which the first was erected by Peter Morris in 1582 (Stow, *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 134 and i. 25). In 1594 one was set up by Bevis Bulman for supplying West Cheap (Stow, u.s. i. 25); it seems possible that some earlier scheme or proposal for the supply of the district may be here alluded to. But I only suggest this in default of a better explanation.

P. 332, 1. *the bias bowle at Saffron Walden*] Not, so far as I am aware, mentioned by other writers.

6-7] 4 *Let. H 1*, G. H. i. 231. 1-4.

11-12. *do call for a litle more drinke and a fewe more clothes*] Cf. i. 207. 25-6 and note.

18-19. *turne . . . cat in the panne*] A fairly common proverbial phrase of uncertain origin, meaning to change, play the turncoat.

24-5] 4 *Let. H 2v*, G. H. i. 235. 21-4; cf. note on 317.-15.

26-7. *we shal haue you a Martinist*] Alluding to the name of 'dumb dogs' (Isaiah 56. 10) applied by Martin and other Puritans to ministers who did not preach.

30. compare *Whitegiff and Cartwright*] 4 *Let. H 2*, G. H. i. 234. 14-15. Harvey merely mentions them, among others, for their eloquence.

35. *maineprise*] 'The action of procuring the release of a prisoner by becoming surety for his appearance in court at a specified time,' *N.E.D.*

P. 333, 3. *a sheepe in Wolfs print*] The joke is Harvey's, 4 *Let. H 2v*, G. H. i. 236. 25-6; alluding, of course, to John Wolfe, the printer of the *Four Letters*.

8. *the Bishop & his Clarks*] 'Rockes that lye to the Westwards from Sylly and the Westerne parts of England,' Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.* (1903-5), vii. 22. There were rocks of the same name four miles S. W. of St. David's Head in Pembrokeshire; see Camden, *Brit.*, ed. Gough, ii. 522, and Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 134.

13-15] 4 *Let. H 3*, G. H. i. 237. 13-16.

P. 334, 4. *paint*] Grosart's conjecture is shown to be erroneous by Harvey's reference in *Wks.*, ii. 118-19, and Nashe's at iii. 134. 2.

6. *Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice*] Nashe refers to this as his motto at iii. 123. 20-1. See Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 389.

THE TERRORS OF THE NIGHT

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

From the Dedicatory Epistle (341. 22-3) we learn that the work was written a long time before publication, and we may in any case assume it to have been in existence prior to its first entry in the Stationers' Register, June 30, 1593, while the statement (341. 19-22)

that Mistress Elizabeth Carey was acquainted with the cause of its being undertaken strongly suggests that it was composed during Nashe's residence in the Isle of Wight with Sir George Carey in the winter of 1592-3. Further, the occasion of its being written was some strange circumstances connected with the death of a gentleman at a place some sixty miles from London where Nashe had been staying 'in Februarie last' (378. 12-13). Assuming that Nashe was, as he implies (iii. 96. 1-2), in the Isle of Wight in Feb. 1593, the gentleman's death must be referred to Feb. 1592; from which it follows that *The Terrors of the Night* cannot have been composed after Feb. 1593.

It must, however, have been added to later, for the passage in Camden's *Britannia*, alluded to at 374. 26-33, first appears in the 1594 edition of that work. It is, I think, probable that the whole passage dealing with Carey, perhaps 373. 24-376. 13, was added at the same time as the dedication, immediately before the work was published.

This may have been one of the 'two or three triuall Volumes' mentioned in the Epistle prefixed to *Christ's Tears* in 1593 (ii. 13. 7-8) as being then in the printers' hands. If so, it is difficult to understand the delay in the appearance of the book; nor can I suggest any reason for the double entry in the Stationers' Register.

2. General Character of the Work.

The whole seems to be intended as a sort of commentary on, or introduction to, the visions of the sick gentleman recorded on pp. 378-82, but the work is of so desultory a character that any attempt at analysis would be useless.

3. Sources.

I have been unable to find any special sources for the book, though I feel almost certain that for the part dealing with dreams at least this should be possible; for example, for 371. 27-372. 23. I may say that in J. G. T. Grässle's *Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica*, 1843, pp. 97-8, are mentioned several works on dreams to which I have been unable to refer; the titles of some of these are promising. But the bulk of *The Terrors of the Night* might well have been gathered by miscellaneous reading. Among works which were perhaps known to the author may be mentioned R. Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*; *A Brief Collection . . . of Strange and Memorable Things, gathered out of the Cosmography of Sebastian Munster*, 1572; the translation from Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night*, 1572, and possibly also Pierre le Loyer's *III livres des Spectres ou Apparitions et Visions d'Esprits, Anges et Demons se monstrans sensiblement aux hommes*, 1586. In all these I have found material of which Nashe made use, but works on demonology, witchcraft, and related subjects borrow so largely from one another that it is a matter of considerable difficulty to discover from what source a particular thing is taken. Of the chief English work on dreams known to me as in existence at the date, namely T. Hill's *Most Pleasant Art of the Interpretation of Dreams*, 1576, he seems to have made no use at all, as he equally ignored the classic work of Cardan. Of another possible source A

Diall of Dreames iudicially poynting to the Success that follows euerie Fancie appearing in Sleep, 1590 (Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 167; Maunsell, *Cat.* ii. 8), I have been unable to find a copy.

4. After History.

The book seems to have attracted little attention, and there are remarkably few references to it in the literature of the time.

P. 339, 5. *Post Tenebras Dies*] I am not aware of any particular source for this motto.

P. 341, 4. *Mistres Elizabeth Carey*] Little seems to be known of her, save that she married Sir Thomas Berkeley, and died in 1635. See note on 342. 15-17.

14. *once more*] If Nashe had previously dedicated any work of his to Elizabeth Carey it has perished or is unidentified.

31. *Nouerint-maker*] i.e. scrivener.

P. 342, 9. *Delia*] Referring, of course, to Daniel's sonnet-sequence published in 1592.

12-13. *so worthie a Mother*] Elizabeth Carey the elder, to whom Nashe dedicated *Christ's Tears*.

15-17.] It would appear from this that Lady Elizabeth Carey had translated some of Petrarch's sonnets into English, but these, if they are extant, have not been identified. It has been suggested that some of the translations from Petrarch which are printed among the works of Spenser, but are inferior to his other productions, may be from her pen. The only work standing in her name is *The Tragedie of Mariam, the faire Queene of Iewry*, printed in 1613, and it is not known whether this should be ascribed to her or to her daughter (*D.N.B.* ix. 64-5). Prefixed to this in some editions is a sonnet 'To Diannes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye', a heading which suggests that the person addressed was unmarried; but if we take this to indicate that the daughter is meant we must not take the word 'sister' literally, for she was an only child (see 341. 5).

27. *gain-coping*] The usual sense of 'gain-cope' is to come up with by taking a short cut; cf. Fraunce, *Third part of ... Ivychurch*, 1592, L4 :

These last [hounds], though latest, by crossing ouer a hill top,
Gayne-coapte *Acteon*, and held him fast, till his other
Hounds came trolling in.

The sense here seems to be 'taking a short cut to wealth'.

28-9. *I must tie my selfe to the Printers paper limits*] Hence the Dedication was probably written in September or October, 1594, after the printing of the book was commenced. In *Strange News*, when Danter had the preliminary matter to hand before beginning to compose, he started, as we have seen, with the title-page; cf. note on 312. 1.

33. *checke-roule*] i.e. the list of servants of a household, muster-roll.

P. 343, 6-7. *Title Pages on euerie poast*] See note on i. 194. 28.

10. *hard hilts*] cf. i. 276. 2 note.

10-11. *Martin Momus*] It is questionable whether these are to

be read as two names or as one. Cooper in his *Admonition*, ed. Arber, 56. 25, calls Marprelate 'Martin Momus'. Cf. iii. 315. 2-3.

11-12. *eight and sixt age . . . Tarltons toies*] *Tarltons Toyes* was entered in the Stationers' Register on Dec. 10, 1576. No copy is known to exist. I cannot interpret 'the eight and sixt age of Poetrie' unless the reference is to the time when verse was commonly written in 'fourteeners', either in long lines, or divided into lines of eight and six syllables; cf. *Mids. N. Dr.* III. i. 25. Nashe perhaps alludes to the first Puritan attack upon the stage; cf. H. Symmes, *Les Débuts de la Crit. Dram. en Angl.*, 1903, p. 69, &c.

14-15. *that haue wormes in their tungs*] See note on i. 85. 26-7.

15. *betouse*] i. e. be + touse, tear, worry.

26. *Peter Littleton*] I know of no person of the name; possibly some moneylender is referred to. The *Tenures* of Sir Thomas Littleton (1402-81) is often mentioned as a textbook of law, but an allusion to him here seems pointless, even if we suppose that Nashe did not know his Christian name.

28-9. *put out money . . . Constantinople*] Adventurers about to set out on a journey frequently staked large sums of money on condition that in the event of their safe return they were to receive several times the amount deposited. Allusions to the practice are numerous. See, for example, Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, i. 198-9.

P. 344, 5. *stop mustard pots*] See note on i. 192. 22-3.

P. 345, 5. *in the Countrey*] If, as I have suggested, this work was written in the winter of 1592-3 this must be the Isle of Wight.

12. *Blache booke*] A book containing lists of malefactors and information about them. Greene seems to have introduced the phrase into literary usage by his references to the *Black Book* which he intended to write, but never completed. It is, however, to be found a little earlier in the *Almond for a Parrot*, iii. 376. 12. Cf. also i. 155. 5.

22-3. *bill of parcels*] i. e. detailed list.

P. 346, 1-2] Cf. 'curarum maxima nutrix Nox', Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 81-2: the others I do not find—Night was generally feigned to be the daughter of Chaos, sister and spouse of Erebus.

3-5. *Some Diuines haue had this conceipt . . .*] Not traced.

21-3] Proverbs 30. 17, but 'valley', not 'valley of death'.

P. 347, 3. *Quæ nimis apparent . . .*] Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 516.

7. *Noctem peccatis . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 16. 62.

13-14. *neuer sacrificed vnto them till Sunne-setting*] I can find no authority for this.

14. *The Robbin-good-fellowes*] Scot has a somewhat similar passage, *Discovery*, 1584, 521, where, speaking of the Roman gods, he says 'Virunculi terrei are such as was Robin good fellowe, that would supplie the office of seruants, speciallie of maids; as to make a fier in the morning, sweepe the house, grind mustard and malt, drawe water, &c.' Cf. also Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* ed. Shilleto, i. 219-20. As to Robin Goodfellow see notes of the commentators on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 34.

23-4. *the diuell . . . angell of light*] Cf. 2 Cor. 11. 14.

P. 348, 12. *Selucus ayrie Castles*] I do not know what can be meant by this.

21-2. *Upon the aduantage*] The phrase commonly means 'by surprise' (cf. *N.E.D.*); here, however, it seems to be rather 'taking all possible advantages'.

P. 349. 9. *It was said of Catiline, Vultum gestauit in manibus*] Not found.

16. *campe royal*] i. e. a very large number; cf. ii. 68. 15.

Chrisostome saith . . .] Not found. As to the universality of spirits see Lipsius, *Physiol. Stoic.* i. 18.

18. *the Philosopher*] The opinion was held by many; cf. Plutarch, *De Plac. Phil.* i. 18. Rabelais, i. 5 end, seems to be the first to have the saying 'Natura abhorret vacuum' (W. F. H. King, *Class. Quot.*).

34. *The Druides that dwelt in the Ile of Man*] Possibly due to a confused recollection of Harrison's account of witches in the Isle of Man. Cf. note on 359. 33. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 320, mentions Anglesea as the principal abode of the Druids.

P. 350, 10-11. *a worme in his tung*] See note on i. 85. 26-7.

16. *Tullius Hostilius*] See Livy i. 31; Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 53, xxviii. 4; but nothing seems to be said of Tullus trembling.

23-4. *mares (as Columella reporteth) looking their formes in the water, run mad*] Probably from Erasmus, *Parabolae*, in Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, 1574, pp. 1181, 1236, 'Vt equae conspecta in aquis forma sua aguntur in rabiem, authore Columella: Ita quidam nimium admirantes sua ad insaniam usque redduntur insolentes.' See Columella, vi. 35.

26. *Froisard saith . . .*] *Chroniques*, iii. 22 (trans. Berners, ii, cap. 37). Not quite accurate; the familiar described belonged to the Sire de Corasse; it was merely supposed that the Comte de Foix had a similar one.

29. *Tewksburie mustard*] Tewksbury was celebrated for the manufacture of mustard until somewhere about 1730 (see *Gent. Mag.*, ccc. 421); cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 262. Mustard was used both as a condiment and as a medicine, 'Dat lachrymas, purgatque caput, tollitque venenum,' as we read in the *Schola Salernitana*; for particulars of its use see A. de Villeneuve's commentary.

31-2. *a familiar or a spirite in a ring*] Cf. Lodge, *Devil Conjured*, 1596, E 3^v foot, and Heywood, *Fuvaekion*, 1624, 401 foot, 'Ioachimus Cameracensis had a speaking Ring, in which was a Familiar, or a Deuill; that kind [of juggling, or witchcraft] is called *Vdromanteia*, as also *Dactylomanteia*, i. A Ring wherein Spirits are worne.' (Heywood's technical terms are all wrong; cf. Delrio, *Disq. Mag.* 1599-1600, ii. 220 (*Hydromantia*) and 226).

P. 351. 1. *spirits of the fire*] Cf. i. 231. 19, &c.

7. *Socrates Genius*] Cf. i. 234. 31-3.

7-9. *the Doue . . . inspired*] For the story of Mahomet's dove see *Strange things out of Seb. Munster*, 1574, fol. 63^v, 'For he [Mahomet] accustomed and taught a Doue to be fedde, and fetch meate at his eares, the which Doue his moste subtle and craftye maister called the holy Ghoste. He preached openly, and made his bragges like a most lying villen that this Doue did shew vnto him the most secrete counsel of God, as often as the simple fowle did flye vnto his eares for nourishment.' The story is also referred to in Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 252, 171. Nashe has it at somewhat greater length in

Lenten Stuff, iii. 192. 27-9. See also i *Hen. VI*, I. ii. 140, 'Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?' and the notes of the commentators.

10. *the Discouerie of witchcraft*] See the 'Inuentarie of the names, shapes, powers, gouernement, and effects of diuels and spirits, of their seuerall segniories and degrees' in Scot's *Discovery*, xv. 2.

P. 352, 3-4] For these spirits cf. i. 230. 35, &c.; 231. 11, &c., 22, &c.

4. *they are dull*] Nashe is only referring to the spirits of the water; the other two classes are described later.

P. 353, 24. *rake-leane*] The expression 'lean as a rake' occurs in Chaucer, *Prol.* 287, and frequently, and 'rake' alone is used by Stanyhurst and Shakespeare for a thin person. The only other instance of the compound here seems to occur in *Christ's Tears*, ii. 69. 25.

26. *to sticke their gums round with Comfets*] Apparently to imitate teeth; but the idea is odd, and I have not met with it elsewhere.

P. 354, 6-7. *as slime and durt . . . engender toads and frogs*] See note on i. 173. 34.

12. *strakes*] i.e. streaks.

14. *meteors*] Cf. iii. 254. 652.

34-5. *Bees . . . before a storme*] Cf. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 11.

P. 355, 1. *melancholy*] The word is used here, as generally by Elizabethan writers, for the less violent forms of insanity.

15-16. *Diuers haue written diuersly of their causes*] See Cardan, *Somn. Synes.* i, cap. 1-2, and C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van*, cap. 39 (from which is taken Scot. *Disc. of Witchcraft*, x. 3).

17-23. *as an arrow . . . confines of the night*] The source of this is unknown to me.

32. *dazeling*] Cf. I. 35, 'dazle.' For the comparatively rare intransitive use of the word cf. *Soliman and Perseda* (Kyd, ed. Boas), II, i. 244, 'Dasell mine eyes, or ist *Lucinas chaine*', and, as noted by the editor, Webster, *Duchess of Malfi*, IV. i., 'mine eyes dazzle.' So also in *Speeches to the Queen at Sudeley*, in Nichols' *Progr. of Q. Eliz.* iii. 137, 'he would . . . cause mine eies, which gazed on her, to blind hers, which made mine dazell.'

P. 356, 17-18. *bent on a head*] The phrase seems to mean something like 'rushing headlong'; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. head sb. 35c 'on a head'.

18. *vp and downe*] i.e. exactly; cf. i. 275. 26.

26. *Iacke-anapes in . . .*] Read rather 'Iacke-anapes, in . . .'

37-357, 1. *lye double*] I cannot ascertain what precise form of discomfort is meant.

P. 357, 6. *blacke santus*] Also 'black sanctus', a burlesque hymn performed in a noisy and discordant manner. Such a black sanctus was printed by Sir J. Harington in his *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, and is reprinted in *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Park, 1804, i. 14-16.

32. *gates in Rome*] I cannot find this statement elsewhere about Rome, but Nashe perhaps took it with modifications from Erasmus's *Parabolae*, in Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, 1574, p. 1202 'Civitates portas habent quasdam nefastas, per quas educuntur nocentes ad supplicium capitatis, eiiciuntur purgamenta, nihil autem infertur sacram

aut purum: Sic aures curiosorum non transeunt nisi homicidia, adulteria.' Erasmus gives Plutarch [*De Curiositate*, 6] as his authority, but neither has Plutarch any mention of Rome. Mr. Crawford refers me to Chapman, *Andromeda Liberata* (*Poems*, ed. 1874-5, p. 187, col. 2):

Or rather, as in certain cities were
Some ports [text-parts] through which all rites piacular,
All executed men, all filth were brought, &c.

so also in his *Tears of Peace*, u. s., p. 119, col. 1.

P. 358, 4-5. *shriue themselves to it*] i. e. make it acquainted with their deeds.

15-24.] Many of these superstitions are of course still current; for bleeding at the nose cf. *The Duchess of Malfi*, II. iii.

25. *The first Witch was Proserpine*] Accepting, I suppose, her identification with Hecate.

P. 359, 5-9. *Darius . . . yron*] The authority for this dream is unknown to me. That related by Plutarch (*Alex.* 18) is altogether different.

9-11. *That Iuel-coffer . . . before him*] For the story of Alexander keeping a copy of Homer's works in a rich casket see Plutarch, *Alex.* 26, Strabo xiii. I § 27, and Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 30; the latter calls it a casket for perfumes. The coffer is stated to have been found among the Persian spoils, but no authority seems to connect it with Darius's dream.

13-14. *Hannibal dreamed . . . Asphalites*] The name of the lake should, of course, be Asphaltites, the Dead Sea. I am quite unable to find any authority for this dream. It has no connexion with those usually attributed to him; see Livy xxi. 22, and Cic. *Div.* i. 24. 48-9.

17-18. *In India . . .*] I do not know whence Nashe took this. Incubi were of course not limited to India.

19-21. *In Island . . .*] As to the supposed marvels of Iceland see in general the 'Brief Commentary' of Arngrimus Jonas in Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1904-5, iv. 89-194, in which the fabulous accounts of Münster and others are discussed and confuted. The spirits here mentioned are reported by Münster, *Cosmographia*, ed. 1572, p. 99, l. iv., c. 36, and *A Brief Collection of Strange Things out of S. Munster*, ed. 1574, fol. 23^v. He makes, however, no distinction between these and the 'spirites like rogues' mentioned in l. 22.

24. *Cheuela*] i. e. qui va là; cf. Heywood, *Eng. Trav.* IV. ii, 'Chavelah.' Nashe has 'Queuela' at ii. 223. 12.

25. *going unto Mount Hecla*] Münster, loc. cit., *Strange Things out of S. M.*, ed. 1574, fol. 24, 'they aunsweare that they must goe to *Hecla* the mountaine, and so sodenlye they vanishe out of sight.'

26-9. *That Mount Hecla . . .*] Münster, loc. cit., and *Strange Things out of S. M.*, u. s., fol. 23, 'This place [i. e. Hekla] is thoughte of some to be the prison of vncleane soules' on account of the noise made by the ice in the sea near by, when breaking up, which 'giueth so horrible a sounde almost representinge the myserable lamentation of humayne voyce and weeping'.

32-3. *wind or faire words in the Court*] 'Wind' is not uncommon in the sense of 'favour'; cf. *The Dial of Princes*, trans. North, ed. of 1582, fol. 406^v-407, 'O what pity is it euery way to see him y^t is

a suitor in the court, to be long haled with a tedious suit, and in the end not to obteine any part of his desire, without a litle pleasing wind of court.' The 'wind' spoken of is to be obtained by judicious bribery.

33. *Three knots in a thred*] See Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Gent. Sept.*, ed. 1567, I. iii, c. 16, p. 114, 'De Magis et Maleficis Finnorum.' If one knot was undone a gentle wind ensued; if two, a stronger one; if three, a tempest. Harrison, *Descr. of Brit.* c. 10, Holins. *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 66, speaks of the sale to mariners of wind 'inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred' by the witches of the Isle of Man. Cf. also Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, iii. 404. Nashe alludes to the same superstition at iii. 272, 1219-22; for which passage Collier quotes *Macbeth*, I. iii. 11-13, and Mr. Crawford refers me to Webster's *Cure for a Cuckold*, IV. ii. 94-6 (ed. Dyce, 1857, 309^b), Beaumont and Fletcher's *Chances*, V. iii. (ed. Darley, i. 513^b) and *Fair Maid of the Inn*, IV. ii (u. s., 374^a), and to the notes of the commentators on *Com. of Errors*, IV. iii. 10-11.

34. *odde*] Perhaps we should read 'olde'.

P. 360, 1. *a riding snarle*] i. e. a slip-knot.

8. *Lake Vether*] i. e. L. Vetter or Wetter, in the south of Sweden. See Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Gent. Sept.*, 1567, p. 62, but he does not mention the remarkable property here attributed to it.

14-15. *Mont-Gibell*] i. e. Aetna; cf. *The Traveller of Jerome Turler*, 1575, F 5-5^v, 'Crateres *Atnæ*, nowe commonly tearm'd *Mongibello*'; Belleforest, *Histoires Prodigieuses*, 1597, iii. 256, 'le mont d'*Ethne* (à present Mongibel)': P. Le Loyer, *Treatise of Spectres*, 1605, 41^v, '*Mongibell*, which in times past was held to be the Forge and furnace of Vulcan, and of late hath bin callet (sic) *Aetna*, a name which in mine opinion commeth of *Athuna*; that signifieth an Oven.'

28-9. *the Pope . . . ale*] Possibly a jesting reminiscence of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 60 end, trans. 1569, fol. 87^v, '*Innocentius* the eight (as *Volaterrane* saithe) graunted to the *Danes*, that they might Sacrifice the Chalice without Wine.'

32. *Farewell frost*] A not uncommon phrase, used generally to indicate that a subject or person is disposed of; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, in *Quellen*, I. iii. 97, 'And thou wilt nedes be gone, then fare well froste,' and Lyly's *Mother Bomby*, II. iii. 97-8, 'so farewell frost, my fortune naught me cost.' Instances in *N.E.D.* include one, c. 1590, from the play of *Sir Thomas More* (1844) 52, and from the *Two Angry Women of Abington*, II. i. near end, ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.*, sc. iii. 425. *N.E.D.* compares 'farewell fieldfare' in Chaucer, *Troilus*, iii. 861, which Prof. Skeat explains as 'farewell, and a good riddance; because fieldfares depart when the warm weather comes'.

P. 361, 10. *Gloriosos*] The word is also used by Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 98, 3 and 224 foot.

13-14. *cod-peeces sutes (made against the comming of Mounsier)*] François, brother of Henry III, and Duke of Anjou, one of Elizabeth's suitors, arrived in England at the end of October, 1581, remaining until Feb. 1581-2. I presume that the fashion referred to was at the time usual in France. It seems to have been more generally regarded as Swiss or Dutch.

17-18. *keep a coyle with the spirit of Tasso*] i. e., I suppose, talk with enthusiasm of Italian literature.

19. *writhe their neckes alla Neapolitano*] The same affected manner of carrying the head is referred to as in Harvey's 'Speculum Tuscanismi' in the *Three Letters*, E 2^v, G. H. i. 84, 14-15, 'His cringing side necke, Eyes glauncing, Fisnamie smirking.'

24. *Artemidorus*] i. e. Artemidorus Daldianus (fl. A. D. 160), who wrote a work in five books, still extant, called *'Ονειροκριτικά*, on the interpretation of dreams.

Synesius] One of the Fathers (fl. 410), who wrote a treatise *Περὶ Ἐνυπνίων*. See Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec. 66, col. 1282, &c.

Cardan] Many of Cardan's works contain discussions about dreams, but Nashe was probably thinking of the *Somniorum Synesiorum omnis generis insomnia explicantes libri IIII*. I see no indication that he had read the book.

32. *as Witches say their Pater-noster*] i. e. backwards; cf. quotation from Greene in note on i. 274, 21; the idea is frequently referred to. Scot mentions that 'here in *England*, this prouerbe hath beene current; to wit, Dreames prooue contrarie'. *Disc.* 1584, 183. The dream-lore to which Nashe here refers was doubtless quite popular in origin. The oneirological literature generally goes into far more detail as to the precise nature and accompaniments of an apparition.

P. 362, 22-3. *the Dreames of Cyrus . . . Alexander*] For Cyrus see Herodot. i. 209: for Cambyses, Herodot. iii. 30: for Pompey, Plutarch, *Pomp.* 68 (2): for Caesar, perhaps Sueton. 81, the dream on the day before his death, but others are recorded: for Darius, Plut. *Alex.* 18(4): for Alexander, Quint. Curt. ix. 8, Cic. *De Div.* ii. 66.

P. 363, 22-6. *So did Spurinna . . .*] According to Suetonius, *J. Caesar*, 81, Spurinna warned Caesar beforehand; it was another person who 'popt a bill in his hand' on the way to the senate-house; cf. also Val. Max. viii. II. § 2.

P. 364, 17. *quid pro quos*] 'One medicinal substance used for another, either intentionally, fraudulently, or by mistake', *N.E.D.* Here Nashe doubtless means fictitious drugs.

32. *rat-banners*] Travelling doctors, tooth-drawers, and rat-catchers, whom Chettle appears to class together as members of the same or similar professions, announced their presence by the display of banners—the dentists' 'full of horse teeth'. Cf. Chettle's *Kind-heart's Dream*, in *Sh. Allusion-books*, ed. N.S.S. 59. 19-20, 22-4, and 58. 1-3.

P. 365, 9. *Diego*] See note on i. 305. 24.

13. *Virginia*] An inevitable jest; cf. Dekker, *News from Hell*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 100. 3-4, 'any Marchant of maiden heads, that brings cōmodities out of *Virginia*, can direct you thither.'

23. *Dioscorides*] The author of a well-known treatise on *Materia Medica*. He lived in the first or second century A. D.

28. *breaks with*] i. e. reveals the matter to. See *N.E.D.* s. v. break, *v.* 22b.

P. 366, 4-5. *Balm of Iudea*] Probably no special kind of balm or balsam is meant; cf. Ezek. 27. 17, and quotations in *N.E.D.* s. v. balm, *sb.* II. 8, from Trevisa, and s. v. balsam, II. 8, from Jeremy Taylor (1651), 'Falling like the tears of the balsam of Iudea.'

11. *mettle-bruing Paracelsian*] Nashe's precise meaning is not very clear, but of course the chief service of Paracelsus to medicine

was his investigation of the value of certain of the mercury and arsenic compounds. In general he made much more use of mineral drugs than his predecessors, whose pharmacy was almost limited to 'simples' derived from herbs. Cf. ii. 230. 9-10.

12. *Probatum*] i.e. remedies, properly, proven remedies, from the custom of noting in a book of recipes those tried and found successful with the word 'probatum'; cf. Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 213, 'the Receipt bath beene subscribed vnto, by all those that haue had to doe with *Simples*, with this moth-eaten *Motto*, *Probatum est.*' Some of the recipes in Henslowe's *Diary* are thus subscribed (see Mr. W. W. Greg's edition, fol. 16^v. 17, 19; 17^v. 16, 22; 18. 17), and the word is frequently found in medical books appended to those recipes which the author desires especially to recommend.

28. *Tittle est amen*] i.e. the conclusion, sum; cf. iii. 45. 36. The expression is borrowed from the manner of reading the horn-book; cf. T. Morley, *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, 1597, p. 36, &c., where the horn-book is set to music. The words given are as follows:—'Christes crosse be my speede, in all vertue to proceede, A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s & t. double w. v. x with y. ezod. & per se. con per se. title title. est Amen, When you haue done begin againe begin againe.' The 1608 edition has the same, but spells 'tittle tittle'; facsimile from the latter in Mr. A. W. Tuer's *History of the Horn-book* (1896 and 1897). The 'tittle' is also referred to in *How to Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1602, E 2^v, *Pip[kin]*: I had rather plaie the trewant at home, then goe seeke my M. at schoole: let me see what age am I, some foure & twentie, and how haue I profited, I was fие yeare learning to crish Crosse from great A. and fие yeare longer comming to F. I there I stucke some three yeare before I could come to q. and so in processe of time I came to e perce e, and comperce, and tittle, then I got to a. e. i. o. u. after to our Father, and in the sixteenth yeare of my age, and the fifteenth of my going to schoole, I am in good time gotten to a Nowne.' I have given the quotations at length on account of the many small difficulties involved in the various references to the horn-book; even from these two it is clear that there must have been differences in the method of reading, and neither seems to correspond to any of the numerous horn-books shown in Mr. Tuer's work. I cannot explain what 'tittle' means, but it seems probable that it refers to the group of punctuation marks which sometimes follows the alphabet, or else to the long mark placed over the vowels to indicate a nasal. For 'est Amen' Mr. Greg refers me to an alphabetic song in *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, 1907, pp. 46, 47. Cf. also *Martin's Month's Mind*, B1, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 151. 1-4.

P. 367, 24. *cue*] i.e. very small amount; cf. i. 196, 7—the sense was both a farthing and a farthingsworth.

24-5. *upon a flat bill of sale*] The passage seems to allude to i. 161. 20-3, where the devil is described as lending money to a man 'vpon a Bill of his hande, without any more circumstance'.

33. *In diebus illis*] i.e. once upon a time. A common expression, derived, I suppose, from Genesis 6. 4 'Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis.'

Corineus] The captain of a band of Trojans whom Brute and his

companions met with near Gibraltar on their voyage to England and who joined their expedition. See Holinshed, *Hist. of Eng.*, bk. iii, cap. 2, 3.

Gogmagog] One of the giants by whom Brute at his coming found England inhabited. Corineus wrestled with him near Dover, and, after a severe struggle, threw him down the cliffs and slew him. See Holinshed, u.s., cap. 4.

35. *play the good fellowe*] There is here, of course, an allusion to the tricks of Robin Goodfellow; cf. 347. 14-22.

P. 368, 5. *cutter of Queene hyue*] 'Cutter' was equivalent to swaggerer, bully. Queenhithe was frequented chiefly by sailors, lightermen, &c., and was a rough neighbourhood. Cf. Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation*, B iv, 'Simple men . . . cannot confute cuttingly, like a hackster of Queen-Hith', *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 40. 20-3. 'Queene hyue' was a recognized form of the name; cf. *Westward Ho!* in Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 333. 20; 356. 10.

23. *scutcherie*] i.e. cheating.

25. *false gallop*] Cf. i. 275. 7.

29. *make a shaft or a bolt of*] i.e. make one thing or another of it, sometimes 'chance it'; cf. Middleton, *Trick to Catch the Old One*, II. i. 402. Mr. Bullen compares *Merry Wives*, III. iv. 24.

drumblung] The meaning seems to be 'sluggish', 'not lively.'

35-6. *Phisitions by dreames may . . . discerne the distemperature of . . . clients*] Cardan refers to this in *Somn. Syn.*, l. i, c. 3 'Quod etsi quae ab humoribus fiunt insomnia, morbos praemonstrant uelut docuit Hippocrates, nec non etiam morborum qualitatem . . .' But the idea was common.

P. 369, 17-19. *him that had . . . kin*] Apparently Nashe incorporates the original riming couplet.

35-6. *From the unequall . . . mixture of contrarious meates*] See for example Cardan, *Somn. Syn.*, l. i, c. 3.

P. 370, 15. *Palmestrie*] 'To be seene in Palmestrie, wherby to conueie to chast eares, som fond or filthie taulke' is numbered by Ascham among the graces of Court, *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 207-8. C. Agrippa in the *De Incert. et Van*, cap. 35, gives a long list of writers on the subject.

17. *Crepundio*] i.e. empty talker. Cf. iii. 314. 32.

P. 371, 10. *Socrates*] For the 'wrinkle-wyzaid' Zopyrus see Cic. *De Fato*, 5. 10 and *Tusc.* iv. 37. 80.

22. *a pregnant probable concept*] i.e. an ingenious and specious fancy.

27-372, 11. *Lewes the xj. . . Charles the fifth. . . Alphonso King of Naples*] In spite of a good deal of search in works professing to deal with dreams and apparitions, both earlier and later than this date, and elsewhere, I have failed to find any other reference to these stories. It is, however, not to be supposed that they were the invention of Nashe.

29. *Policarpus*] See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Ser. Grec.* 20 (Euseb. Pamph. 2), col. 345 C.

P. 373, 12. *a knot in a bulrush*] Cf. 'nodum in scirpo quaeris,' Terence, *Andria*, v. 4. 38, also Plautus, *Men.* ii. 1. 22, and Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 4. 76. The expression is frequent in English; cf. i. 259. 19 for a somewhat similar saying.

28. *Capias ad Ligatum*] I do not know what this can mean, unless it is a mistake for 'Capias Utlagatum', a writ directing the arrest of an outlaw.

32. *all law and no Gospel*] Cf. note on i. 285. 4-5.

P. 374, 13. *he hath never had good voyage in his life but one*] See the general Introduction for the question of whether Nashe had, as has been stated, travelled on the Continent.

28-9. *in the last repolished Edition of his Britannia*] I have referred on p. 197 to the importance of this passage as evidence of the date of composition of the present work. The third edition of Camden's *Britannia* was issued in 1590, 'nunc tertio recognita et . . . aucta,' and was reprinted at Frankfurt in the same year. In the fourth edition, 1594, the account of the Isle of Wight was rewritten and much enlarged, the following passage being one of the additions:—'Verum-enimuero nec his rupibus, nec illis propugnaculis ita armatur ut suis incolis qui natura bellicosissimi & promptae audacie quos opera & cura Georgii Cary Equisit honoratissimi & Insulae Capitanei dignissimi ita ad robur & virtutem militarem assidua exercitatione confirmantur, ut'—to put it shortly, they are excellent soldiers (p. 708).

31. *if beeing*] Qy. read 'in beeing'?

P. 375, 9-10. *some longer lyued Tractate I reserue*] Nashe did not, so far as we know, perform this promise.

15-16.] I take 'conclude with' to mean 'finish with', 'bring to an end,' and 'parenthesis' to be used for digression (earliest instance in *N.E.D.* is 1600), the sense being 'Thus I terminate this digression: whatsoever . . .'

24. *conduit head*] i. e. reservoir.

30, 32.] There seems to be some slight confusion here; Ovid has

O mihi non dubios inter memorande sodales,
Qui quod es, id vere, Care, vocaris, ave.

Ex Pont. iv. 13. 1, 2.

O mihi post nulos unquam memorande sodales.

Trist. i. 5. 1.

but in the latter case the name of the person addressed does not appear. It is possible that Nashe had some vague recollection of Martial's similar line,

O mihi post nulos, Iuli, memorande sodales.

Epig. i. 16. 1.

a line probably familiar as being quoted in Lily's Grammar, ed. 1577, I IV.

34. *royall descended Familie of the Careys*] George Carey's father, the first Lord Hunsdon, was son of Anne Boleyn's sister Mary, and was hence first cousin to Elizabeth. I presume that this is what is meant by 'royal descended', though of course the term is improperly used. The Boleyns were a merchant family.

P. 376, 15. *prospective glasses one Hostius made*] Doubtless taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 26, trans. 1569, fol. 37, 'So we reade . . . that in *Augustus* time a certaine man called *Hostius*, but without doubt the firste beginner of all dishonestie, made *Glasses* of such sorte, whiche represented the Images of thinges farre greater

then they were, that the finger did exceede in length, and greatnessse, the measure of the arme.' See Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* i. 16.

22. *pastance*] The word seems here to be used in the sense of 'food'; the usual meaning is 'pastime'. See *N.E.D.* s.v.

30. *hedge wine*] i. e. wine of the commonest kind. The word 'hedge' was frequent in a depreciatory sense.

32. *winking*] i.e. having the eyes shut.

P. 377, 6. *the spleene into water it melteth*] The spleen was of course supposed to be the seat of laughter. Cf. note on iii. 92. 13-14.

9-11.] Instances of death from joy are given by Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 54 (Chilo (see also vii. 32), Sophocles, Dionysius of Sicily, a Roman mother) and also by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 15 (Polycrita, Philippides, Diagoras of Rhodes, and the woman already mentioned). See also Val. Max. ix. 12. §§ 2, 3, and Livy xxii. 7.

12-13.] I do not know of any collection of instances of death caused by laughter, but there is the well-known case of Philemon, who saw an ass eat figs and died of laughter at his own joke about it (Val. Max. ix. 12, ext. 6). Precisely the same thing is related of the death of Chrysippus (Diog. Laert. vii. 7. 7. 185).

15-16. *a surfe of honnie . . . dangerous*] A good example of this belief, which seems to have been general, is to be found in the account of the 'Portugal Voyage' of 1589 (Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, vi. 500), when many soldiers died suddenly, as it was supposed, of drinking stagnant water, but 'Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poisoned'.

28-9. *Vnusquisque fingit fortunam sibi*] I have not met with the proverb exactly in this form, but several similar sayings are given by Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 4. 30, under 'Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam', including Plautus, *Trin.* ii. 2. 82 'Sapiens ipse fingeit fortunam sibi.' See also Publ. Syr., 'Fortunam cuique mores configunt sui,' and Mr. W. F. H. King's *Class. Quot.* 1904, no. 750.

34. *fæculent*] The word should mean 'dreggy' or 'impure', but its use in antithesis to 'the slymie vnweeldier drossie part' is curious, and suggests that Nashe was employing it in some other sense.

P. 378, 12. *in Februarie last*] As I have stated in the note on the date, this seems more likely to have been at the beginning of 1592 than of 1593.

13. *some threescore myle off from London*] I am unable to suggest where this was, or who was the gentleman referred to.

29. *euery Pater noster while*] i. e. at frequent intervals. The phrase 'a paternoster-while' is explained in *N.E.D.* as 'the time it takes to say a paternoster', and this is no doubt correct; cf. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, iii. 494, 'he moved awhile after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lord's Prayer.' Nevertheless, the present expression, which occurs also at ii. 289. 12, suggests that there may have been also, or alternatively, a reference to the use of the rosary, 'every paternoster while,' meaning every time that one came to a 'paternoster' bead, of which there were fifteen in the whole series. The expression was very common, and it is astonishing that Grosart should have failed to recognize it.

P. 379, 1. *sharker*] i. e. sharper, adventurer.

3. *pop*] The word as used here is unknown to me.

13. *Lustie gallant*] 'The name of a dance ; also of a dance-tune,'
N.E.D. There seems no information as to their nature.

14. *Laualto*] A lively dance of Italian origin (Ital. *la volta*, the turn).

15. *boystrous*] i. e. strong, massive, cumbrous.

21. *Kentish oysters*] The oysters of Rutupiae, now Richborough, in Kent, are mentioned by Juvenal, iv. 141, and the coast between there and Whitstable seems to have been known for its oysters ever since. Camden, *Brit.*, ed. Gough, i. 215, mentions the beds at Reculver.

23. *Molenax great Gloabe*] A globe completed in 1592 by Emerie Molyneux of Lambeth. At the end of the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to the 1589 edition of Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.*, Molyneux is stated to be engaged in the preparation of a 'very large and most exact terrestrial Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English'. A pair of his globes are now in the library of the Middle Temple. See, for a description of them, *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed. x. 682. 'Mullineux his Globe' is mentioned by Dekker in *The Gull's Hornbook, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 212. 6.

25. *sinkapace*] i. e. cinquepace, a French dance. It was apparently of a somewhat energetic nature ; cf. B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1617, C 2^v, 'shee that can daunce a synquepace aboue ground, so loftie that a man may see her silken-garter.'

27. *empearled*] This must apparently mean 'adorned with pearls', but surely these would hardly be a usual decoration for the canopy of a throne. The earliest instances of the word in N.E.D. are 1591, where it is used of the fields 'impearl'd with tears [of dew]', and 1586, where the sense is 'formed into pearl-like drops'. Possibly 'purled', i. e. decorated with fringes or embroidery, is meant ; cf. ii. 127. 4.

29. *state*] i. e. throne.

30-1. *picture of Laocoon*] The celebrated group of statuary now in the Vatican, discovered in 1506 and acquired by Julius II ; supposed to be identical with that described by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 4. § 11. For the use of 'picture' for 'image', which was quite common, see N.E.D. s.v. 2 d.

P. 380, 11-12. *Vestals, that brought in Augustus Testament*] See Suetonius, *August.* 101.

18. *Bonarobae*] i. e. courtesans, from Ital. *buona roba*, good stuff.

21. *boske*] Apparently the same as 'bosh' (Fr. *ébauche*), a sketch, figure.

21-2. *curious Tuns*] The whole passage is far from clear, but I see no way of taking it except by supposing 'Tuns' to be the name of an artist. There seems to have been no well-known painter with a name at all resembling this, nor does it occur in the list of the chief contemporary artists in *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, Oo 7^v. Karel van Manders' *Leven der Nederlandsche Schilders*, ed. J. de Jongh, 1764, i. 169, mentions, however, among artists at Brussels, 'een goed Meester, geheten Willem Tons, die in het schilderen met waterverw uitmuntte en in patronen met allerlei boomen, kruiden, dieren, vogelen enz. naar het leven.' As a son of his was probably alive in 1604, this Willem Tons may have been about the right date.

25. *trammells*] The word properly means a net, and is used by Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 2. 15, for a hair-net. It seems, however, here and elsewhere to have meant a lock or tress of hair; cf. Lodge's *Rosalynde*, ed. Greg, p. 17, 'The trammels of her hair, folded in a caul of gold,' and Drayton, *Muses Elysium*, Second Nymphal, Cleon's third speech:

And wond'ring caught, ere they be ware,
In the curl'd trammels of thy hair;

where, however, there is also a sense of 'snare'. See also s.v. 'trammelet' in Nares, which is explained as 'snare', with quotation from *Wit's Recreations* (1654):

Or like Aurora when with pearl she sets
Her long discheveld rose-crown'd trammelets.

33. *Amomum*] A shrub from which the Romans prepared a costly fragrant balsam. This is mentioned in Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, vi. 25, as coming from China.

P. 381, 12-13. *Virgines of Marie Magdalens order in Rome*] I can find no such order at Rome. There were, however, orders of the Magdalen in France, Germany, and at Naples (Migne, *Enc. Théol.*, 'Ordres Relig.' ii. 802-14). Some of these were under very strict vows.

14. *daughters of Saint Philip*] See Acts 21. 9.

27. *Rising vp agayne*] i.e. when the matrons rose from their knees.

35. *hand ouer head*] i.e. precipitately, indiscriminately; examples in *N.E. D.* from c. 1440.

P. 382, 8. *welt and garde*] The two words mean much the same, i.e. to adorn with a border, and are constantly used together; cf. ii. 210.

24. I doubt, however, if they were actually synonymous, as stated by Prof. Collins in his note to *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, l. 1993; cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 240. 18-19, and xii. 225. 2, 4. Perhaps a welt was broader and less ornamental than a guard, rather a 'facing' than an edging or trimming. 'Without welt or guard' meant plain, unadorned; cf. quotation from Fuller in *Cent. Dict.* s.v. dunstable, given in note on iii. 391. 17.

31. *mould butter*] I do not know what is meant by this (cf. 'mouldcheese' in i. 178. 28); unless merely butter which has grown mouldy (cf. ii. 158. 5), but mouldy butter is no thicker than fresh butter.

P. 383, 8. *Master Allingtons vision*] In spite of a good deal of search I have failed to discover any information about this vision, or indeed any other reference to it.

13. *Fulgosius*] i.e. Gianbatista Fregoso, doge of Genoa. His work *De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus*, 1509, contains a section on dreams.

Licosthenes] i.e. Conrad Wolffhart (1518-61), a German miscellaneous writer. Nashe is probably referring to his well-known *Prodigiorum et Ostentorum Chronicorum*, 1557.

Valerius] Probably Nashe means Valerius Maximus, but he may be thinking of one of the many later writers of the name.

P. 384, 2. *shrinke faster than Northren cloath*] A proverbial expression; cf. *Westward Ho!* II. i (Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 294),

'Charing-crosse was olde, and old thinges must shrinke aswell as new Northern cloth.'

35-6. *set vp your rests*] This seems here to mean, 'be assured'; the more usual sense is to resolve, make up one's mind. The phrase has been very fully dealt with by Shakespearian commentators (cf. *Romeo & Juliet*, II. v. 6 and *Mer. of Ven.*, II. ii. 116), and it need only be added that it is sometimes jokingly used for rest oneself, take up one's lodging; cf. iii. 101. 18. We also find 'to set down one's rest' as at i. 84. 14 and in S. Rowlands' *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, E 2, 'let her talke and spare not, I haue set down my rest, in troth I care not.'

P. 385, 8. *glickes*] i. e. scoffs, tricks.

9. *matachine*] A kind of sword dance performed in a fantastic costume (*N.E.D.*).

12. *Italianague*] Nashe refers to the Italian poisons which will kill a man 'in the nature of that disease he is most subiect to' at i. 186. 28-31.

14. *infernall*] The word seems to mean a play or masque of devils; cf. quotation in *N.E.D.* s. v. *infernal*, B. 3b: '1610 *Histrio-m.* II. 219 *Ush.* One of you answer the names of your playes. Post . . . A russet coat and a knaves cap (an *Infernall*).' The sense given is, however, 'A thing of infernal character.' So Dekker in *News from Hell, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 99, says that the devil will permit few poets to remain in his dominions, lest they should write libels against him, but 'some pittifull fellowes . . . not Poets indeede, but ballad-makers, rub out there, and write *Infernals*'.

32-3. *as in our Commonwealth I know none*] These words are of course simply put in to prevent trouble. Every reader would know what value to attach to them. Precisely the same thing is found in the 1594 cancel in *Christ's Tears*; see ii. 159, ll. 7-8 of the note.

P. 386, 20-1. *The first for her lauish blabbing of forbidden secrets*] There seems to be some mistake here. Ovid relates in *Metam.* ii. 589-95 that Nyctimene was turned into an owl for incest with her father, but the passage occurs in the middle of one telling how the raven was turned from white to black for betraying a secret, and is further linked with another story of a virgin being turned into a crow for a similar offence. Nashe had probably a confused recollection of the whole.

23-4. *the second . . . lust & rauishment*] Alluding, of course, to the story of Philomela, Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 412-674.

30. *exhale*] i. e., perhaps, draw up, exalt; but the use of the word is curious.

VOLUME II

CHRISTS TEARES OVER IERVALEM

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

The work appears to contain no indication of the exact date of writing, for the allusions at 15. 3 and 157. 2-3 to the plague would have been to the point at any time between the autumn of 1592 and the date of publication, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Nashe was at work upon it during the summer months of 1593.

The first issue must have appeared at or immediately after the date of its entry in the Stationers' Register, Sept. 8, 1593, for Harvey's *New Letter*, dated on the 16th of the same month, contains numerous references to it.

The date of the second issue, with the new address to the reader and the cancel for X₃, cannot, I think, be exactly determined, but it would be natural to place it early in 1594. Nashe is not likely to have waited long before replying to Harvey's attack in the *New Letter*.

2. General Plan of the Work.

Christ's Tears falls into two main divisions, the first dealing with the crimes of the Jews and their punishment by the destruction of Jerusalem, the second with the crimes of London, which may, if they continue unchecked, draw down a similar vengeance upon that city.

The first of these great divisions itself falls into minor sections, as follows : A brief prayer for inspiration (15-16)—An account of God's mercies to the Jews and their refusal to hear Christ (16-21)—An oration in the person of Christ reproaching the Jews for their treatment of the prophets (21-59)—The siege and fall of Jerusalem (60-80).

The second part, intended to show that London has, through pride, offended in a similar way, is divided into a number of sections dealing with the 'sons' and 'daughters' of Pride, namely Ambition (81-92), with its branch, Avarice (92-108)—Vainglory (108-14)—Atheism (114-29)—Discontent (129-32)—Contention (132-4)—The daughters of Pride, and first, Disdain (134-6)—Gorgeous Attire (136-44)—Delicacy (144-7) including the branches of Gluttony (147-8), Lust (148-55), Sloth, with Security, or Carelessness (155-73)—A prayer against the plague (173-5).

3. Sources.

The account of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, for which alone we need look for a definite source, is taken from the work known as the *Sefer Yosippon* or more generally by the name under which it appeared in English, Joseph Ben Gorion's *History of the Latter Times of the Jews' Commonwealth*. The authorship and date of this work cannot be accurately determined, but it is generally held that it was composed by a Jew living in southern Italy in the ninth or tenth century. Until the eighteenth century it was referred to as the smaller or Hebrew Josephus, and was, at least until the time of Scaliger, highly respected as an historical source. There are many versions of

it, and these present considerable differences : the English translation by Peter Morvyn, published in 1558, is from an abstract made in 1561 by Abraham ibn Daud and published with Münster's Latin version at Worms in 1529 and at Basle in 1559. (From the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vii. 260^b, which see for particulars.) The English translation, which Nashe seems to have used, though he occasionally, after his manner, inserts a scrap of Latin (as at 61. 28-9), was very popular and went through at least six editions before the end of the century. In a few cases, referred to in the notes, it seems as if Nashe had followed Josephus rather than Ben Gorion, and we may perhaps suppose that he was familiar with both accounts, but the similarity of many passages to Morvyn's translation is so striking that it seems impossible not to regard this as the principal source. A few extracts from Morvyn are given for comparison, but considerations of space have made it necessary to give references alone for the majority of Nashe's borrowings.

It is possible, or probable, that the general idea of the book was taken from *A very fruitfull and necessarye Sermon of the moste lamentable (sic) destruction of Ierusalem, and the heauy iudgements of God, executed vpon that people for their sinne and disobedience : published at this time to the wakening and stirring vp of all such, as bee lulled a sleepe in the cradle of securitie or carelesnesse, that they maye at length repente them of their harde hartednes, and contempt of God his word, least they taste of the like plagues for their rebellion and vnrepentance, not knowing with the wilfull inhabitants of Ierusalem, the daye of their visitation.* By John Stockwood, Schoolemaister of Tunbridge. Luke 13. 3... 1584. In its general plan and the line of its arguments this sermon very closely resembles *Christ's Tears*. For example, Stockwood begins by quoting Luke 19. 41-4, 'And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, Saying, If thou hadst known,' &c., and proceeds, 'Three things to be noted out of this text. Firste, of Christes weeping ouer Ierusalem, and what mooued them (sic) thereunto. Secondlye, of the destruction thre[te]ned vnto Ierusalem, and the causes of the same. Thirdly, what wee may learne by this GOD his heauye iudgements shewed vpon Ierusalem.' He then discusses the cause of Christ's tears over the city, precisely as Nashe does, and proceeds to a description of its siege and fall similarly based on the account of Ben Gorion. The general resemblance between the two works is so strong that it can, I think, hardly be accidental, though Nashe's treatment is considerably fuller and the account of the siege takes much from Ben Gorion which Stockwood omits. I cannot, however, say that I have detected any such close parallels in language as to make it seem likely that Nashe actually had Stockwood's book before him when he wrote; but cf. notes on 57. 19; 61. 26-30. The last part, the application to London, is Nashe's own, Stockwood merely drawing a general moral.

4. After History.

The work does not seem to have attracted any great amount of notice at the time of its publication, and references to it are by no means numerous. Mr. W. W. Greg has, however, pointed out to me an interesting allusion in *A most straunge and true Discourse of the wonderfull Judgment of God, of a monstrous deformed Infant*, 1600,

by one J. R., who, praising certain moral works, says 'Read, I pray you, Thomas Nashe's book, entitled, "The Tears of Christ over Jerusalem": which book, if you have any grace in you, will make you to shed tears for your sins.' (See *Harl. Misc.*, ed. Park, 1808-13, x. 417, from which I quote.) Attention is called in the notes to several borrowings from *Christ's Tears* in Vaughan's *Golden Grove*.

The poem called *Canaan's Calamity*, published in 1598 and attributed to Thomas Dekker, contains certain passages which strongly suggest borrowing from the present work (cp. especially 76. 3-4 and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 42. 23-43. 2), but this is, I think, due merely to the use of the same source.

P. 3. Modern Editions] It should have been stated that Collier printed the Epistle of 1594 in the introduction to his reprint of Harvey's *New Letter*, in *Miscellaneous Tracts Temp. Eliz. & Jac. I.*

P. 4, 12. dated Sept. 16, 1592] The reader is requested at once to correct the date to Sept. 16, 1593.

16. a cancel] The existence of this cancel was, I believe, first noticed by J. P. Earwaker, who called attention to it in a letter dated Dec. 1889, offering a copy of the 1594 edition to the Bodleian Library for £3 3s. The letter has been preserved in the copy in question (now i. b. 190). The cancel was afterwards independently noticed in the British Museum copies by Mr. H. R. Plomer, who very obligingly communicated his discovery to me, and by myself.

note 1] The first paragraph is not as clear as it might be. I mean that the cancel leaf is joined to (on the same piece of paper as) 2* 1, forming with it a double leaf.

P. 9, 3-4. the Ladie Elizabeth Carey] She was the second daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe and wife of Sir George Carey. Nashe refers to her in the dedication to *The Terrors of the Night*, i. 342. 12-28, which work was dedicated to her daughter of the same name.

13. mummianized] The word, which appears to have provoked criticism, is explained at ii. 185. 2-4, as equivalent to 'earth manured with mans flesh'.

18. Text-penne] See note on i. 99. 27.

20-1. Tares ... Teares] Same pun at 183. 19-20.

22. Ospray eyes] Pliny treats the 'ossifraga' as a variety of the 'haliaeetus' of which he says that the sight is especially good, *H. N.* x. 3. The only one of the hawk family which, according to him, has not good sight seems to be the night-hawk 'cymindis', which cannot see well in the day-time (x. 10). Greene also speaks of 'the blind Osyphrage', *Wks.*, ed. Grosart ix. 33. 6.

P. 10, 10-11] I hardly understand these lines. Presumably 'dead' in the second is equivalent to 'slay', as 'deaded' at ii. 275. 17.

19-21. Diuers wel-deseruing Poets ... praise] Excepting Spencer, I cannot find any poet who had dedicated works to Lady Carey at this date.

21. Maister Spencer] His *Muiopotmos* is dedicated to her, and there is a sonnet to her among those prefixed to the *Faery Queen*.

22-4. To the eternizing of the heroycall familie of the Careys ... tasked] This at first suggests that Nashe had written some history of the Carey family or some work especially devoted to their praise.

Nothing of the kind, however, is known, and perhaps Nashe means no more than that *Christ's Tears* represents his 'choicest studies'.

24. *high allied*] Alluding to the fact that Lord Hunsdon, Sir George Carey's father, was cousin to Elizabeth; see note on i. 375. 34.

P. 11, 1-2. *Doues . . . glasse*] Doves seem to have been supposed to delight in mirrors. Thus in an extraordinary recipe for alluring pigeons to a dove-house, given in Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things* (ed. n. d. [? 1595], Z 3) it is stated that we should have 'three or fowre lytle looking glasses within ye Dooue-house'.

3. *Barbarie purses*] I cannot learn of what kind these were; cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, NIV, 'his [Slovenry's] mouth is like a Barbary purse full of wrinkles.'

18-19. *Varro saith . . . felicitie*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 54, trans. 1569, fol. 75, 'It should be too tedious to recompte the opinions of all men touchinge felicitie, . . . for *Marcus Varro* gathered togeather of these twoo hundredre eightie and eight opinions, as *Augustine* saithe.' See *De Civ. Dei*, xix. 1. § 1, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 41 (August. 7), col. 621.

P. 12, 2.] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 2. 19.

11-12] We might equally well punctuate 'suppliant for . . . pardon, doe I . . .'

14-15] Read perhaps 'reputation, though (through . . .)'.

22-3. *milde gentle moderation*] According to Nashe, overtures of peace had been made by Harvey; cf. 179. 27, &c., and iii. 92. 33, &c.; cf. also i. 325. 34-5.

P. 13, 1. *Retractations*] i.e. the *Retractationes*, written in 428, when Augustine was in his seventy-fourth year. He reviews and explains his former works, withdrawing certain statements which he had come to consider erroneous.

3-4. *some spleanative vaines of wantonnesse . . . to supply my private wants*] This may refer to such productions as *The Choice of Valentines*, but it must be remembered that 'wantonness' had a wide meaning.

7. *Two or three triuiall Volumes*] We may conjecture *The Terrors of the Night* and *The Unfortunate Traveller* to have been among these.

P. 15, 3. *the dayes of dolor and heauinesse*] Referring to the prevalence of the plague at the time.

4-5. *The Lord is knowne by executing iudgment*] Nashe's Biblical quotations are often inexact, and consequently it is difficult to determine which version of the Bible he used. The present quotation is, however, certainly from the Geneva version, the 'Bishops' (ed. 1588) reading, 'The Lord is knownen to execute judgement.' On the other hand, in the quotation from St. Matthew which immediately follows, the word 'purge' is only found in B.V., which has 'will throughly purge the floore', while G. V. (ed. 1582) reads 'wil make cleane his floore'.

P. 16, 28. *Mount Silo*] The passage referred to here is Gen. 49. 10, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from betweene his feete, unto Shiloh come' (G.V.), where 'Shiloh' is explained as 'Christ the Messiah'. There was no Mount Silo or Shiloh, though there was a place called Shiloh near Mount Ephraim, where 'the

house of God' was; cf. Judges 18. 31. In both cases B. V. spells 'Silo'.

P. 18, 4-5. *natural Sonne*] *N.E.D.* has one instance in 1586 of 'natural son' in the modern sense, but until about 1650 the normal sense of the term seems to have been, as here, 'not adopted.'

P. 19, 11. *exception*] i.e. excuse, counter-plea.

23-4. *the ii. of Mathew*] The passage is in Matt. II. 21; probably a mere misprint, which should have been corrected.

P. 20, 14. *Tamburlaine*] See I *Tamb.* IV. i. 49-63, or perhaps rather IV ii. 111-22, for in the earlier case there is no precise reference to the camp being pitched before a town. References to the story, which was well known, are frequent in the later scenes of the play.

23-4. *the obiect of their obdurbation*] I can only suppose that this means 'for their obdurate selves to behold'.

32. *S. Augustine*] See Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 39 (August. 5), col. 1698. One of the numerous passages where St. Augustine speaks of the word as an 'adversary'; see note on 32. 16-17.

P. 21, 7. *cloodred*] i.e. coagulated, clotted.

P. 22, 13. *Eheu, quantus equis . . .*] Horace, *Od.* i. 15. 9-10 'Eheu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris Sudor.'

30. *Improb'e tolle manus . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xx (Acontius Cydippae), 147.

P. 24, 14. *the 6. of Genesis*] Really Gen. 9. 6.

24-5. *Who stabbeth or defaceth the picture of a King*] An allusion to the idea that injury done to an image would cause similar harm to the person represented—one of the most ordinary forms of witchcraft. It was pretty generally believed in at the time. Cf. Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 257-8. The melting of images of wax is referred to by Holinshed, *Chron.* ed. 1807-8, v. 233-4 and Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 767^a (an image of the Earl of Derby). For 'picture' cf. i. 379. 30-1.

P. 27, 1-2. *made no conscience to*] i.e. did not scruple to.

P. 28, 25. *saith the Wise-man*] See Ecclesiasticus, 3. 33.

P. 32, 16-17. *it is thy Aduersarie in the way*] Cf. Matt. 5. 25, and St. Augustine's exposition of the passage in *Sermo* 9, cap. 3, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 76, &c., also col. 1698. The image is frequent with St. Augustine; see under 'Sermo Dei' and 'Adversarius' in Migne's index in vol. xi of his works.

P. 34, 5. *I altogether lothe*] i.e. it pains me exceedingly.

P. 35, 24-5. *Ignorantia, si non excusat a toto, saltem excusat a tanto*] I have not traced this quotation, which was perhaps from some manual of theology. The point is discussed at length, and a conclusion, with certain reservations, accordant to this arrived at, by Aquinas, *Summa Theol. Quaest.* 76, art. 3, 4 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Ser. Sec.*, 2*, col. 593-5).

32-3. *Ieremy . . . Wildernes*] Jerem. 9. 2.

P. 36, 21. *Smithes-water*] I suppose that the water in which a smith cools his implements is meant; cf. ii. 316. 7.

34-5. *Consuetudo est altera natura*] More common in the form in which it is given by Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iv, cent. 9. 25 'usus est altera natura,' but it stands as here in the *Adagia* of Gilbertus Cognatus, no. 1080 (in Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1574, ii. 500 b.), who refers it to Galen, *De Tuenda Valetudine*, lib. 1 (cf. *De San. Tuenda*, ed. 1541, fol. 14 foot,

but rather *De Temperamentis*, lib. ii, ed. Helmreich, 1904, pp. 61-2, ὡς ἐπίκτητοι φύσεις εἰσὶ τὰ ἔθη). Mr. W. F. H. King, in his *Class. Quot.* 1904, no. 2099, quotes a similar saying from Evenus, 9 (in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, vol. ii).

P. 37, 3. *Athenagoras of Argos*] See Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrr. Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 82 Ἀθηναγόρας δέ ὁ Ἀργεῖος ὑπὸ σκορπίων καὶ φαλαγγίων ἀλυτός ἐπλήσσετο.

P. 38, 23-4. *why the Sea so swelleth & barketh of late*] This does not appear to be, as might be thought, an allusion to the weather at the time of writing; at least there seems no record of any special storms at this time.

29. *Gramploys*] i.e. grampus.

Wasser-man] Explained in *Cent. Dict.* as 'a male sea-monster of human form; a sort of merman'. Spenser, *F.Q.*, ii. 12. 24 is quoted:

The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game

The flying ships with swiftnes to pursew.

P. 39, 25. *Peter*] See Nashe's correction at 13. 24-6. He does not, however, explain what we should read in the passage.

P. 40, 3-4. *Hath not the diuell hys Chappell close adioynning to Gods Church*] Proverbial; cf. Bancroft's *Sermon* of Feb. 9, 1588, p. 30, 'where Christ erecteth his church, the diuell in the same church-yarde will have his chappell,' given as from Luther; see his *Von den Conciliis und Kirchen*, 1539, *Werke*, ed. 1826-57, xxv. 378, 'Da nu der Teufel sahe dass Gott eine solche heilige Kirche bauet, feiret er nicht, und bauet seine Capellen dabe, grösser denn Gottes Kirche ist.' Cf. also Melbancke's *Philotimus*, E 1, 'wher God buildes a church, the deuill builds a chappell,' and Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, iii. 36. 9.

32. *invocating*] The sense seems to be that virtue has more power to win honour than ambition has.

P. 42, 17. *Innowater*] The earliest instance of the word in *N.E.D.* is from Florio, 1598.

23-5. *Archesilaus . . . unsauory sounds*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 1^v, 'the kinge Archisilaus [Archesilaus, 1575] sometime woulde here men of a hoarse and vnpleasant voice, because that heringe afterward eloquent men, he might conceaue greaterre pleasure.'

30. *Vbi cuiusque animus est, ibi anima*] Cf. 'Animus magis est ubi amat quam ubi animat,' said to be from St. Augustine (*N. & Q.* 1st S. vi. 61), but I have been unable to find it. Augustine has, however, 'animo autem locus est affectio sua,' which comes to much the same thing, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 36 (August. 4), col. 95. See the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus, ed. 1547, p. 446, where Τοῦ δὲ ἐρῶντος ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἀλλορίῳ σώματι ζῆν (Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 9. 9) appears as 'Amantis animum dicebat in alieno corpore uiuere: quod hodie quoque ce'ebatur, animam illic potius esse ubi amat, quam ubi animat'. The *bēta* used by Nashe is, I suspect, simply an error for this.

S/6 13, 11. *Tower of Babell*] Nashe is probably again borrowing from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 28, trans. 1569, fol. 39^v, 'Let vs ther with these the high Tower of Babylon, whose foundation (as erodotus testifieth) was on euerye side the eight parte of a mile.' See Herodot. i. 181; he is speaking of the temple of Belus.

P. 44, 1. *time of warre*] It is not impossible that the ‘in a Towne of warre’ of the quarto may mean ‘in the case of a besieged town’, but the expression would here be very awkward.

P. 45, 33. *Heu melior quanto . . .*] ‘Heu quanto melior sors tua sorte mea est !’ Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 4. 4.

P. 46, 8. *Clamor Sodovmorum multiplicatus est*] Gen. 18. 20.

26. *Emprese*] An allegorical device such as was used upon a shield at a tournament, or upon plate or furniture, generally accompanied, as in this case, by a motto.

27. *serpentine Salamander*] By the adjective Nashe perhaps meant treacherous, or ‘viperous’; cf. iii. 195. 29, but he may have supposed it to be a kind of serpent. The salamander was supposed to be so cold by nature that its contact would extinguish fire; see Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* v. 19 (17). 13, Pliny, *H.N.* x. 86, and Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* ii. 31. For the oft-repeated statement that it habitually lives in the fire I do not know who is responsible. At iii. 223. 25 it is said to be nourished by the fire.

P. 47, 3. *Candle-fie*] ‘“a fie that houering about a candle burnes itself” (Florio, s.v. *Farfalla*), a moth,’ *N.E.D.*

12. *Ieschaciabus*] The reference is to the story of Hezekiah; see 2 Kings 20. 7, and Isaiah 38. 21. I cannot say whence Nashe derived this form of the name.

13. *byle*] i.e. boil, a tumor; the spelling was usual.

18-19. *that with his neesings chaseth Clowdes*] Cf. Job 41. 18; the G.V. (41. 9) has ‘His niesings make the light to shine’, while B.V. reads ‘His neesings make a glistening like light’.

22-3. *and no Plannet reuolve any thing but prostitution and vastitie*] The sense of this is very obscure. By ‘vastitie’ is probably meant ‘desolation’, ‘wasteness’; cf. i. 168. 8, ii. 211. 22.

28. *rough-enter*] i.e.? enter forcibly.

28-9. *the crannies of theyr wauering*] i.e., probably, the crannies caused their swaying about.

31. *by-os*] i.e. lullabies. I have not met with the word elsewhere.

35. *ouer-topf*] i. e. top-heavy; cf. quotation in *N.E.D.* ‘1611 Speed *Hist. Gt. Brit.* VII. xliv. § 14. 360 The Saxons, whose ouer-topped Monarchy, and weake walles now wanted props to hold vp the weight.’

P. 48, 4. *Galile . . . Neptnali*] Cf. Ben Gorion, L 5, ‘Galilee from the lande of *Neptnali* and beyonde.’

6-7] Ben Gorion K 5^v, ‘the playne of *Gibeon*, 50. miles from Hierusalem.’

12-14. *Mount Tabor . . . broade*] Ben Gorion, Q 2-2^v, ‘mount Tabor . . . the heyght thereof is thirtie furlonges, and vpon the top is a playne xxiii. furlonges broade.’

17. *rebument*] i.e. overthrow.

20] Properly speaking there should be no parentheses here. The sense is ‘and while the lofty top of it is being beheaded’.

31. *sweet Bread*] Nashe seems to be referring to Pentecost, when only unleavened bread was eaten.

P. 49, 6. *Timpany*] i.e. swelling, properly a certain kind of drops, in which the abdomen is distended like a drum. Here it means no more than a violent effusion of tears.

35. *disgraged*] i. e. degraded.

P. 50, 12. *forage Hell*] Evidently a reminiscence of the mediaeval phrase 'the harrying of hell' for Christ's descent into hell.

34. *the true Phœnix*] For a description of the bird and its habits see Pliny, *H. N.* x. 2, and Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 392-407, and for a discussion of the myth see G. C. Kirchmaier's *Disputationes Zoologicae de Basilisco, &c.*, appended to Joh. Sperling's *Zoologia Physica*, Leipzig, 1661, translated in E. Goldsmid's *Un-Natural History*, Edinburgh, 1886, vol. ii. A very full list of allusions to the phoenix in the classics and the Fathers is to be found in T. Gataker's *Cinnus, sive Adversaria Miscellanea*, 1651, 18-20. The comparison of Christ to a phoenix was, of course a commonplace of Elizabethan and mediaeval literature. It seems to have had its origin in a mistake of Tertullian, who in Psalm 92. 12 (A. V), 'The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree,' misinterpreted the ambiguous ὡς φοίνιξ of the LXX. as 'like the phoenix'. See his *De Resur. Carnis*, c. 13, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 2, col. 811; cf. Epiphanius, *Physiologus*, c. 11, Migne, *P. C. Ser. Grec.* 43 (Epiph. 3), cols. 525-6. It may be remarked that the idea of the Phoenix setting its nest on fire and dying in the flames—the generally accepted notion in later times—is not to be found in Pliny or in Ovid, nor, so far as I know, in any of the classical authorities; indeed in some versions of the story the new phoenix is explicitly said to be born, in the form of a worm, from the putrescence of the old. Tertullian and Epiphanius, however, both recognize this form of the story and speak of the new bird rising from the ashes of the former one.

P. 51, 3-4. *By Herod . . . thou wert last builded*] The building of the temple is described by Ben Gorion, ed. 1575. G^{2v}-G^{4v}. The 'Alabaster' mentioned below is apparently Ben Gorion's 'white marble'.

P. 52, 20-1. *Panther-spotted*] i.e. permanently stained, alluding to Jer. 13. 23.

29-30. *Pol me occidistis amici*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 138. Quoted also in *Piers Penilesse*, i. 158 marg.

33-4. *Est mihi supplicij causa . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xiv. 4, with 'piam'.

P. 53, 3. *Tu mihi criminis author*] Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 40.

7. *Hoc prohibete . . .*] Ovid, *Metam.* x. 322, with 'tanto' for 'vestro'.

16-17. *Therefore is my people ledde captive*] Isaiah 5. 13. The quotation is not accurate.

33. *corroborate*] i. e. strengthen.

P. 57, 19. *mirmidoniz'd*] Nashe apparently means hardened against weeping. Possibly the word was suggested by Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 6-8, 'quis talia fando [i. e. describing the destruction of Troy] Myrmidonum . . . Temperet a lacrymis?' where the Myrmidons are cited as being especially unsusceptible to pity. The lines are quoted by Stockwood, *Sermon*, B 8, in reference to the sufferings of the Jews.

34-6] Psalm 102. 6, 7. Incorrectly quoted.

P. 58, 1-2. *her bowels unnaturally torne out*] Nashe is apparently thinking of the viper; see Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 24. For the pelican see iii. 124. 16-17.

17-18. *Alijsque dolens . . .*] Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 345. Referring to a hawk, not to an owl.

P. 60, 20. *writhe*] I have met with no other examples of the word in this sense.

24, &c.] On the source of this account of the destruction of Jerusalem see the introductory note. For comparison I shall give here and there passages from Peter Morwyng's translation of Ben Gorion (edition of 1575).

24. *Forty yeeres were expired . . .*] The siege took place in A.D. 70.

28-34] Cf. Ben Gorion, L 2-3.

35. *ouer-hung with prodigies*] Ben Gorion gives, towards the end of the work, many of the prodigies that occurred in the year before the coming of Vespasian. These correspond closely with those given by Josephus in *Bell. Iud.* vi. 5. 3. Nashe adds others, a few of which are from Biblical sources, while the rest seem to be of his own invention.

P. 61, 2-6] Perhaps from Joel 2. 31. 'The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood,' and cf. Matt. 24. 29 and the parallel passages.

6. *embayling*] The word, of which this seems to be the earliest recorded instance, is explained in *N.E.D.* as 'to enclose in a ring'; cf. iii. 166. 24.

7-13] Cf. Ben Gorion, 1575, Hh 2^v, 'For the yeere next before the comming of *Vaspasian*, there was seene a starre over y^e temple, so bright, as though a man had hadde many drawnen swordes in his hande at once. And at the same time as the starre appeared in the time of the solemne feast called *Passach* [Easter—marg.], that whole nyght the temple was as lyght and as cleare, as though it had ben midday, and it continued so by the space of seuen dayes of the feast.' Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi. 5. 3, differs in stating that the light in the temple lasted only half an hour. He agrees with Ben Gorion in treating the star and this light as separate phenomena. Nashe apparently regards them as one.

11. *vambrasht*] Nashe apparently means 'brandished'. Perhaps an erroneous use of 'vambraced', an heraldic term for an arm encased in armour.

13-20. *In the Sanctum sanctorum . . . grones*] I do not find any of these omens either in Ben Gorion or in Josephus.

20-2] Ben Gorion, Hh 2^v-3, 'they brought a Heyffer for a burnt offering, whiche when she was felde and stroken downe that they might dresse her, she calued a lambe.' Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi. 5. 3.

23-6] This seems to be reported neither by Ben Gorion nor by Josephus.

26-30] Ben Gorion, Hh 3, 'In the feast also of weekes, the priestes hearde a man walking in the temple, and sayeing with a great and a woorderfull terrible base voyce: *Come, let vs goe away out of this temple, and get vs hence.*' Josephus, loc. cit., states that this cry was as the voice of a multitude. The words 'Migremus hinc,' &c., suggests that Nashe used a Latin version of Ben Gorion, but the close correspondence of his language elsewhere with that of the English translation is against this. Stockwood, *Sermon*, B 7^v, has 'Migremus hinc, Migremus hinc', which may have suggested the Latin to him.

P. 62, 5-10. *The East-gate thereof... shut]* Ben Gorion, Hh 3, also Josephus, loc. cit.

8. *gymmes*] i.e. hinges; see *N. E. D.* s.v. *gimmer* 12.

7-9. *the dry rusty creaking... heard a myle off]* Cf. Ben Gorion, Hh 3, 'the creking of the gimmers and hookes whereof might be hearde a farre of.' Josephus has nothing corresponding to this.

10-19] Ben Gorion, Hh 3v, and Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 5. 3.

19-21. *Manie monstrous byrthes... bloode]* This appears to be Nashe's addition.

20-24] Ben Gorion, Hh 3, and Josephus, loc. cit., but not 'euery night', and nothing is said of the Roman Eagles.

24-32] For the sword cf. Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 5. 3 near beginning, who speaks of a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city. Ben Gorion has only the passage already quoted in the note on 61. 7-13. The thunderstorm is apparently from Ben Gorion, Q6v-7. The rest seems to be Nashe's own.

34. *Ambulabant vt caeci... .*] Sophonias (Zephaniah), i. 17
'ambulabunt... .'

P. 63, 15. *That Sepulcher you see, is but a thing built vp by Saracens]* I do not know whence Nashe took this. The Holy Sepulchre seems to have been currently regarded as genuine; it was certainly so considered by Münster, and by Laurence Aldersey, who visited it in 1581; see Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.* 1598-1600, ii. 1. 153, ed. 1903-5, v. 211.

28, &c.] For Eleazar see Ben Gorion, S4v-5, 'This Eleasar was the beginner and first sower of sedition amongst the Israelites,' also T 3; for the others, R 5v, &c. Much more is said of the wickedness of Jehochanan, who is called 'a limbe of the Deuyll', than of Eleazar.

34. *Keysar of cut-throates]* Ben Gorion calls him 'an other cut-throate ruffian, of a noble house in Iudea and Hierusalem', R 6.

P. 64, 6-10] This seems to be Nashe's own, save that 'For malice . . . in vre' is, I suspect, a reminiscence of Sallust's description of Catiline, 'Scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat' (*Cat.* c. 16), taken by way of St. Augustine, *Confess.* ii. 5. 11.

25, &c.] Cf. Ben Gorion, R 6v, he . . . 'sent his letters where he could not come him selfe, in this manner and fourme: . . . who so can not abyde the rule of his father or his maister, all that be in debte, and stande in feare of their creditours . . . : let him resorte to me, I wyll deliuer hym from the yoke, and daunger of the lawes, and wyll finde him his fill of boöties and spoyles. There assembled vnto hym about twentie thousande men, all murdererers, theeuers, rebelles, lawelesse personnes, wicked and seditious men.'

P. 65, 4-5. *whom hee cleped the Flower of Chiualry]* This appears to be Nashe's invention.

6-9] Ben Gorion, R 7.

10-12] Cf. Ben Gorion, S 4v, S 5. But it does not appear that the three were leagued together, at any rate not for more than the shortest possible time.

12-15] Ben Gorion does not keep at all strictly to the chronological order of the events which he narrates, nor does Nashe follow him at all closely. He now goes back to Q 8. 'In the mornyng they

layde handes on the riche men, haled them before judges, and the lxx. Elders, whiche otherwyse be called *Sanhedrin*, whom they called together . . .’ Jehochanan threatened the members of the Sanhedrin with death unless they carried out his instructions (Q8^v), but I cannot find that he actually ‘displaced’ it. The Q has a comma after ‘judges’.

16-17. *the Sacrifice they silenced . . . Armory*] Cf. Ben Gorion, T 4. By ‘making the temple an armory’ Nashe means, I suppose, no more than that there was fighting there.

18. *as emperey admitteth no mateshyppel*] A reference to the common proverb ‘love and lordship brook no fellowship’; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 79.

22. *went thorow-stitch*] i. e. dealt thoroughly, made a good job of them. Cf. ii. 219. 7 and iii. 32. 11-12.

23. *Twenty thousand in one day*] No number seems to be given.

24-6] Ben Gorion, Q 7^v-Q 8.

33-4] Cf. Ben Gorion, T 4^v, ‘Yea, the dead body of the priest that was offering sacrifice, lay vpon the earth togeather with his offeryng. And when any man woulde offer any sacrifice, strayghtway one or other of the seditious would step to him and kyll him, that the blood of the sacrifice and sacrificer should be mingled togeather.’ The idea is several times repeated.

34-66. 19] This appears to be Nashe’s own.

P. 66, 21-5] Ben Gorion, T 4^v, ‘Insomuch that the pauement of the temple, being all of marble, was made so slipperie with the blood and fatte of them that were slayne, that no man coulde goe vpon it without fallyng.’

25-8] Cf. Ben Gorion, V 3, where he speaks of the town as ‘choked with carion doung, and most pestilent stynch of dead bodies, and blood of the wounded’.

28-33] Apparently taken from the account of a later defence of the temple against the Romans, Ben Gorion, Ee 5^v, ‘Which earnestnesse on both sides, filled the entrie of the court of the Lord with blood, that it stood like vnto a poole or a ponde.’

36. *allude*] i. e. compare, illustrate by; cf. i. 173. 34.

P. 67, 5. *mingle-colourd*] i. e. spotted or stained.

11. *both of life and office*] According to Ben Gorion, the high-priest Anani was deprived of office quite early in the siege, but was not killed till much later (Q 3^v, T 4).

11-16] Ben Gorion, Q 3^v-Q 4, ‘Moreouer, they cast lottes who shoulde haue the Priestes office, and who shoulde be no Priest. For they helde the priesthood and seruice of God, for toyes, gaudes, and trifles. So the lotte fell vpon one that was called *Pani*, the sonne of *Peniel*, a carterly husbandman, ignorant what belonged to the priestes office, so that he was vtterly vnworthy of the priesthood: yet they made hym hye priest for all that, so light a matter made they of the priesthood.’ Josephus, on the other hand, in *Bell. Iud.* iv. 3. 8, calls him Phannias, the son of Samuel.

23-5] Ben Gorion, T 5^v, ‘So this you see at that tyme the Lorde visited the citezins of Hierusalem with foure kinde of plagues, swoorde, pestilence, hunger, and fyre.’

25-30] Ben Gorion, T 5-5^v, ‘whereas agaynst tymes of necessitie

and besiegings of the towne, were layed vp in store, corne, wine, and oyle, to the number of a thousande and foure hundred store houses, all filde full of vittayles, . . . sufficient for two hundred thousande men for twentie yeeres, and nowe in this one battayle of the seditious, they were brent every one sticke and stone.'

30-68. 10] Cf. Ben Gorion, T 5^v-T 6.

P. 68, 2. *bayting*] No recognized sense of the word seems to suit the context. Possibly Nashe may have regarded it as equivalent to 'bathing'; cf. *N.E.D.* s. v. *bate sb.*³=bath (1548), but the form is very rare. Cf. also i. 214. 14, where for 'beere-bathing' some eds. have 'beere-baiting', though there perhaps 'bait', i.e. refreshment, was intended—if it is more than a mere misprint.

5. *lingring-lyuing death*] Read, perhaps, 'lingring lyuing-death,' but Nashe's curious compound words make one somewhat uncertain.

11-14] Ben Gorion, Q 3^v, 'When they espyed any notable ryche man of the citie, they woulde after this sort quarrell with him: Art not thou he that hast sent letters to the Romanes, and to *Vaspasian*, to betray the citie vnto them? . . . then woulde they bryng in godlesse persons, limbes of the deuyl, of theyr owne companie, to beare false witnesse agaynst hym.' The mention of Schimeon here is incorrect according to Ben Gorion's account, for he was not yet in Jerusalem.

18-21. *Not a few . . . made themselves graues, and went into them aliuine*] Apparently Nashe's addition.

21-30. *The channell of Iordan . . . Sea of Sodom*] Ben Gorion, R 4, 'insomuch that the chanel of Iordane was so stuffed and stopt with dead bodyes, that the waters rose and ranne ouer the bankes here and there into the fieldes and playnes. Yet at the length the waters encreased, and bare the carkases downe the riuier, as farre as the Sea of *Sedom*, whiche is the Sea of pitche, otherwyse called the salt Sea.'

35-6. *the Brooke Cedron, and the waters of Schiloim in lyke sorte were choked*] Apparently Nashe's own.

36-7. *As dead Cattes and dogges into Buts of Sack and Muscadine are throwne*] I know nothing of this practise, but something of the same kind is referred to in *Westward Ho!*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 327, 'Pardon me; this Sacke tastes of Horse flesh, I warrant you the leg of a dead horse hangs in the But of Sacke to keepe it quicke.' See the note on the passage—which gives a parallel, but adds no further information.

P. 69, 25. *rake-leane*] Cf. i. 353. 24.

P. 70, 3-7] Ben Gorion, Dd 8^v. He says '13 myles'. Josephus, *B.I.* vi. 1, has 90 stadia.

7-12] Ben Gorion, Ee 4^v.

12-13. *Mens Cellars and Garrets . . . they searcht*] Nashe now turns back to an earlier part of Ben Gorion's account, Bb 1, 'the seditious searched euery mans house and seller for foode'.

14-15] Cf. Ben Gorion, Bb 1^v top.

16-34] Ben Gorion, Bb 1^v, 'Moreouer, who so hadde any corne in store that no man knewe of, he was afrayde to send it to the myll, or bake it, because of the wickednesse of the seditious, lest they should take away from them their sustenaunce: Wherfore many dyd eate the drye corne vngrounde in their sellers priuile. At that time also were exceeding riche men in Hierusalem, whiche stale

meate one from another, so that the father catcht meate from the sonne, the sonne from the father, the mother snacht from her children, the children likewyse from their mother.' Cf. Josephus, *B. I.* v. 10, §§ 2, 3. Nashe's phrase, 'tore the meate out of his mouth,' has a closer parallel in the latter than in Ben Gorion.

35—71, 6] Ben Gorion, Bb 1v—2.

P. 71, 2. *send theyr chyldren*] Ben Gorion, Bb 2, says 'diuers men with their wyues & children gate out of y^t citie to geather hearbes to eate'. Josephus, *B. I.* v. 10. 3, does not particularly mention women or children.

6—7. *Many Noble-men ate the Leather of theyr Chariots as they ridde*] Ben Gorion, Dd 8v, 'so that after they had eaten vp all their horses, they eat also their doung, and the leather of the charettes.' Nashe's addition 'as they ridde' is somewhat thoughtless. Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 3. 3, speaks only of their shoe-leather and the leather which belonged to their shields.

7—77, 15. *Miriam*] The story is from Ben Gorion Gg, 1v—Gg 5. As it was well known and is often referred to, and as there is some interest in comparing Nashe's version of it with that from which—either with or without an intermediate—it was derived, I give Ben Gorion's account in full. It will at least show that some of the offences against good taste of which Nashe appears to be guilty are not his own wanton embellishments.

'There was a certayne notable ryche woman at Hierusalem, of a noble house also, whose name was *Miriam*, her dwellyng was beyonde Iordan: but when she perceyued the warres to growe more and more in the tyme of *Vaspasian*, she came vp with her neyghbours to Ierusalem, brynging with her not onely her men seruautes and women seruautes, and all her whole familie: but also her goods and ryches, which were very great. When the hunger was greeuous at Ierusalem, & the seditious went from house to house to seeke meate, they came also to this womans house, and tooke away from her by force al that euer she had, and left her nothyng remayning. By this meanes she was oppressed with very great hunger, so that she wyshed her selfe out of the worlde, but her tyme was not yet come to dye. Wherefore that she might slake her hunger, and susteyne her lyfe, she began to scrape in the chaffe and duste for beastes doung, but coulde finde none. She had one sonne, and when she sawe the famine waxe greater and greater vpon her, she layde aside al womanhood & mercie, & tooke vpon her an horrible crueltie. For when she hearde her boy weepe and aske for meate, whiche she had not to geue hym, she sayde vnto hym, What shal I doo my sonne? For the wrath of God hath enuironned the whole citie, in every corner thereof famine reighteth: without the citie the swoorde kylleth vp al, within we stande in feare of the seditious, our enimies preuayle without, in the towne are fyres, burnynges, and ruines of houses, famine, pestilence, spoyling, and destroying, so that I can not feede thee my sonne. Nowe therefore my sonne yf I should dye for hunger, to whom shoulde I leaue thee beyng yet a chylde? I hoped once, that when thou shouldest come to mans state, thou shouldest haue susteyned myne age with meate, drynke, and cloth, and after when I shoulde dye, to burie me honorablie, lyke as I was mynded to burie thee, if thou shouldest haue

died before me. But nowe my sonne thou art as good as dead alredy, for I haue no meate to bryng thee vp withall, because of this great famine & cruelletie of the enimies both within and without. If thou shouldest dye nowe amongst other, thou shouldest haue no good nor honorable tombe as I woulde wyshe thee. Wherefore I haue thought good to chose thee a sepulchre, euen mine owne body, lest thou shouldest dye, & dogs eate thee in y^e streets. I wil therfore be thy graue, and thou shalt be my foode. And for that, that if thou hadst lyued and growen to mans state, thou oughtest by ryght to haue nourished me: nowe feede me with thy fleshe, and with it susteyne myne age, before that famine deuour thee, and thy body be consumed. Render therefore vnto thy mother that which she gaue vnto thee, for thou camest of her, and thou shalt returne into her. For I wyl bryng thee into the selfe same shoppe, in the whiche the breath of lyfe was breathed into thy nosethrylles: forasmuch as thou art my welbeloued sonne, whom I haue loued alwayes with al my strength, be therefore meate for thy mother, an ignominie and reproch to the seditious, that by violence haue taken away our foode. Wherefore my sonne heare my voyce, and susteyne my soule and my lyfe, and goe to the end that is determined for thee by my handes, thy lotte be in the garden of Eden and Paradise: be thou meate for me, and a rebuke and shame to the seditious, that they may be compelled to say, *Loe a woman hath killed her sonne, and hath eaten hym.* So, when she had thus spoken to her sonne, she toke the chylde, and turning her face away lest she shoulde see hym dye, she kylled hym with a sworde, and after cut his body into certayne peeces, whereof some she rosted, some she sodde: and when she had eaten of them, she layde vp the rest to keepe. The sauour of the fleshe rosted when it came out into the streetes to the people, they sayde one to another: see here is a smel of rost meate. Which thing came to the knowledge of y^e seditious at length, who went into the house of the woman, and spake roughly vnto her, Why shouldest thou haue meate to lyue with, and we dye for hunger? The woman made them answeare, and sayde vnto them, Be not displeased, I beseeche you, with your bandemayde for this, for you shall see I haue reserued part for you. Syt you downe therefore, and I wyl bryng it you, that ye may taste thereof, for it is very good meate. And by and by she layde the table, and set before them part of the chyldes fleshe, saying, Eate I pray you, here is a childes hande, see here his foote and other partes, and neuer report that it is any other womans child but myne own only sonne that ye knewe with me, him I bare, and also haue eaten part, and part I haue kept for you. Whiche when she had spoken, she burst out, and weapt, sayeing, Oh my sonne, my sonne, howe sweete wast thou to me whyles thou yet liuedst, and nowe at thy death also thou art sweeter to me then hony. For thou hast not onely fedde me in this most greeuous famine, but thou hast defended me from the wrath of the seditious, wherewith they were incensed towards me, when the smell of the meate brought them into my house. Nowe therefore are they become my freendes, for they sitte at my table, and I haue made them a feast with thy flesh. After she turned her to the seditious, and bad them eate, and satisfie them selues: for why (sayth she) shoulde ye abhorre my meate whiche

I haue set before you? I haue satisfied mee selfe therewith, why therefore doo you not eate of the fleshe of my sonne? Taste & see howe sweete my sonnes fleshe is, I dare say ye wyll say it is good meat. What needeth pitie? Ought ye to be more moued therewith then a woman? If ye wyll in no wyse eate of the sacrifice of my sonne, when as I haue eaten thereof mee selfe: shal not this be a shame for you, that I should haue a better hart and greater courage then you? Beholde, I haue prepared a fayre table for you, most valiant men, why eate ye not? Is it not a good feast that I haue drest for you? and it was your wyll that I shoulde make you this feast. It had ben my part rather to haue ben moued with pitie of my sonne, then yours: and howe chaunceth it therefore that ye are more mercifull then I? Are not ye they that spoyled my house, and left me no kinde of foode for me and my sonne? Are not ye they that constrainyd me to make you this feast, notwithstandingyng the great hunger that I haue? Why then eate ye not thereof, when as ye were the auctours & the causers that I dyd this deede? The Iewes hearing this matter, were woonderfully smitten into sadnessse: yea euен the governours of the seditious began to stoupe when they heard of this, so that they all in a maner desyred death, they were so amased at this horrible acte.'

The version given by Josephus, who calls the woman 'Mary, the daughter of Eleazar', is considerably shorter, but too long to quote in full. I give, however, from Whiston's translation, the whole speech of the mother to her child (*Bell. Iud.* vi. 3. 4), 'O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves! This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us;—yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews.'

P. 72, 13-16. *amongst the Indians there is a certaine people . . . uppe]* This is related by Strabo (xv. 1 § 56) of the nations who inhabit the Caucasus, by Porphyry (*De Abstin.* iv. 21, ed. Didot, p. 85) of the Massagetae and Derbicae, and I believe that the same has been said of several other races. Mandeville, ch. 22, attributes this custom to the inhabitants of the isle Dondum.

16. *day-diuersifying*] More violent on certain days than on others; recurring at intervals.

17. *surfets*] The word seems commonly to have been used for 'dysentery', as it appears to be here; cf. Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, ii. 775.

fit-meale] i. e. piece-meal.

29-30] For the Latin form of the saying see i. 273. 19-20.

36. *Embrawne*] i. e. harden; cf. iii. 191. 17.

P. 73, 10. *Saturnine*] i. e. unlucky. Cf. 'Saturnists' at i. 192. 9 and note.

11. *Anthropophagiz'd*] Dekker in *The Wonderfull Year 1603*, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 103, speaks of 'the vicerous body of this Anthropophagized plague', but as he thinks necessary to explain in the margin that 'Anthropophagi are Scithians, that feed on mens flesh', the word was presumably rare. *N.E.D.* has no quotation before 1623.

19. *Base-bidding*] Referring to the game of prisoners' base, challenging or answering one another; see 'to bid the base' in *N.E.D.* s.v. base *sb.*² b.

P. 74, 1. *tender-starued*] I am not sure whether we should delete the hyphen or whether the word is intended to mean 'in whom tenderness has been starved to death', an interpretation which, when we consider some of the other compound words here used, does not seem impossible.

P. 77, 19. *more then a hundred thousand*] There seems to be no authority for the number.

20-4] Ben Gorion, Dd 7^v, 'a keeper of the least gate whiche was in Hierusalem, ypon that side towarde the brooke *Kidron*, noted the number of the dead that were caryed foorth to buriyng by that gate, and founde they came to .115.M. 8.C. & .8. persons, whiche were all of the nobles and gentlemen, or at the least of the substanciallest of the Iewes.' Josephus says 115,810 (*B.I.* v. 13. 7).

24-7] Ben Gorion, Dd 5 ; Josephus, *B.I.* v. 13. 4.

27-33] Ben Gorion, Dd 5^v-6. He calls the soldiers, as here, '*Aramites* and *Arabians*'; Josephus, in narrating the same thing, has *Arabians* and *Syrians* (*B.I.* v. 13. 4).

P. 77, 33—78, 6] Ben Gorion Dd 7^v, continuing the passage quoted in note on 20-4 above.

P. 78, 6-10] Ben Gorion, II 1-1^v.

16-17. *Iam seges est . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* i. 53.

23-28] Perhaps suggested by the speech of Eleazar in Ben Gorion, II 7^v.

25. *jetted out*] i.e. having projections; see *N.E.D.*, which quotes the passage s.v. *jet v.²*.

26. *Iaphy*] I cannot discover what is meant. Ben Gorion, Ff 8, describes 'a great huge house' which was decked 'with timber of Firre and Cedar', but appears nowhere to mention 'Iaphy'.

28-9] Ben Gorion, Gg 7^v-Hh 1.

29-33] Ben Gorion, Ff 2-2^v, 'Titus turned him, and departed out of Hierusalem, saying, Let vs get vs hence, lest their sinnes destroy vs.'

34. *Th'almudisticall*] Probably a mere misprint. Nashe has 'Thalmud' at 116. 32.

36. *thou hadst a Prophecie . . .*] See Josephus, *B.I.* vi. 5. 4 and Ben Gorion, Hh 4. The name of Vespasian is only mentioned by Josephus, from whom rather than from Ben Gorion, Nashe, or his original, seems in the present instance to have borrowed.

P. 79, 9-10. marg. *Math.* 27. 25] The verse is 'Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children'. The reference should apparently stand opposite lines 14, 15.

11-12. *Josephus & Eusebius agree*] See *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23, Migne, *Patr. Curs. Ser. Grec.* 20 (Euseb. Pamph. 2), col. 204, where Josephus is cited as attributing all the misfortunes of the Jews to their treatment of James; but the passage does not occur in his extant writings.

18-19. *to resist the Romaine Prouinciall Florus*] See Ben Gorion, I4-4^v. He seems nowhere to use the name 'Prouinciall', but describes Florus as 'president & captaine' of the Roman army.

P. 80, 7. *thy seauenty Esdreas Cabalizers*] The mystical interpretation of the Mosaic law, called the Cabala, was, according to tradition, expounded by Moses to Aaron, his sons, the seventy elders of the Sanhedrin, and certain of the common people (see H. Morley's *Life of C. Agrippa*, i. 70, where there is an intelligible account of the Cabala). Agrippa, in the *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 47, trans. 1569, fol. 60, says that the Cabala 'was taught with the lively voice alone by degrees of succession without writinge, euen vntill *Esdras* time', but seems nowhere to mention the seventy elders.

25. *semouedly*] Nashe evidently means individually, but that is not the ordinary sense of the Latin *semoveo*. I have not met with the word elsewhere.

29. marg. 1 *Kin.* 19. 22] The reference should apparently be to 1 Samuel 20. 20, 36. The books of Samuel were of course frequently called the first and second book of Kings, though the Geneva version does not recognize this name. There were not five arrows; Jonathan promised to shoot three, but seems actually to have shot only one.

32. *premunires*] Used apparently for 'serious crimes'.

P. 81, 1. *Antwerpe*] Antwerp was twice besieged and taken by the Duke of Parma, in 1576 and again in 1585. On both occasions the fall of the town seems to have created a sensation in England, and to have been made an occasion of warnings to this country lest similar pride should end in like disaster. See the titles of the ballads given in Hazlitt's *Coll. & Notes*, ii. 199^b, 414^a, foot, and i. 308^b (R. Norris), which allude to the earlier siege. Stow, in his *Annals* (ed. 1615, 698-9), devotes a page and a half to the siege of 1585, in which, after first rebuking pride 'not onely the first originall sinne in the world, and first fall of man, but the downe-fall of *Lucifer*, and his adherents', he talks at length of the fall of Jerusalem, comparing the sins which led to it with those that he supposes to have caused the downfall of Antwerp.

15. *startup*] 'A half-boot or buskin, described in the sixteenth century as laced above the ankle,' *Cent. Dict.*

19. *kentalls*] i.e. quintals, a weight of a hundred pounds or a hundredweight.

33. *tiptoe*] Cf. i. 276. 34 note.

P. 82, 16-17. *he sent men... to measure the whole world*] See the preface to the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus of Istria, a Roman geographer of the fourth century. According to this account the survey was begun in the fifth consulship of Julius Caesar (B.C. 44), the different sections being finished at different dates. Of the southern and last he says, 'A consulatu similiter Iulii Caesaris usque in consulatum Saturni (*sic*) & Cinnae a Polyclito meridiana pars dimensa est annis xxxii. mense i. diebus x. sicut definita monstratur' (*Aethici Cosmographia*... Basle, 1575, p. 2). L. Volusius Saturninus was consul in B.C. 12. Caesar was really killed in the same year as the survey began, not some ten years later, as Nashe implies.

P. 83, 5. *Alexander was but a lyttle man*] So Burton in his *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, ii. 155, says 'that great Alexander [was] a little man of stature', and the statement is fairly frequent. See Quint. Curt. v. 2, where it is said that when Alexander sat on the Persian throne the seat was so much too high for him that a table had to

be brought for him to rest his feet upon; cf. also iii. 12 and vi. 5. Plutarch seems nowhere directly to mention his small stature.

31. *One Company swells against another*] If there is any particular allusion in this, it may be to the dispute between the Glovers and Leathersellers which came to a head in 1593 or 1594; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, bk v, p. 205. The Glovers were not, however, properly speaking, a company at this time, not being incorporated until 1639. There had been a notable quarrel about 1577 between the Shoemakers and the Cordwainers; see Stow, u. s., p. 213, but this can hardly have been remembered.

P. 84, i. *cullions*] i. e. wretches; a vague term of abuse.

2. *good and neere*] Cf. the use of 'goodneere' at iii. 281. 1523.

3. *Aristotle*] See *Nat. Auscult.* ii. 8. 8 ὁμοῖος ἀν ἔχοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς, καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἀμαρτήματα ἔκεινον τοῦ ἔνεκά του.

7-9. *Sinne (sayth Augustine) . . . will of God*] 'Ergo peccatum est factum vel dictum vel concupitum aliquid contra aeternam legem. Lex vero aeterna est ratio divina vel voluntas Dei.' Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 42 (August. 8), col. 418.

P. 85, i. *Fishermen*] Nashe again has friendly references to fishermen in *Lenten Stuff*, iii. 224-5.

P. 86, 10. marg. 4. *Kings*, 6] i. e. 2 Kings 6. 9, but not an exact quotation.

21-2. *Quod habere non vis est valde bonum, quod esse non vis hoc est bonum*] Not found.

P. 88, 9. *Augustine*] The reference for the story is correct; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 32 (August. 1), cols. 723-4.

24-5. *one that gaue Augustus Greeke verses*] See Macrobius, *Sat.* ii. 4. end.

31-2. *fetching . . . frisks*] A usual phrase; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, in *Quellen*, II. iv. 264, 'Its good to fetch a friske once a day,' and *Marriage of Wit and Science*, V. ii, in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 384, 'Come aloft, child, let me see, what friscols you can fet.'

P. 90, 9. *a place in the Ile of Paphos*] Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 97 'celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cuius quandam aream non impluit'.

14-15. *Venient anni ut eant . . . stant*] I have been unable to find this, but cf. *Confess.* xi. 13, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 32 (August. 1), col. 815 'Anni tui nec eunt nec veniunt, isti autem nostri et eunt et veniunt, ut omnes veniant.'

29. *wearish*] i. e. withered, wizened.

34. *with Zerxes*] See Herodotus, vii. 46. 2.

P. 91, 3. *dampē*] The substantive, I think, as at i. 239. 34, not the adjective.

P. 92, 15. *the Calentura*] Earliest instance in *N.E.D.*; a tropical disease incident to sailors, characterized by delirium in which the patient fancies the sea to be green fields and desires to leap into it.

34-6. *Difficile est . . . vt non sit superbus qui diues . . . nocebunt*] From St. Augustine, *Sermo* 39, Migne, *Patr. Cur.* 38 (August. 5), col. 242.

P. 93. 5. *Timonists*] Nashe seems to use the word in the sense of 'misers'; cf. Greene, *Royal Exchange, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vii. 285. 2-4, 'Crassus grew so covetous, that in his age he became halfe a Tymonist.'

Dekker in the *Gull's Hornbook* (cf. *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 214) has 'Pimonists', an evident misprint for this, in the sense of misanthropes, a more natural meaning; cf. his *Bellman of London*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 74. 21-2, 'hauing wandred long (like a *Timonian*) hating Men.' The character must have been well known from the novel in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1566-7, and from the passage in Plutarch's *Antonius*.

6-7. *That there is no merchandize but Vsury*] I have not met with the proverb elsewhere.

9-10. *take vp mony or commodities*] The method of borrowing money by taking up 'commodities' is almost too well known to need explanation. It was a trick by which money-lenders evaded the statute of 1572, limiting interest to 10 per cent. Briefly, instead of lending cash, or as a large part of the loan, the usurer would hand over to the borrower goods which were represented to be of the value of the amount which he wished to raise. For these the usurer would receive a promise to pay at some fixed future date, thus making the transaction an ordinary sale. The goods, of course, were not worth anything like the amount charged for them, and further, such goods were usually offered as would be most difficult for the borrower to dispose of in bulk—lute-strings and grey paper were among the favourites. He usually resold them at once either to the usurer or to some broker recommended by him, and of course in league with him, and needless to say, he did not get even the nominal price for them. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, ccc. 58-60, and, for a number of references to the practice, Prof. Collins's note in his ed. of Greene's *Dr. Wks.*, on *A Looking-glass for London*, l. 293, also *The Spanish Curate* (Beaumont & Fletcher, 'Variorum' ed.) IV. v. 113-15 and notes.

32-3. *made Dice of their bones*] A usual expression; cf. Dekker, *English Villainies*, 1620, K 3^v, 'These words (*He shall rot in Prison*) or *I will make Dice of his bones*, are worthy of a Turke, vnfit for a Christian,' and K 4, 'Thou swearest to make Dice of his Bones.' See also Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, N. S. S. i. 127, and notes at pp. 290, 293.

35-6. *Mumpsimus*] The expression is said to have originated in a story of a priest who persisted in reading the word 'mumpsimus' for 'sumpsimus'. To this story Henry VIII seems to allude in his speech to the Parliament of his thirty-seventh year (Hall, *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, 865), 'I se and here daily that you of the Clergy preache one against another . . . Some be to styff in their old Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curious, in their newe Sumpsimus.' See a long note in Elyot's *Governor*, ed. Croft, ii. 288-9, on the words 'them whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsimus', and the references there given. The *Cent. Dict.* says that 'the story evidently refers to the post-communion prayer "Quod ore sumpsimus", &c.' Are we to suppose that the priest mistook the word for the Latin equivalent of 'mump', to chew? It may be remarked that the tale appears in a more intelligible form in *Scoggin's Jests* (in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 81), where a priest says 'Cumpsimus' for 'Sumpsimus', and being rebuked by a Master of Arts, says, 'I will not leave my old *Cumpsimus* for thy new *Sumpsimus*.' It is not impossible that the word should be written with a *c*, and this cause the mistake (cf. Fletcher & Massinger's *Spanish Curate*, IV. v. 98); that it should be written

with an *m* is absurd. However this may be, 'mumpsimus' seems to have been used in the sense of (1) a prejudice, (2) an old-fashioned person, (3) a townsman, merchant, or occasionally a townswoman; cf. *Cobbes Prophecies*, 1614 (ed. Bullen), B iv, 'When . . . Old Mumpsie is no Meacocke, Nor his proud Minckes a Peacocke,' and Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, F3, 'The next of this progenie is *Vnlawfull lucre*, looke what a handsome Mumpsimus shee is, will you know her profession? Forsooth shee keepes a baudie house . . .'

P. 94, 7. *Booke curtesie*] i.e. credit.

8. *makes vp his mouth*] i.e. satisfied him. Cf. *Cambyses*, ed. Manly in *Pre-Sh. Dr.*, I. 119. Frequent.

9-10. *cuts . . . cloth*] i.e. lives extravagantly; cf. Bale, *Acts of Eng. Votaries*, ed. 1560, Pt. ii. P 7v, 'He rufled it out in the whole cloth with a mightye rable of disguised ruffianes at his tail.'

20-95, 17] Sir W. Vaughan must have had this passage in his mind when in *The Golden Grove*, ed. 1608, Q 4-4v, he wrote of usurers as follows: 'For when a yong Punie commeth vnto them, desiring to be creditted for money or apparell, then one of them counterfeiting themselves forsooth to be coy, like women, will burst foorth into these termes: The world is hard, and we are all mortall, we may not venture our goods, God knowes how we earne our liuing: wherefore make vs assurance, and you shall haue tenne pounds (worth in silkes and veluets). Well, this passeth on currant, assurance is giuen with a witnesse. A little after, if the Gentleman hath not wherewithall to pay as well the interest, as the principall agreed vpon, whensoever this reprobate cut-throate demaundeth it, then presently as round as a ball, he commenceth his statute-marchant against him, and for tenne poundes profite, which was scarce woorth fие pound in money, hee recouereth by relapse tenne pound a yeere.'

'O intolerable wickednesse! O diuelish hipocrites! and worse then those vngodly tenants, who seeing their Landlords heyre comming, said one to another, *This is the heire, come, let vs kill him, and we shall haue his Inheritance.*'

18. *as well as the Begger knowes his dish*] A common proverb. In Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 67—with 'bag' for dish'.

23. *per consequence*] Either a misprint or an anglicization of the frequent 'per consequens'.

25. *Lute strings and gray Paper*] Cf. iii. 241. 235-6 and references in note on 93. 9-10 above.

32. *breakes*] i.e. goes bankrupt, or it may merely mean 'shuts up shop' and disappears; cf. i. 168. 19.

P. 95, 27. *Conny-catching*] i.e. punishable theft or trickery of any kind; cf. note on i. 257. 12.

31. *trammels*] i.e. 'locks of hair'; cf. note on i. 380. 25.

P. 96, 18-19. *those that in Affrick present theyr children . . . before Serpents*] I cannot find any authority for this, but cf. Mandeville, *Travels*, chap. 8, ed. 1900, p. 37, 'And in Sicily there is a manner of serpent, by the which men assay and prove, whether their children be bastards or no, or of lawful marriage: for if they be born in right marriage, the serpents go about them, and do them no harm, and if they be born in avoutry, the serpents bite them and envenom them. And thus many wedded men prove if the children be their own.'

29. *legittimately*] The earliest instance of the adverb in *N.E.D.*

32. *Zeuxes*] The story is related by Pliny, *H.N.* xxxv. 36. § 4.

37. *a by accident*] i.e. a secondary accompaniment.

P. 97, 22-3. *Euery Science . . . declared*] Evidently a reminiscence of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4^v-5, 'For euery Science, hath in it some certayne Principles, which must be beleued, and can not by any meanes be declared.'

26-7. *De rebus male acquisitis . . .*] Given as 'De male quaesitis non gaudet tertius haeres' in a brief list of common sayings appended, 'colophonis vice,' to the 1574 edition of the *Adagia* of Erasmus and others, ii. 647. The source is, I believe, unknown.

35. *Augustine*] The reference is correct; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 32 (August. 1), col. 679. The quotation on p. 98, 'Amaui perire,' &c., is substantially accurate, but varies somewhat in wording.

P. 98, 27. *Bees hate Sheepe*] Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 19 end.

P. 99, 2-3. *Law, Logique, and the Swizers, may be hir'd to fight for any body*] This seems to have been, in one form or another, proverbial; cf. Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, Gg 5^v, 'As the Switzers and Logicke fight for every body: so do Lawyers.'

5-6. *as the Beare cannot drinke but he must byte the water*] See Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* viii. 6(8). 1.

8. *Bursa Auari os est diaboli*] I have not found the source of this saying. It occurs in Stubb's *Anat. of Abuses*, ed. N.S.S. i. 115, where it is explained, 'the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, which euer is open to receiue, but alway shut to giue,' and in English in the form 'The devils mouth is tearm'd a misers purse' in Bodenham's *Belvedere*, 1600, p. 128.

9. *Hydropem conscientiam*] This is given by Migne as a variant for 'hydropem concupiscentiam' in *Sermo*, 61, cap. 3, in the phrase 'Quomodo ergo delectas opulentiam, qui habes hydropem concupiscentiam?', Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 410. Compare also *Sermo* 177, Migne, u.s., col. 956, 'omnino avarus in corde hydrops est'; and Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 75 (Greg. Max. 1), col. 1047. The idea is frequently alluded to; cf. Latimer's *Last Sermon before Edward VI* (Lent, 1550), towards end, 'And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy: the more he had, the more covetous he was to have still more and more.' Cf. Stobaeus, *Floril.* x. 46, a saying of Diogenes.

17-18. *as it is in the olde Morrall*] An allusion to the custom of the Devil carrying the Vice off to hell on his back at the conclusion of the morality plays; cf. Collier, *Hist. E. Dr. Poet.* (1831), ii. 270.

20. *to bee great with*] i.e. friendly with, 'thick' with; see *N.E.D.* s.v. *great a.* 19.

24. *Dæmon signifieth . . . Sapiens*] See Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 7. Also Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* ii. 15, Isidore of Seville, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 82 (Isid. 3), col. 315, and Plato, *Cratylus*, 398 b, c. Cf. also Janus's note on the passage in Macrobious; but Nashe probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 2.

P. 100, 17. marg.] The reference should be Matt. 26. 11.

21-2. *Cæsares, quasi cæsi ex matris vtero*] Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 7.

27. *sterne*] i.e. rudder.

P. 101, 2. *beates on*] i.e. insists upon, 'harps' upon. Instances in *N.E.D.* from 1579; see *beat v.¹* 9.

25-6. *Pasce famē morientem . . .*] I have been unable to find this in the *De Officiis Ministrorum*.

32. *Erogando pecuniam auges iustitiam*] St. Augustine, *Sermo* 61, cap. 3; cf. also cap. 4, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 410.

34. *Nil diues habet de divitijs . . .*] St. Augustine, u.s., col. 413
'Nihil dives habet de divitiis suis, nisi quod ab illo postulat pauper victum et tegumentum'.

P. 102, 31. marg.] The reference is incorrect; the parable referred to is to be found in Luke 11. 5-9; that of the unjust judge and the widow in Luke 18. 3-5.

P. 103, 19. *Ezekias*] i.e. Hezekiah, 2 Kings. 19. 15, &c.

P. 104, 2-3. *Dreame of the Deuill and Diues*] There was a tract of the name—a dialogue against avarice, usury, &c., by Thomas Lupton, published in 1583. Nashe probably remembered the title, but there seems no possible point in a reference to the work itself, which I see no indication that he had read.

4-5. *Strangullion*] i.e. strangury, a urinary disease.

P. 105, 11-13. *Oues pastorem non iudicent . . .*] Not found.

17-19. *Dijs parentibus, et magistris . . .*] This does not seem to be an exact translation of anything in Aristotle, but cf. *Eth. Nic.* viii. 14. 4, and viii. 12. 5. Read, of course, *Dijs, parentibus . . .*

26. *Vmbra mortis . . .*] Job 10. 22.

P. 106, 14. *dishes*] i.e. tithes, or tenths.

27. *pitty . . . piety*] Lyly has the same antithesis in *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 207. 37, 'O rare example of pittie, O singuler spectacle of pietie,' where one edition by a similar mistake to that here reads 'pietie' for 'pittie'.

33-4. *The Temple of Diana . . . all Asia*] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 28, trans. 1569, fol. 39^v, 'the temples of the Goddes, and especiallie that of *Diana* at *Ephesus* whiche was in buildinge by all *Asia*, the space of twoo hundredre yeaeres.' See also note on 109. 1-4. The time occupied in building it is stated by Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvi. 21, to have been 120 years. Again mentioned at iii. 29. 18-20.

P. 107, 2-6] Taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 56, trans. 1569, fol. 79^v, 'The Romans haue woorshipped *Jupiter* the adulterer, and rauisher, and in the palace [*Lat.* in palatio, on the Palatine] they did dedicate a common temple to the *Feuer*, and erected an Aultare to euil Fortune in *Exquilijs* a mountaine in Rome.' The passage is repeated almost verbally in *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 294. 1921-5.

9-21] A passage which seems also to have been remembered by Vaughan; cf. *The Golden Grove*, ed. 1608, I 3^v, 'if any intends but to build a free-schoole or an hospital (which is as seldome seene as a black swanne) we account him, as they say, one of God Almighties fooles. The Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, quoth the rich chuffes, weare so much on their backs, as would serue for the building of free-schooles. . . . Those preachers please our mindes best, which preach fayth, and no good works. This cheape religion we like; a strong barne, Neighbour, is worth fifteen of their free-schooles.'

10] For 'God's fools' cf. iii. 213. 33 and Fletcher and Massinger's *Beggars' Bush*, II. i. 47.

19-21] Greene refers in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 280, foot) to the newfangled sects which 'preach faith, faith, and say that doing of almes is papistry, but they haue taught so long *Fides solam* (sic) *iustificat*, that they haue preached good workes quit out of our Parish'. Cf. i. 22. 17.

28-9. *He is worse then an Infidel . . .*] Freely quoted from I Tim. 5-8.

35. *which was obserued in S. Augustines time*] I can find no authority for this statement, though of course his works, as well as those of Ambrose and Jerome, contain much as to the duty of the Church towards the poor.

P. 109, 1-4] The two examples are probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap 5, trans. 1569, fol. 13^v-14, 'many menne . . . will for theire mischeiuous deedes be remembred and written in Histories, euen as *Iustine* [ix. 6] recordethe of *Trogus* [*Lat. ex Trogo*], of *Pausanias* the *Macedonian* famous for the murder of Kinge *Phillippe*, and as *Gellius* [ii. 6], *Valerius* [viii. 14. ext. 5], and *Solinus* [49] made relation of *Herostratus*, who burned the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, the goodliest worke that in two hundred yeeres before was builte in all *Asia* [*Lat. opus omnium praeclarissimum a tota Asia annos ducentos aedificatum*].'

4-5. *The Spanyards are . . . vaine-glorious*] Cf. i. 176. 12-13.

17-19. *Ridentur mala . . .*] Horace, *Épist.* ii. 2. 106-8 'Ridentur . . . Gaudent . . . Si taceas . . . laudant . . .'

28. *dogged*] Used here, as generally at this period, for 'cynical', not for 'obstinate'.

32-3. *Non est, Domine, . . .*] Cf. Galatians 6. 14. Not an exact quotation.

P. 110, 12. *States*] i. e. great men, nobles.

25. as *S. Ierom saith*] Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 26 (Hieron. 7), col. 168.

30-1. *They shal be . . .*] Deut. 6. 8.

P. 112, 11-12. *Dooth the Peacocke glory in his soule feete?*] References to the shame felt by the peacock at its ugly feet are numerous, but I cannot learn by whom the idea was originated. There is some discussion of it in Gesner's *Hist Anim.* l. iii (De Avium Natura), ed. 1585, 658. 33, &c.

13-20. *Doth the Buck . . .*] Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 50.

24-5] St. Augustine, *De Lib. Arbit.* iii. 13, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 32 (August. 1), col. 1290 'Omne quippe vitium, eo ipso quo vitium est, contra naturam est'. See also Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* ii, quaest. 71, art. 2 § 4.

35, &c. *borrowed from Beastes*] Lists of the qualities, whether good or evil, of the various animals are numerous and differ greatly. Erasmus in the Prolegomena to his *Adagia* gives many such phrases as 'passere salacior, vulpe fraudulentior', &c. C. Agrippa in his *De Occ. Philos.* i. 19 and in the *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 68 has lists of the special characteristics of the various beasts; the second may possibly have been remembered by Nashe, for it is introduced by the remark that all the bad qualities of the various beasts are to be found in courtiers. Other similar catalogues are met with in the *Kalender of Shepherdes*, ed. Sommer, iii. 147-8 and the *Arcadia*, bk. iii, last poem but one, ed. 1621, p. 399. In none of these, however, do the qualities attributed to the beasts correspond so closely as in the following passage of a much later book, Harsnet's *Declaration of Popish*

Impostures, 1603, p. 141, 'Maister Maynie had in him (as you haue heard) the Maister-deuils of the seauen deadly sinnes, and therefore his deuils went out in the forme of those creatures, that haue the neerest resemblance vnto those sinnes: as for example; the spirit of *Pride* went out in the forme of a *Peacocke* (forsooth) the spirit of *Sloth* in the likenesse of an *Asse*: the spirit of *Enuy* in the similitude of a *Dog*: the spirit of *Gluttony* in the forme of a *Woolfe*.' It may be noted that the present passage of *Christ's Tears* was reproduced almost word for word by Vaughan in his *Golden Grove*, 1608, M6-6v.

P. 113, i. *auarice from the Hedghog*] See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 56. It hoards up food for the winter.

3. *Enuy from the Dogge*] An idea derived either from Aesop's 'dog-in-the-manger' story, or from Pliny, *H. N.* xxv. 51, where he says that dogs know of certain herbs of great curative virtues, but are careful never to gather these in the presence of men, lest the secret of them should be discovered.

7-9.] An extraordinary instance of compression. The sense evidently is, 'But if of beasts we imitated anything save the imperfections, or even if, while imitating their imperfections, we chose the best beasts for our models, instead of the worst, as we do, it would be something.'

21. *Aqua caelestis*] Cf. note on ii. 210. 29.

25-7] The quarto punctuates thus: ' . . . the Iewes, vnder the Law (in comparison of vs,) we are the vnbroken-Colt, (including the Gentiles,) which hee commaunded . . .' I take the sense to be that the Jews, compared to us, were more subjected to control, or tamed; we are, relatively speaking, an unbroken colt. The phrase 'including the Gentiles' signifies, I think, 'by which the Gentiles are meant.'

32. *kicke and winche*] A frequent collocation; cf. ii. 220. 33; also *Scoggin's Jests* in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest. Books*, ii. 111, 'turne and kicke and winse with thy heeles, and say: wehee.' 'Winche' was a well-recognized form of 'wince'; for several examples see Gloss.-Index to Grosart's Greene and Glossary to Mr. Bond's Lylly.

P. 114, 11-12. *seauen times hast thou beeene ouer-runne and conquered*] This, I suppose, alludes to the invasions of (1) the posterity of Japhet under Samothes, (2) the Chemminites (Sennites) under the giant Albion, (3) the Trojans under Brute, (4) the Romans under Caesar, (5) the Saxons, (6) the Danes, (7) the Normans. See Harrison, *Descr. of Brit.* ch. 4, Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 9-12. I doubt, however, whether this number of seven invasions was generally recognized. For example Barnabe Googe in an address prefixed to Riche's *Alarm to England*, 1578, says of this country, 'She hath of barbarous people bene four or fife times inuaded and ouerrunne,' and Warner in the prose 'Epitome of the History of England' appended to his *Albion's England*, speaking of the Norman Conquest, says that it 'was (omitting the Tyrannie and Oppression, howbeit no perfect Soueraigntie, wherewithall the *Pictes* for manie yeeres had afflicted the *Britons*) the fift absolute alteration or alienation vnto Aliens of the Scepter of this Land. To wit, first to the *Romaines*, secondly to the *Armoricans* or *French Britons*, thirdly to the *Saxons*, fourthly to the *Danes*, and nowe fiftly to the *Normaines*' (ed. of 1602, Bb 5^v).

18. *Ungratefullly*] without receiving any thanks.

21. *Atomi*] 'atomi dictae sunt quas infusis per fenestram solaribus radii videmus', Pol. Verg. *De Inv. Rerum*, i. 2.

P. 115, 18-24. to *Atheisticall Julian* . . .] See, for the 'Vicisti, Galilae' story, Theodoretus in Migne, *Patr. Curs. Ser. Grec.* 82 (Theod. 3), col. 1119, and, for his calling all Christians 'Galileans', the same volume, col. 1095, 'Ac primo quidem vetuit [Iulianus] ne filii Galilaeorum (sic enim Servatoris nostri sectatores appellabat) poeticis, rhetoricas, vel philosophicas studiis operam darent.'

P. 116, 4. marg. *Psalm 18*] i.e. Psalm 19. 1 in A. V.

11. *Pironicks*] Cf. iii. 332. 31-2. Nashe may have taken the somewhat odd form 'Pironicks', for the followers of Pyrrho of Elis, from the translation of C. Agrippa's *De Incert. et Van.* fol. 4^v, where it is stated that they affirmed nothing.

13-16. *the late discouered Indians ... learning*] Cf. i. 172. 24-5. Mr. Crawford has called my attention to the apparent reference to a very mysterious affair, namely the charges of 'atheism' brought in 1592-3 against a number of notable people, including Sir Walter Ralegh, Harriott, a distinguished mathematician, Matthew Royden, Marlowe, and others. It will be remembered that the first two items in the list of Marlowe's heretical opinions were :

'That the Indians and many Authors of antiquity haue assuredly wrien of aboue 16 thowsande yeers agone, wheras Adam is proued to haue lived within 6 thowsand yeares.

'He affirmeth that Moyses was but a Iugler . . .'

For what is known of the matter see Mr. Boas' edition of Kyd, lxxi. Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) had visited Virginia in 1585, and, as appears from his *Brief and true Report*, had interested himself in the people of the country and their religion, but I cannot learn that he, or any one else, had published any account of Indian 'antiquities before Adam'. One might suspect the existence of Continental philosophic views as to the reality of the Adam legend, but apart from those held by Paracelsus—that certain races, including the inhabitants of the New World, were not descended from Adam (see Erastus, *Paracelsus* [1572], i. 244, ii. 137), I have been unable to discover any theory of the kind earlier than La Peyrière, whose *Præadamitæ* appeared in 1655. He appears to have been entirely unconscious that any similar view had been propounded by others before him.

15-21. *With Cornelius Tacitus . . .*] See *Hist.* v. 3, 4.

22-5. *With Albumazar . . . Tydes*] I have not found the source of this.

28. *some late Writers of our side*] The reference may be to the Puritan attacks upon the Apocrypha, which are numerous in the Marprelate tracts and elsewhere; see note on i. 95. 24.

35. *weake proppe*] Cf. ii. 236. 11.

P. 117, 5. marg.] Really Psalm 51. 3.

16-17. *the inwarde and the outward*] Also borrowed by Vaughan, *Golden Grove*, 1608, C3^v.

19. *the Panther*] Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 23. It conceals its head and attracts prey by its odour.

24. *God of gold*] Cf. i. 184. 23.

28. *Numa Pompilius . . . Minos*] See Val. Max. i. 2. 1, and ext. 1. 'Athens' should be 'Crete'.

34. *side-cloake*] i. e. wide cloak (cf. i. 269. 29); but some special kind of cloak may have been thus known.

P. 119, 1. *in Nilus dround it selfe*] Evidently due to mistaken recollection of the story that Aristotle drowned himself in the Euripus, in his grief at not being able to understand its currents or tides. See the note of Billius (from the commentator Nonnus) in *Opera Gregorii Nazianzeni*, Basle, 1571, p. 810 (Migne, *Patr. Curs. Ser. Grec.* 36 (Gr. Naz. 2), col. 1003) and the passage to which the note refers in *Orat. 1 contra Iul.*, Migne, u. s. 35 (Gr. Naz. 1), col. 597. Also Justin Martyr in Migne, u. s. 6, col. 305 B. But neither Gregory himself nor Justin mentions Aristotle's being drowned; they state merely that he died of despair. For his drowning Pauly refers to Elias Cretensis, 507 D, but I have been unable to find the passage. The story is alluded to by Lyly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 293. 10-12 and *Campaspe*, I. iii. 25-32.

7. *humorously sirenize*] The verb evidently means 'lure down', but what is to be understood by 'humorously' I cannot even guess.

24-5. (*like a Noune substantiue*) . . . him] This jest, founded on the definition of the noun in Lily's Grammar, 'A Noune is the name of a thing, that may be seene, felt, hearde, or understande' is of frequent occurrence. Cf. iii. 70. 21-3, and Lyly, *Endimion*, III. iii. 8-16; Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 59.

27. *resiant*] i. e. resident, permanently established.

35. *Richard de Corde Lyon*] Nashe again uses this form of the name at iii. 20. 25 and 163. 4.

P. 120, 23-33] Much to the same effect is said in *Pierce Penilesse*; see i. 174-6, especially 175. 28, &c.

28. *likelihouds*] Apparently used somewhat as in i *Hen. IV*, III. ii. 45, 'A fellow of no marke, nor likelyhood,' i. e. promise. Or is it merely an error for 'livelihoods', i. e. means, incomes?

P. 121, 6. *swuttie*] i. e. sooty, dark.

14-15. *the Sea . . . ouer-peeres it*] Nashe was perhaps merely thinking of the appearance of the sea from a height near the shore, but it may be noted that the belief that the sea was actually higher in certain parts of the world than in others—and hence presumably than the general level of the land—had been held not so long before his date. See Dreyer, *Planetary Systems*, 1906, p. 238 and note 5, also p. 250. Possibly a stock argument; in De Mornay's *Christ. Relig.*, trans. 1587, M 2, it is attributed to Aristotle's 'booke of Wonders'.

30. *the Resolution*] i. e. the work by R. Parsons, the Jesuit, published in 1582 under the title of *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to resolution*. Afterwards reprinted by E. Bunny, with a tract of his own; see note on i. 327. 14. There were many editions and the titles vary somewhat. The first part of the work is chiefly directed against atheism, and expounds with considerable force the torments of a guilty conscience in this life and of hell in the other.

31. marg. *Diagoras primus Deos negans*] If this is a quotation I have not found its source. Diagoras is of course constantly referred to as a typical atheist; see Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* i. 1. 2; iii. 37. 89; *Val. Max.* i. 1, ext. 7; Lactant., Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 6, col. 120; 7, col. 99.

33. *the Crosse*] i. e. at the open-air pulpit in the north-east angle of St. Paul's Cathedral. Sermons were preached there every Sunday in good weather by divines appointed by the Bishop of London, and this

appointment seems to have been looked on as conferring considerable distinction. Much money was given by charitably-disposed persons to pay the travelling expenses, &c. of the preachers. The 'cross' (really a pulpit surmounted by a small cross) was pulled down in 1642; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, pp. 148-9. A list of printed Paul's-Cross sermons is to be found in the catalogue of St. Paul's Cathedral Library by Mr. W. S. Simpson, and a picture of the Cross in Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.* Pt. ii, N. S. S. (from an engraving), and in Canon Benham's *Old St. Paul's Cathedral*, plate 22, from the original painting in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

P. 122, 30-1. *Patres æquum censere . . .] Heauton. i. 4. 1-3 :*

Quam iniqui sunt patres in omnes adolescentes indices!

Qui æquum esse censem, nos iam a pueris illoco nasci senes;

Neque illarum affines esse rerum quas fert adolescentia.

P. 123, 10. *soone rype . . . soone rotten*] A common proverb; in Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 47. Cf. the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus in Erasmus's *Adag.* 1574, ii. 437 'Celerius occidit festinata maturitas', and Aul. Gel. xiii. 2, end.

35. *thicke and three-folded*] Cf. i. 159. 6.

P. 124, 32. *dorbellisme*] Cf. note on i. 198. 13.

32-3. *an Ela aboue theyrs*] See note on ii. 268. 8.

P. 125, 36. *to heauen of Artes*] For my conjecture cf. ii. 242. 21.

P. 127, 1. *illustration out of humaine Authors*] The objection was chiefly Puritan; references to it are fairly frequent in theological literature of the time; see, for example, Udall's *Diatrephes*, ed. Arber, p. 17.

4. *Pearle*] i. e., probably, a border of embroidery; but the spelling 'purl' seems to have been more usual at this date; cf. 138. 19.

5. *dunge*] The sense seems to be pile up (like dung).

16. *Non fuit sic a principio*] I suppose this to be a misquotation of Matt. 19. 8 'ab initio autem non fuit sic'.

26-7. *broken fragments of Scripture*] Malone quotes the passage to illustrate *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. i. 39-42.

35, &c. *refuse, with Demosthenes, to reserue all our weightie arguments*] I do not know where Nashe found this.

P. 128, 14. *state-house*] The word is used somewhat differently at ii. 217. 18. It seems here to mean 'throne'.

23.] For the first three see Titus i. 12; Acts 17. 28; 1 Cor. 15. 33. Alley in his *Poor Man's Library*, 1565, i. 127^v, makes the same point, referring to these three citations. The quotation from Theocritus I have been unable to identify.

32. *obloguy*] i.e. an object of abuse.

P. 129, 8-11. *Imitate the Athenians, who committed Anaxagoras to prison . . . Goddesse*] The reason alleged by Diog. Laert. ii. 2. 12 is that he declared the sun to be a mass of glowing iron, nor can I find any record of his having written a book on the moon's eclipses.

34. *demerits*] i.e. merits; cf. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 21. 2, *Othello*, I. ii. 22. Frequent.

P. 130, 1-2] Mr Crawford refers me to Montaigne, iii. 8, where Tacitus, *Annales*, iv. 18, is quoted to the same effect.

32. *Augustine*] Apparently referring to his commentary on Romans; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 35 (August. 3), col. 2097 'ille peccat

in Spiritum Sanctum qui desperans . . . detrectat agere poenitentiam de peccatis suis'.

P. 131, 9-10. *the merry man . . . best thriueth*] Proverbial, I believe; cf. the much commoner 'longer lives the merry man than the sad', *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, in *Quellen*, II. ii. 89-90, and *Roister Doister*, I. i. 1-2.

25-7. *Sinne is no sin, . . . committing it*] Perhaps from St. Augustine, but the question was of course much discussed and many similar passages could be found. See Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 44 (August. 10), col. 1312 'nullum est nisi voluntate peccatum', also August. 8, cols. 103 and 120, and the *Retractiones* in August. 1, cols. 608, 612.

P. 132, 18] An accident has happened to this line in the final correction, the word 'kept' having been somehow transferred to the wrong end of the line. The passage should read, 'beeing the youngest sonne hee hath, is harder to bee yoked or kept in.'

P. 132, 28.—133, 2] Taken, with some changes of order, from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 3, trans. 1569, fol. 9, 'But from whence came that wicked Heresie of the *Antidicomariatans* [so also ed. 1575], and of the *Eluidians*, the whiche denie the perpetuall virginitee of the gloriouse virgine Marie, mother of Christe, but of this onely woerde *Donec?* where it is reade in the Gospell, that *Joseph* did not knowe her vntil shee had brought foorthe her firske begotten Sonne. What greate contention haue these twoo little woordes, *Ex,* and *Per*, raised betweene the Greeke, and the Latine Churches? the Latins affirminge that the Holy Ghoste proceedeth of the Father and the Sonne, and the Greekes sayinge that not of the Sonne, but of the Father, by the Sonne. Againe how many Tragedies hath this woerde *Nisi*, moued in the Counsaile of Basell? The *Bohemians* affirminge, that the Communion of bothe Kindes is necessarie, because it is written: Excepte yee shall eate the fleshe of the Sonne of man, and drincke his Bloude, yee shall haue no life in you. The later Latin editions have 'Antidicomarianitarum . . . haeresis'.

P. 132, 34. *the Counsayle of Basill*] From 1431 to 1443. Its proceedings would be well known from the very full account, taken from Aeneas Sylvius, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, iii. 605-702.

36-133, 1. *Antidicomariatans*] i.e. Antidikomarianitae, a sect in the latter half of the fourth century, which maintained that "our Lord's Brethren" were children born by the Blessed Virgin to Joseph after our Lord's birth (Smith and Wace, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, s.v.), not as was maintained by Jerome and Augustine, and as, I believe, is the view held by the Anglican Church at present, our Lord's first cousins. The form 'Antidychomarians' is used in 1532 by More, *Confut. Tindale*, *Wks.*, 1557, 489/1, and 'Antidicomarianits' before 1625 by J. Boys, *Wks.*, 1629, 21 (*N.E.D.*). In the latter quotation 'Helvidians' are also spoken of.

P. 133. 1. *Eluidians*] The sect of Helvidius, against whom St. Jerome wrote a treatise *De Beatae Mariae Virginitate Perpetua*.

8-9. *An ater sit contrarius albo*] I do not know whether this was a proverbial subject for disputation. If not, it might have been suggested by Ovid's line about the raven which had been turned black, *Metam.* ii. 541 'Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo'.

9-10. *a white Surplesse, or a black gowne*] See note on i. 77. 11.

As to the disputes about the surplice see Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 195-206, and 280.

11-14] Again from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 25, trans. 1569, fol. 36, 'there was an obstinate strife betweene the *Augustine* Freeres: and the vulgare [Lat. regularibus] Chanons before the Pope, cōcerning the habite, or apparel of S. *Augustine*, that is to saie, whether he did weare a blacke weede vpon a white Coate, or a white weede vpon a blacke Coate.'

14-16] A reminiscence of the *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 22, trans. 1569, fol. 33, 'and at no time there is any contention emonge them [i.e. Geometricians] but of pointes, of lines, of the vtter shewe of thinges [Lat. de superficiebus].'

P. 134, 9-10. *Vitia sunt ad virtutem occasio*] Not found.

15. *expositors,) and . . . Fathers, but*] Better 'expositors and . . . Fathers,) but . . .'

17. *Quest*] i.e. jury, body of persons appointed to hold an inquiry. Nashe means 'without reference to Church decretals or canons.'

29. *Melius est . . .*] See St. Bernard, *Epist.* 102, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 182 (Bern. 1), col. 237 'Melius est enim ut pereat unus quam unitas'.

P. 135, 8. *absolute*] i.e. excellent, perfect.

22-6] There seems to be a reminiscence of this in Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. i, V. ii, Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 79, 'the Courtier is mad at the Cittizen, the Cittizen is mad at the Countrie man, the Shoomaker is mad at the Cobler, the Cobler at the Carman.'

P. 136, 7-10. *Democritus . . . vanities*] See Aulus Gellius, x. 17, and Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 12.

27. *Bauines*] i.e. bundles of wood for burning.

P. 137, 2-3. *as it were to correct Gods work-manship*] Much of this attack upon gorgeous attire, face-painting, &c., might have been suggested by Stubbess's *Anatomy of Abuses*; cf. for this passage p. 64 (ed. N. S. S.). The arguments are, however, too obvious for any particular source to be looked for.

6. *Aurum potabile*] Generally a more or less mythical medicament into which gold, to which were attributed marvellous therapeutic properties, was supposed largely to enter. References to it are numerous. A note in Day's *Humour out of Breath*, ed. Symons ('Mermaid' Nero, &c., p. 274), refers for a full recipe to *The Fifth and Last Part of the Last Testament of Friar Basilius Valentinus*, London, 1670, pp. 371-7. I do not exactly understand what is meant by tipping their tongues with it.

8-9. *as Roses . . . under earth*] Cf. Platt, *Jewel House*, cap. 1.

26. *bushe*] Referring to the ivy-bush used as a vintner's sign.

34-5. *immodestly lay foorth*] As to the custom of exposing the breasts see Stubbess's *Anatomy*, N. S. S. p. 267, and the note in the index at p. 351. Stubbess himself does not appear to mention it, and it seems doubtful how far it was considered allowable among respectable women.

P. 138, 1. *Wormes and Adders*] Creatures of this kind seem to have been not uncommon subjects for the embroidery of dresses. For example, we learn from Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, iii. 505-8, that in 1600 among the queen's dresses were 'one rounde gowne of

white cloth of silver, with workes of yellow silke, like flies, wormes, and snailes'; 'one kirtle of aishe-colour cloth of golde, with workes of snailes, wormes, flies and spiders,' and 'one fore parte [i.e. stomacher] of lawne, embrodered with bees and sondrie wormes'. The word 'worm' had of course at that time a wider application than now; thus in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 147, an ant and a grasshopper are both called 'wormes'.

9. *the Phylosopher*] i.e. Thales; see Diog. Laert. i. 1. 8. 34; ii. 2. 3. 4. Perhaps taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 30, but the story was very well known.

12. *the ditch of all uncleannessse*] Alluding to Prov. 23. 27 and 22. 14.

19. *pinches . . . purles . . . floury iaggings*] A 'pinch' was 'a pleat or gather, in a skirt, &c.', *N.E.D.*, a 'purl', an embroidered border, and a 'jagging' an indented border or fringe.

22-4. *the byting of a bullet . . . byting*] The idea that the gangrene which often followed a bullet-wound was due to the poisonous action of the gunpowder seems to have been almost universal. For a curious discussion of the matter, in which is upheld the view that the harm is done principally by the mechanical shock, see the *Treasury of Anc. and Mod. Times*, ii. (1619), bk. viii, cap. 4. See also an interesting article by Dr. L. Elkind in the *North American Review*, clxxx (May, 1905), pp. 695-8. He traces the theory that the wounds were poisoned to the writings of Joannes de Vigo, and the abandonment of the treatment by boiling oil—supposed to counteract the poison—to Ambroise Paré. It seems to have been usual to bite the bullet in order that the slight ridges so caused might prevent it from dropping out of the gun.

P. 139, 2-3. *Toades . . . pearle*] See note on i. 37. 7-8.

29-30. *Arts-vanishing*] Nashe may possibly mean 'so skilfully that the art is concealed'.

33. *Asses mylke*] I have not seen any mention of the use of this in England for the purpose of beautifying the skin. See i. 17. 3-5.

P. 140, 16. *borders*] Stubbes's *Anatomy*, p. 67, speaks of hair being 'laid out (a World to see !) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other'. They were 'a plait or braid of hair (natural or otherwise) worn round the forehead or temples', *N.E.D.*, with quotations from 1601.

P. 141, 14-15. *Certaine glasses there are . . . not his owne*] Doubtless from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 26, trans. 1569, fol. 37, 'There is made a Glasse also, wherein a man maie see the Image of an other, and not his owne.'

20-2. *Themistocles . . . hys death*] An almost literal quotation from the dedicatory epistle to the Duke of Norfolk, prefixed by James Sandford to his translation of C. Agrippa's *De Incert. et Van.* (ed. 1569, *2^v), 'Themistocles the Philosopher, put all his felicitie in descending from a noble linage. Simonides the Philosopher, accompted the greatest happiness to be well beloved of the people. Antisthenes put all his felicitie in renowne after his death.' As this naturally is not found in the Latin text it is evident that Nashe was familiar with the translation, which is further indicated by many coincidences of language in his borrowings from the work.

32. *skinne-cases*] Both this word and 'skin-coat' (cf. iii. 189. 33) are used both for the skin itself and for clothing.

P. 142, 2. *fore-welke*] The word, which I have not met with elsewhere, evidently means the same as 'welk', i.e. wither; cf. i. 370. 36.

9. *wanze*] i. e. wither, decay.

34. *The hoode makes not the Moncke*] See note on i. 182. 6.

P. 143, 21. *wimple*] Apparently used here for an accidental fold or crease.

P. 145, 15. *terrestriall*] This may of course be merely a misprint, but it seemed safer to retain it. The same form 'terrestrial' occurs in *A Supplication of the Poor Commons*, 1546, b 5^v, l. 10, and in Q 1 of *Merry Wives*, corresponding to III. i. 108.

20. *Macedon Phillip*] I do not know to what Nashe can be alluding, unless possibly to Philip's fear of unbroken good fortune and his desire at times of great prosperity for some small reverse. See Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth. Phil.* 3, and *Consol. ad Apol.* 6.

P. 146, 27-8. *like the mourning of an Heyre*] Similar sayings based on that of Publius Syrus (Aul. Gel. xvii. 14, and Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 7. 11), 'Heredis fletus sub persona risus est' are of frequent occurrence.

P. 147, 25-6. *Venter mero aestuans . . .*] St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Oceanum* [not *Eustochium*], Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 663 'Venter mero aestuans cito despumat in libidines'.

33. *elswhere*] See i. 199-204.

34. *surcinct*] Perhaps merely a misprint for 'succinct'. I have, however, kept the *r*, as it seemed possible that the word might have been regarded as connected with 'surcingle'.

P. 148, 12. *Into the hart of the City*] Cf. note on i. 216. 7-12.

18. *sixe-penny*] Cf. i. 217. 10.

28. *Smithfield ruffianly Swashbuckler*] Smithfield was a common duelling-ground. See note on i. 182. 11-12, and *Tell-Troth's Message*, 1600, ed. Furnivall for N. S. S., ll. 451-2:

Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete
(Which may be called smite-field properly);

and also Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, 239. Hence it was proverbially a resort of evil characters, swaggering captains, and bullies. Ascham in the *Schoolmaster*, *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 208, mentions a 'Smithfeild Ruffian', while 'Smithfield ruffians' and 'Flete-strete hacksters' are referred to in Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*, ed. Collier, 246.

P. 149, 24. *Halfe a Crowne*] Cf. ii. 225. 16, and Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. i, II. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 35 foot, 'You have no soule, . . . heavens treasure bought it: And halfe a crowne hath sold it.'

P. 150, 28-9. *What are you but sincks . . .*] It is possible that Nashe may have recollected a passage in Erasmus, *Coll. Fam.* 'Adolescenti et Scorti,' about two-fifths through, but the image was of frequent occurrence; cf. also Dekker, *Honest Whore*, Pt. i, II. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 35-6.

P. 151, 8. *rebaters*] The more usual form is 'rebatoes'; 'a kind of stiff collar worn by both sexes from about 1590-1630,' *N. E. D.* The 'pinning' of them—whatever precisely that may have been—is often referred to; cf. Dekker's *Satiromastix*, I. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 186, 'there's such delayes in rising . . . in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner . . .' (from notes in Stubbes's *Anatomy*, N. S. S., p. 309), and

Jack Drum's Entertainment, iv, 'Peace ! you Rebato-pinner, Poting-stick' (*N.E.D.*). For the other sense of 'rebater' see i. 175. 21.

13. *that Italian who writ the Supplication to Candle-light*] Not identified.

23-4. *Hoyse uppe Baudes in the Subsidie booke*] The 'subsidy-books' were the assessments for the purpose of taxation. Cf. *Mother Bomby*, II. v. 9-11, 'Gascone wine was liquor for a Lord, Sack a medicine for the sicke ; and I may tell you, he that had a cup of red wine to his oysters, was hoysted in the Queenes subsidie booke.' Mr. Bond refers to *The Scornful Lady*, II. iii. 153. In *Jack of Dover*, Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 317, there is a tale of a man whose wife, simple enough in other ways, had a passion for wearing gorgeous stockings, and who consequently 'on a time looking over the subsidy booke, founde himselfe therein five pound more than he was before', the stockings having been taken as a sign of his increased wealth.

P. 152, 7. *pilled and pould*] A common collocation of words, i.e. to peel and shave, to make bare of hair and skin too. Numerous examples from 1528 in *N.E.D.* s.v. *pill* v.¹ 9.

22-37] Imitated in *Westward Ho!*; see Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 360-1, 'Parenthesis : . . . Ile tell you Gentlefolkes, theres more resort to this Fortune-teller, then of forlorne wiues married to old husbands, and of Greene-sicknesse Wenchies that can get no husbands to the house of a wise Woman. Shee has tricks to keepe a vaulting house vnder the Lawes nose. . . . For either a cunning woman has a Chamber in her house or a Phisition, or a picture maker, or an Attorney, because all these are good Clokies for the raine. And then if the female party that's cliented aboue-Staires, be yong, Shees a Squires daughter of lowe degree, that lies there for phisicke, or comes vp to be placed with a Countesse: if of middle age, shees a Widow, and has sutes at the terme or so.'

P. 153, 22. *memento*] See *N.E.D.* s.v. 4, 'Humorously misused for a reverie, "brown study"; hence, a doze.' The earliest instance given is from Greene's *Tritam*. Pt. ii, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 128. 3.

28. *sudde*] There is a verb 'sud', to cover with drift sand left by the floods, but the sense here seems to be rather that of the northern 'sudden', to soil, defile; see *E.D.D.*

P. 154, 23. *Cum cetera possit Deus, &c.*] Not, as the margin indicates, in St. Jerome's commentary upon Amos, but in his well-known epistle *Ad Eustochium de Virginitate*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 397 'Audenter loquar: cum omnia possit Deus, suscitare virginem non potest post ruinam'. Nashe had perhaps seen this passage quoted, as of St. Jerome, in reference to Amos 5. 2, 'The virgin of Israel is fallen ; she shall no more rise.'

25-6. *Læsa pudicitia . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* 5. 103-4 'nulla reparabilis arte Laesa pudiciasti; deperit illa semel'.

30. *Circes*] Cf. ii. 263. 9. 'The form 'Circes' was as common as, if not commoner than, 'Circe.' Cf. C. Agrrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* trans. 1569, fol. 96^v, 'Circes stayed Vlysses'; Palingenius, *Zodiac of Life*, trans. B. Googe, ed. 1576, pp. 34, 83 (*Circe* in index); Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 92, 96, 101 (*Circe* at p. 267). Nashe has *Circe* at i. 11. 33, and iii. 77, 31.

35-6. *Solon . . . death*] Plutarch, *Solon*, 23. 2.

36. *Seleucus & hys sonne*] Nashe of course means Zaleucus, the Locrian law-giver; see Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 24, Val. Max. vi. 5. ext. 3.

P. 155, 5. *In pollutione anima fit tota caro*] I do not know whether this is meant as an exact quotation, but something to the same effect is found in *Sermo 162*, Migne, *Patr Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 887 'In fornicationis ipso opere . . . totus homo absorbetur ab ipso et in ipso corpore, ut iam dici non possit ipse animus suus esse; sed simul totus homo dici possit quod caro sit, et spiritus vadens et non revertens'.

7-12] I have not found the source of this, but Nashe may have taken it, by memory, from G. Whetstone's *Enemy to Unthriftness*, ed. 1586, H 3, 'thus, by vnsatiable Ryot, . . . the welthiest of our yong Gentlemen, are soone learned to syngē.'

¶ *Diues eram dudum, sed tria, me fecerunt nudum,
Alia, vina, venus, tribus his, sum factus egenus.
I wealthie was of late, though naked now you see:
Three things haue chaunged mine estate. Dice,
Wine, and Lecherie.'*

15. *deuident*] i. e. division.

35. *a sloth of Souldioury*] See Stow, *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, 442, 'About the year 1593, and before, the City, as well as other Parts of the Kingdom, was grievously pestered with Beggars; and they, many of them poor disbanded Soldiers, become poor and maimed by the Wars in the *Low Countries* and with *Spain*; and many more that pretended themselves to be so: Who committed many Robberies and Outrages.' See also the proclamations there quoted, ordering relief in genuinely necessitous cases and threatening punishment to those that refused to work. References to the nuisance caused by the idleness and outrageous conduct of soldiers returned from the wars are numerous, and in one instance at least they were nearly the cause of a serious disturbance. On the arrival at Plymouth of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris in June 1589, after their expedition to Spain, a number of their soldiers and sailors being disbanded 'performed many vrulie prankes in diuers shires' and at last 'began to plot how they might atchieue some speciall act, to relieu their present want, and in the end concluded to surprise Bartholomew fayre, and to that purpose fие hundred of them were assembled about Westminster'. The Lord Mayor however raised 2000 of the citizens and dispersed them (Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 755). A few were afterwards hanged for a terror to the rest (756^b). In the *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Ser. xvii, xviii, are many allusions to these vagrant soldiers. Cf. also *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, App. to 7th Rep. (Loseley MSS.), p. 647, where some letters on the subject are calendared.

P. 156, 10. *oyle of angels*] i. e. 'palm-oil', bribery. See *N.E.D.*, s. v. oil sb.¹ 3 g; cf. the similar expression in L. Wright's *Summons for Sleepers*, 1589, 'so long as their clients continue in greasing their vnsatiable handes with *vnguentum rubrum*, they seeme to feele their matter, encourage them to proceede' (from *Brit. Bibl.* ii. 55). So also Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, N. S. S. i. 117.

15. *Loquere nobis . . .*] The Vulgate has 'Loquimini'.

17. *Archabius*] From C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 17,

trans. 1569, fol. 28v, 'as it is reade of *Archabius* the trumpetoure, to whom men were glad to geue more to make him cease, then to make him singe.' *Archabius* is an imaginary person, the name being an error for *Arabius* or *Arabicus*—an Arabian; see Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 7, 32 'Arabius tibicen.'

23. *the Ciconian weomen*] Probably also from the *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 29v, 'For the which thing the women of the *Ciconians* did persecute *Orpheus* vnto the Deathe, because with his Musick he corrupted their menne.' Cf. Pausanias, ix. 30. 5.

25. *Guido saith . . .*] The nearest that I can find is a reference to David driving out the devil from Saul by means of music; see *Discip. Artis Musicae*, c. 14, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 141, col. 394.

P. 157, 33 marg.] The reference should be Matt. 20. 30.

P. 158, 5 mould] i. e. mouldy; cf. Hall, *Virgidemiae*, bk. iv, sat. 5, 'fusted hops . . . Or mould brown paper.' Cf. i. 382. 31.

34. *Orphans teares*] Nashe here and in what immediately follows is evidently hinting at some scandals connected with the administration of money left for the poor. A large number of vague hints of this kind seem to show that such misappropriation was far from uncommon and was generally resented, but inasmuch as the disposal of these funds was in the hands of persons of position criticism was dangerous, as it appears to have been in the present instance. There are references, unfortunately not very precise, to injustice done to orphans in T. Norton's *Instructions to the Lord Mayor of London*, 1574–5, in Collier's *Illustrations of O.E. Lit.*, vol. iii, pp. 10–11. He says that 'Euell examples abounde in this behalfe of late'.

P. 159, 11. *Apron-squires*] The same as 'apple-squires', the attendants of a harlot.

17–18. *Hee hath playde the Merchant with vs*] The *N.E.D.* has no earlier example, but gives this and a later one, '1632 Rowley, *Woman Never Vext*, IV. i. 51, I doubt Sir, he will play the merchant with us.' In Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903–5, viii. 314. 30, 'played the Merchants' means 'trafficked', but there is, I think, a side glance at the proverbial sense. For the whole passage cf. G. Whetstone's *Enemy to Unthriftiness*, ed. 1586, I 1–1v, 'The extremitie of these mens [i. e. usurers'] dealings hath beeene and is so cruell, as there is a natural malice generally impressed in the hearts of the gentlemen of England towards the citizens of London, insomuch as if they odiously name a man, they forthwith call him *A trimme merchaunt*. In like despight the Citizen calleth euery rascall *A ioly Gentleman*.'

24 marg.] The reference should be Dan. 2. 32.

P. 160, 13 marg.] I suppose that the reference should be Psalm 73. 13.

14 marg.] Should be Matt. 5. 8.

20. *Canibals*] It is perhaps worth noting that J. Taylor in his *Fearful Summer* (1636) uses the word in a precisely similar way when, blaming the country-folk for refusing to give shelter to Londoners during plague time, he calls them 'Countrie *Canibals*' (C 1). It had, of course, its present meaning also.

31. *visited*] I suppose that 'visited by the plague' is meant, but one may suspect 'vnuisited' in the second case; cf. Matt. 25. 36, 43.

34. *In other Lands, they haue Hospitals*] See what is said about

the Italian hospitals in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, ii. 285. 30-4. These, however, seem not intended for plague patients. Erasmus in his *Colloquy* entitled 'Conjugium Impar', towards end, speaks of the strict measures taken in Italy to isolate plague patients, but in his time there seem to have been no hospitals for them.

P. 161, 5. *We haue no prouision*] Certain recommendations regarding measures to combat the plague were indeed presented to the Lords of the Council 'to be considered of' in 1592, in which was strongly urged the advisability of removing the inmates of infected houses to places where they might be apart and under observation. Little seems, however, to have been done. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk v, 442. As to plague-measures see Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics in Britain*, i. 309-22.

33-4. *No thanks-worthy exhibitions . . . to maymd Souldiours*] On the want of provision for old soldiers see B. Googe's Preface to B. Rich's *Alarm to England*, 1578 (in *Brit. Bibl.* i. 508); he quotes Sir William Drury as saying that 'the souldiers of England had alwayes one of these three ends to looke for: to be slaine, to begge, or to be hanged'.

P. 163, 7-8. *gorbellied*] i. e. big-bellied.

16. *Nisi parua quod urna capit*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 40 'Vix manet e tanto parva quod urna capit'.

27. *Gerazens*] i. e. Gergesenes. I do not know whence Nashe took the form of the name.

P. 164, 21, &c. *In the time of Gregory Nasianzene*] Nashe means Gregorius Magnus, the first Pope of the name, not Nazianzen. The plague referred to was in the year 590.

P. 165, 21. *Castle of S. Angelos*] i. e. The Castello di S. Angelo, formerly the Moles Hadriani, adjoining the Vatican Palace.

35. *antidote*] See a long list of popular antidotes in J. Taylor's *Fearful Summer*, 1636, B 1^v-2^v; also the various medical books such as Lodge's *Treatise of the Plague*, 1603.

P. 166, 3. *Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur*] Cf. Aristot. *Politica*, ii. 1. 10 ἡκιστα γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων κοινόν. I have not found the Latin, but in Whitgift's *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition*, 243, the saying 'that which is common to all, is neglected of all' is attributed to Aristotle.

4-5. *Est tentatio adducens peccatum, et tentatio probans fidem*] St. Augustine, *Sermo 71. 10 § 16*, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 453, top.

35. *Josias*] I suppose that Josiah is meant, but he lived until his thirty-ninth year (2 Kings 22. 1), and thus was hardly 'taken away in his youth'.

P. 168, 15. *words of course*] i. e. meaningless words, patter; cf. Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 329, giving directions for a conjuring-trick, 'in the meane time use words of course' (margin:—'as, Ailif, casyl, zaze, hit mel meltat: Saturnus, Jupiter . . . or such like'); also p. 146, last line, and *Span. Trag.* (ed. Boas), I. iv. 98.

20. *Mongiball*] Another name of Etna; see note on i. 360. 14-15.

26. *attract*] i. e. imagine, conceive; cf. i. 226. 31.

32. *a Traytour*] See Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N.S.S. i. 222, 'The greatest and most greeuous punishment vsed in England, for

such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliuie ; after that, their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neere hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose.'

34. *grinding discruciatment*] i. e. piercing, or jarring, torture.

P. 169, 12-13. *drawe a ringed circle all-about hym*] So far as I can discover, according to all orthodox methods of raising devils, the conjurer stood *within* the ring, which protected him from the devils outside. Nevertheless the popular writers seem not infrequently to suppose that it was within the circle that the devil was made to appear, while the magician stood without; cf. B. Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, ll. 37-8 and 1756. It is obvious that for purposes of stage representation this would be the more convenient way, as the trap-door was in the middle. Nashe has the same thing at iii. 210. 5-7.

25-6. *Quæ nimis apparent retia . . .*] Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 516.

35. *Haggard-like*] A haggard was a wild hawk caught when in its adult plumage, and hence too old to be satisfactorily trained.

P. 172, 1. *the print of a hand*] Marks or blotches upon the skin are often referred to among signs of the plague, but I have not elsewhere met with the idea that they were in the shape of a hand.

2. *sencible blow*] So John Sanderson, the Levant merchant, who was taken with the plague at Tripoli in 1587, describes how 'sitting upon my ass, in the midst of a plain field I felt a palpable blow on the left shoulder, which stayed me on my ass. The Janizary riding before me looked back, but neither I nor he saw anything' (*Gentleman's Mag.* ccc. 452).

10-12. *a Hearneshaw . . . an Oxe*] No other reference to these portents is known to me.

18-19. *Vnder Maister Dees name*] John Dee (1527-1608), the celebrated mathematician and astrologer, seems to have been harassed for the whole of the latter part of his life by the perpetual imputation of dealings with magic. In 1604 he petitioned James I that he might be tried and cleared of the horrible slander that he was, or had been, 'a conjurer, or caller, or invocator of divels', but he nevertheless apparently claimed a certain power of foreseeing the future by the aid of a magic crystal (*D.N.B.*).

32. *whe their Capitol was strooken with lightning*] The Capitol seems often to have been struck by lightning, as one would naturally expect. See, for example, *Obsequens*, 122 (60). Perhaps there is reference to Cic. *Cat.* iii. 4. 9.

34. *her chiefe steeple is strooken with lightning*] On June 4, 1561, 'the great Spire of the Steeple of St. Paul's Church was fired by Lightning. Which brake forth (as it seemed) two or three Yards beneath the Foot of the Cross : and from thence it burnt downward the Spire, to the Battlements, Stone Work, and Bells, so furiously, that within the space of four Hours, the same Steeple, with all the Roofs of the Church, were consumed ; to the great Sorrow, and perpetual Remembrance of all the Beholders' (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, bk. iii, p. 149). The roofs were at once repaired but the steeple continued for many years in a ruinous condition, though it was of course

only the spire surmounting it that had been totally destroyed. In the *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, D 3, Dekker speaks of the rottenness of the rails surrounding the steeple and the danger of leaning against them. Repairs were taken seriously in hand in 1632 but, owing to the Civil War, were not finished. Again in 1660 a new attempt was made, but the steeple was still incomplete at the time of the destruction of the church by the great fire of 1666.

P. 173, 1. *The blazing starre*] I suppose that Nashe alludes to the comet which appeared on Oct. 8, 1580, and was visible for two months; see Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 432. There was a tract upon the subject by Francis Shakelton, Minister, entitled *A blazing Starre or burnyng Beacon, . . . set on fire by Gods prouidence, to call all sinners to earnest & speedie repentance . . .* 1580 (Hazlitt, *Handbook*). See also Stow, *Annals*, 1615, p. 687^b, who gives it a much shorter duration, namely from the 10th, or 7th, to the 21st of the same month. Holinshed, u.s., p. 488, mentions also a blazing star which appeared on May 15, 1581, but this seems to have attracted less attention.

the Earthquake] Probably the famous one of April 6, 1580.

1-2. *dearth and famine*] The year 1586 was one of great scarcity. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, bk. v, 441; cf. his *Annals*, 1615, 741^a.

P. 175, 1. *Frauncis the first*] I have been unable to find the source of this well-known story.

7. *Luctus monumenta maneunt*] Ovid, *Metam.* x. 725.

P. 179, 2. *my former Epistle*] See ii. 12.

3. *Nil nisi flere libet*] Cf. ii. 12. 2 and note.

5. *Flendus amor meus est*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv (Sappho). 7.

8-9. *the Academicks opinion*] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4^v, 'For the Academikes were had in price, the whiche saide, that nothinge might be affirmed.'

15-16. *the druggiers at Venice . . . Mithridate*] A recipe for mithridate, the universal counter-poison supposed to have been invented by Mithridates, is given by Celsus, *Med.* v. 23. 3 (cf. Pliny, *H. N.* xxiii. 77 and xxix. 8). See *A Discourse of the medicine . . . called Mithridatium*, 1585. Venice was especially famous for the drug called 'Venice treacle', a panacea of much the same kind. Indeed, according to W. Turner, *Book of Wines*, 1568, E 6^v, G 1-1^v, one of the three kinds of Venice treacle was called 'the *Mithridatium*', the others being 'The great Triacle', and 'the Triacle salt'.

16. *Spiders*] They were of course reputed to be poisonous; cf. i. 93. 28-9. A curious instance of this and of another superstition is to be found in the account of Frobisher's second voyage (1577) in Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, vii. 219, where the sailors find a dead fish with a horn nearly two yards long on his nose and, perceiving it to be hollow, put some spiders into it, which presently died, 'by the vertue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Unicorn.' For the present passage cf. Harington, *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, p. 50, 'as the quacksalvers in Germany swallow spiders in open assemblies to show the virtue of their confections.'

24. *a bridge of golde*] Cf. *N. & Q.* 10th S. ii. 295-6, where it is noted by Mr. E. Latham that the expression—but with a bridge of silver—occurs in Rabelais, i, cap. 43; also, as a bridge of gold, in

G. Corrozet, 'Les Divers Propos Mémorables,' &c., Paris 1557, p. 78.
25. *Hoc pia lingua dedit*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv (Sappho). 68.

P. 180, 4-8. *Machiauell inspiredly sets downe . . . most ease*] See *Il Principe*, cap. 15 end.

16. *as stale as sea-biefe*] Apparently proverbial; cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 112. 22-3, 'more stale then Sea-beefe.'

16-18. *sauē a theef from the gallows . . .*] I have not met with this proverb elsewhere, but cf. B. Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, X4^v, 'True is the Prouerbe, sauē a Thiefe from the gallowes and he will be the firste shall doe thee a mischiefe.'

18. *way to Saint Gilesesse*] St. Giles' in the Fields is meant. At this place there was a hospital for lepers, and here, as Stow tells us, 'Prisoners conveyed from the City of London towards Tyburn, there to be executed for Treasons, Felonies, or other Trespasses, were presented with a Bowl of Ale [called St. Giles' bowl], thereof to drink at their Pleasure, as their last refreshing in this Life' (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iv, 74). Hence 'the way to St Giles' was the way to the gallows. Cf. i. 199. 9.

23-4. *Sixe and thirtie sheets*] Pierce's *Supererogation* amounts to 32 or 33 sheets, according as one counts it, there being two half-sheets, and the *New Letter of Notable Contents* to four.

24. *mustard-pot paper*] See note on i. 192. 22-3.

29. *the dog-house in the fields*] In Aggas's map of London the dog-house is marked in Moorfields. It seems to have been the kennels where the pack of hounds belonging to the Corporation was kept; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 163, under 'Common Hunt', and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 87. 6-7, where 'my Lord Maiors Hounds at the dog-house' are mentioned. It may be noted that Moorfields was until 1606, when it was much improved, a very unsavoury locality, being chiefly used for depositing rubbish; see Stow, *London*, bk. iv, p. 54.

30-6. *his gentlewoman . . . Lillie . . . Kit Marlow . . . Perne*] Harvey's allusions to these are dealt with by Nashe in *Have With You to Saffron-Walden*; see Index for references.

P. 181, 6. *Achilles race*] Alluding, I suppose, to the Δρόμος Ἀχιλλῆος, or 'Achilleus Cursus', a strip of land eighty miles long on the Euxine, where the hero is stated to have held games.

10. *Chimera*] Mount Chimaera, a volcano in Lycia; see Pliny, *H. N.* v. 28, ii. 110, and Strabo xiv. 3 § 5, but Nashe is perhaps rather referring to the personification of it as a fire-breathing monster which devastated part of the country (*Iliad* vi. 179-82, xvi. 328-9).

33. *displing*] A recognized variant of 'disciplining'. Compare the punishment of Braggadochio in Spenser, *F. Q.*, v. 3. 37.

P. 182, 2. *Iacke Wilton*] i. e. *The Unfortunate Traveller*; see pp. 246. 10-253. I. As to Nashe's complaints of the false interpretations put upon his books, see i. 154. 20, note.

3. *one of the Vniuersities of England*] It appears from p. 183. 6, where the Harveys are mentioned as belonging to this university, that Cambridge is meant.

9. *Counte Beroune*] Presumably one of the Ducs de Biron is meant. Armand de Gontaut had died in 1592, but is more likely to have been in Nashe's mind than his son Charles.

15. *cheuerell*] The allusion is to the great extent to which this leather can be stretched; cf. *Pappe with a Hatchet*, Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 407. 35-6, 'Nay, if they make their consciences stretch like chiuereLL in the raine, Ile make them crumple like parchment in the fire'; Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, ed. N.S.S. ii. 12. 2-3; and *Histriomastix* (Simpson, *School of Sh.* ii) V. 29, 'cheverell conscience'.

22. *Lucilius*] The satiric poet. See Cicero, *De Orat.* ii. 6 'C. Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea, quae scriberet neque ab indoctissimis se neque a doctissimis legi velle; quod alteri nihil intelligent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse.' The saying is cited in Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, 1560, A 4^v.

25. *cast beyond the Moone*] A very frequent phrase for 'to be over-subtle or fanciful'; cf. Lyly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 222. 31-2, ii. 152. 27, iii. 188. 6-7.

P. 183, 12. *Item*] This does not seem to have any special heraldic sense. I suppose that 'difference' is meant.

20. *to turne them cleane vnto tares*] For the play upon words cf. ii. 9. 20-1.

26. *Italionate verbes which end all in Ize*] By 'Italionate' I suspect that Nashe means little more than Romance as distinguished from Saxon words. The non-Greek *-ize* words in English seem to be of French rather than Italian origin.

28. *clumperton*] Probably the same as 'clumpestone' in *Misogonus*, in Brandl's *Quellen*, II. iii. 50, which evidently means rude, ignorant country fellow, 'The scripture, yow Jack sance a scripp [Qy. read Jack Sauce! a scripp] and a staffe, Were more meter for such a clumpestone as thou arte.'

P. 184, 9. *scutes*] French gold coins of the value of about 3s. 4d.

9-10. *double Pistols*] Spanish gold coins worth about £2.

10. *Portugues*] Portuguese coins worth about £4 10s.

11-12. *monasillables, which are the onely scandall of it*] See Index to Professor Gregory Smith's *Eliz. Critical Essays* for many allusions to the monosyllabic character of English. None of the writers seem, however, to account this as a defect. See also Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 24, who says that 'some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, bicause the most of our words (as they doo indeed) incline vnto one syllable.' He, however, strongly objects to the introduction of foreign polysyllables (pp. 24-5). The first *a* in 'monasillables' is perhaps merely a missprint, but 'Monasyllabis' occurs for the Latin word in Ascham's *Schoolmaster*; see *Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, note on 289, II. 3 and 4 up.

19. *exchanged them foure into one*] That ingenious but somewhat odd person, Ralph Lever, would have approved of this. In his *Art of Reason, rightly tearmed Witcraft*, 1573, *5-*5^v, he says, 'As for deuising of newe termes, and compoünding of wordes, our tongue hath a speciall grace, wherein it excelleth many other, & is comparable with the best. The cause is, for that the mooste parte of Englyshe woordes are shorte, and stande on one sillable a peece. So that two or three of them are ofte times fitly ioyned in one.'

30. *verbes ending in R*] I cannot explain Nashe's meaning.

33. *Mummianized*] See ii. 9. 13.

36. *confectioners*] i. e. compounders of drugs; so in Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, V. i, a physician is called a 'confectionary villeine'.

37. *Mumchaunce*] A card-game. From Greene's *Notable Discovery of Cosenage*, 1591, Wks., ed. Grosart, x. 21. 25, it would seem that it was fairly new at the date.

P. 185, 12. *Madde heads ouer a dish of stewd prunes*] Stewed prunes were of course associated with brothels. See *Measure for Measure*, II. i. 93, 1 *Hen. IV*, III. iii. 128, and the notes of the commentators. The sense seems to be that a rowdy meeting of young bloods will mock at anything.

13. *the other pint of wine*] Cf. i *Return from Parnassus*, ll. 420-1, 'witts that have bene familiar with the other quart and a reckoninge.' I am uncertain as to the exact point of the phrase, but it seems likely that it refers to the proposal of another pint (or quart) to make the number odd, or even, as the case may be—one of the excuses for continuing to drink. Cf. ii. 212. 23.

16-7 *to carrie the vineger bottle*] Cf. i. 182. 4-5.

21. *thorough hairs*] Cf. iii. 9. 3-4. The phrase, which I have not seen properly explained, seems to mean coarse hairs.

23. *Honny lane*] A lane near to the Standard in Chepe. It was, Stow says, 'so called, not of sweetness thereof, being very narrow, and somewhat dark, but rather of often washing and sweeping, to keep it clean' (*London*, 1603, repr. 1842, 102, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 40.)

28. *Alchimists musicall gold*] C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 90, trans. 1569, fol. 159, refers to the invention of certain colours including 'Purple, and of that whiche they call musicall golde [*Lat. aurum musicum*] as among the benefits confered by alchemy. I cannot learn what it was.

28-9. *with Platoes Gorgias*] Perhaps referring to *Phaedrus*, 267 a, b.

31. *walke melancholy in Marke Lane*] A common saying, jesting upon the name of the street, but more usual, I think, with 'penniless' than 'melancholy'; cf. Greene, *Second Part of Cony-catching*, Wks., ed. Grosart, x. 99, 15-18, 'When the Priggar . . . perceiued he was bitten of all the bite in his bung [i. e. done out of all the money in his purse], and turned to walke penylesse in Marke lane, as the old prouerbe is, he began to chafe, and to sweare . . .'

P. 186, 2. *short cut and long-taile*] i. e. all comers, every one; cf. *Plain Percival*, ed. Petheram, 5. 11. The phrase has reference to horses, not to dogs. For 'cut' in the sense of 'curtal' cf. ii. 230. 23.

3. *every quarter*] i. e. every term; the law-terms being regarded as the chief seasons for the publishing of books.

7-8. *a mountaine in Cyrenaica*] Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 44 'rupes' not 'mons'. Similarly P. Mela i. 8.

18. *like the Centaurs feast*] See Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 242-4, describing the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapithae at the wedding-feast of Pirithous.

THE VNFORVNATE TRAVELLER

1. *Date of Composition and Publication.*

There is, I think, no reason for doubting that the date which appears at the end of the first edition, namely June 27, 1593, is that of the completion of the work. Though, so far as is known, not issued until 1594, the book was entered in the Stationers' Register on Sept. 17 of the preceding year, and this, together with the fact that, though it does not seem to have been remarkably popular, there was time for a second, corrected edition in the same year as the first, renders it likely that publication took place in the spring or early summer.

2. *General Character of the Work.*

After an Induction to the pages of the Court by the author, the tale is told by Jack Wilton in the first person. The chief incidents are as follows. (I have added within square brackets the actual dates of some of the events referred to.)

Jack Wilton being present as a page at the siege of Tournay and Térouanne plays various tricks on a cider merchant (210-17), a foolish captain (217-25), and others. After the capture of the two towns [1513] he returns to England (227-8). On the outbreak of the sweating sickness [? 1517] he returns to the continent (228-31) and is present at the battle of Marignano [1515] (231-2). Thence he travels to Münster, and witnesses the crushing of the Anabaptist rising there [1534] (232-41). He meets Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, at Middleburgh (241) and travels with him, visiting Rotterdam, where they find Erasmus and Sir Thomas More (245) and Wittenberg, where they witness a reception of the Duke of Saxony, and some magical feats of Cornelius Agrippa (246-53). Agrippa accompanies them to the Emperor's Court (253-5). Surrey and Wilton go thence to Venice where they are cast into prison (255-64). Pietro Aretino (264-6). Wilton leaves the Earl and, with a courtesan Diamante, travels to Florence, whither Surrey follows him (266-9). Florence being Geraldine's birthplace, Surrey holds a tournament in her honour (271-9). Surrey returns to England and Wilton goes to Rome (279), where during a plague the house is visited by bandits and Wilton is cast into prison on suspicion of murder (286-95). He is delivered by a banished nobleman (296), who gives him advice on the folly of travel (297-303). He falls into a cellar and is nearly made an 'anatomy' of (303-6), but escapes by the help of Juliana, a courtesan (308-9). With Diamante he flees to Bologna (318-19), where they are present at the execution of one Cutwolf (320-7). Wilton marries Diamante and leaves Italy (327-8).

3. *Sources.*

The Unfortunate Traveller must, I think, be regarded as in the main an original attempt in a hitherto untried direction. It is not impossible that it may have been partly suggested to Nashe by the reading of the Spanish romance of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which had

been translated in 1576, and with which it has been generally classed,¹ or again that it was, as Dr. Sidney Lee suggests in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, designed 'as a parody of those mediaeval story-books of King Arthur and Sir Tristram which he had already ridiculed in his "Anatomie of Absurditie"', but there is, so far as I am aware, no direct evidence in favour of either of these suppositions. In any case, given the existence on the one hand of such jest-books as those named after Tarlton and Scoggin, in which are brought together a number of tales about the same person, and on the other such more or less autobiographical works as Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, it seems hardly necessary to look for any more direct model. It will be noted how suggestive the first few pages, which recount Jack Wilton's tricks upon the cider-merchant, the ugly mechanical captain, the Switzer, and the coystrel clerks, are of the jest-book, though somewhat more elaborately worked out, and how it is only as he warms to his work that the author drops the anecdotal method and gives us a connected story.

Of certain details there is, however, more to say. By his mention, at 286. 8, of Lanquet's *Chronicle*, Nashe gives us a hint of the source upon which he drew for the historical background of the story, and though there is, naturally enough, much similarity between the various chronicles, and though Nashe is utterly careless of accuracy in his use of history, the few passages from Lanquet which I have cited in the notes will, I think, show that he did make use of this work. He may indeed have referred at times to other chroniclers, and for his description of the Anabaptist rising at Münster, which Lanquet touches on but briefly, he certainly did. This appears to be made up from accounts of two different affairs given by Sleidan in his *Chronicle*; see note on 232. 5.

Nashe's account of the Italian travels of the Earl of Surrey, and of his love for Geraldine, is of more importance and interest. That the story is entirely fictitious there can be no doubt, for it is certain that Surrey never visited Italy; but the question of how far it was the invention of Nashe himself is of greater difficulty.² No trace of the story as Nashe tells it seems to be found earlier, and it may well be that he put it together for himself from a number of sources. Among these may be mentioned:

(1) Surrey's 'Geraldine' sonnet. See *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 9:

Description and praise of his loue Geraldine.

From Tuskan came my Ladies worthy race:
Faire Florence was sometyme her auncient seate:
The Western yle, whose pleasaunt shore dothe face
Wilde Cambers cliffs, did geue her liuely heate:
Fostered she was with milke of Irishe brest:
Her sire, an Erle: her dame, of princes blood.

¹ See J. J. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, cap. 6, and W. Kollmann, *Nash's 'Unfortunate Traveller' und Head's 'English Rogue'*, 1899, in *Anglia*, vol. 22, pp. 81-140, and reprinted separately.

² Nashe's story is fully discussed by Nott in the introduction to his edition of the *Works of Surrey and Wyatt*, 1815-16, i. xxxvii-xlii, and by E. Bapst in *Deux Gentilshommes-poëtes de la Cour de Henry VIII*, 1891; see also *D.N.B.*, art. 'Henry Howard'.

From tender yeres, in Britain she doth rest,
 With kinges childe, where she tasteth costly food.
 Honsdon did first present her to mine yien :
 Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wishe her first for mine :
 And Windsor, alas, dothe chase me from her sight.
 Her beauty of kind her vertues from aboue.
 Happy is he, that can obtaine her loue.¹

It may be remarked that Surrey nowhere else mentions Geraldine by name, though of course we may, if we please, suppose other sonnets of his to be written in her praise—as did Nott, who inserted her name into the titles of several.

For the Earl of Surrey see also the note on 241. 34, and for Geraldine that on 243. 18.

(2) A tradition that Surrey had visited Italy, doubtless based on his evident imitation of Italian models. Such a tradition seems to be referred to by Puttenham in his *Art of English Poesy*, 1589 (*Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, ii. 62-3), ‘In the latter end of the same kings raigne [i.e. Henry VIII’s] spong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyat th’elder & Henry Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie, . . . greatly pollished our rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie from that it had bene before.’ It was suggested by Nott, u.s. i. xlii note, and has since been maintained by Bapst, that Puttenham’s language was meant figuratively, but this seems to me very doubtful. It is more natural to suppose that he was merely mistaken.

(3) The idea of the tournament at Florence (271. 7, &c.) may have been suggested by the fact that Surrey greatly distinguished himself in some jousts held at Westminster on May 1-3, 1540, to celebrate the king’s marriage with Anne of Cleves; see Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 815-16.

The only remaining points of importance to be discussed are the geography of the story and the information about foreign towns and customs. For these I have been unable to find any definite source. Though, as I have stated in the Introduction, I do not believe that Nashe ever visited Italy, he would doubtless have had many opportunities of conversing with travellers (compare his own words at iii. 172. 16-17), and unless it should be shown that he followed some particular printed account of Italy, we may, I think, be content to suppose that he gathered his facts—and after all they are but few—from the report of those who had been there.

4. After History.

The most noteworthy of the direct results of the work on English literature is that the story of Surrey and Geraldine was used by Drayton as the foundation of one of the best known of his ‘Heroical

¹ Professor Arber notes the following variants in the second edition, 31 Jy. 1557: l. 4 ‘furste gane’ for ‘did gene’; l. 7 ‘did she rest,’ for ‘she doth rest’; l. 8 ‘With a kinges child, who tasteth ghostly food.’

Epistles'. The incident of Agrippa showing to Surrey his love's image in a glass was made use of by Scott in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, vi. 16-19.

P. 199, 6. *Qui audiunt audita dicunt*] Plautus, *Truc.* ii. 6. 9.

8] The stop after 'LONDON' is a comma; being blurred in the original it appears in the facsimile as a full stop.

P. 201, i. *Henrie Wriothesley*] Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624), third Baron Titchfield and Earl of Southampton, was a member of Nashe's own college at Cambridge (M.A. 1589). As a patron of the poets, he may well have been of some assistance to Nashe before this date, and the latter's *Choice of Valentines* seems to have been written for him. From the terms of this dedication (201. 12-16) it seems, however, that Nashe had not previously dedicated any work to him, and as we have no reference to him in Nashe's later writings we may conclude that this enterprise was not fruitful in results. It has, as I have stated, been suggested that the 'Amyntas' of *Pierce Penilesse* (i. 243-5) is Southampton, but this seems unlikely.

What, if anything, is signified by the withdrawal of this dedication in the second edition I cannot say; though a dedication was not necessarily repeated in later editions of a work, it was, I think, usual to do so, at least in a second which so quickly followed the first. In some cases omissions from the preliminary matter seem to have been dictated by the convenience of the printer, who having begun the composition from the beginning of the work itself wished to get the preliminary matter into one or more whole sheets; cf. iii. 307. In the present instance, however, as composition was begun from the title-page (shown by the work itself beginning on A 3), there can be no question of this, and the omission must be regarded as deliberate. The most likely supposition seems to be that, at the time of publication of B, Nashe had a patron who was not on good terms with Southampton.

P. 203, 2. *in my absence*] We do not know where he was at the time.

P. 207, 2. *Mumchaunce*] Cf. ii. 184. 37.

5. *nouum*] The author is of course joking on the dice-game called 'novum' or 'novern'. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 547, and the notes of the commentators.

12-13. *drie . . . Tobacco with them*] Tobacco, which was always sold in cakes, was when purchased too moist for smoking and had to be dried. This was done by spreading it on paper, after cutting, and heating it on a shovel over the fire. A description of the elaborate paraphernalia required by a smoker is found in S. Rowlands' *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, B 4^v,—the speaker is addressing his wife:—

Then for a Candle and a Pipe hee'lle call,
A Trencher, Whore, let there a Rush be got,
Some Paper, make the Fire-shouell hot,
A Knife, some Match, and reach a little Wyre,
A Tinder-box, fetch me a coale of Fyre.

Allusions to the use of waste literature for drying tobacco are very frequent.

17. *ames ace*] i.e. two aces, the lowest throw at dice, and one which a gamester would not, generally speaking, love overmuch; but it seems not impossible that there was some dice-game so called; cf. *The Interlude of Youth*, l. 678.

18. *to stop mustard-pottes*] Cf. note on i. 192. 22-3.

19. *patch*] i.e. scrap.

19-20. *to wrap mace in: a strong hot costly spice*] Nashe is, of course, joking on the mace which was a sergeant's or bailiff's symbol of office. The jest was a frequent one; cf. Lyly, *Mother Bomby*, III. iv. 130-2, and V. iii. 398; also Massinger, *Virgin Martyr*, III. iii, 'Spungius: does the devil eat any mace in his broth? Harpax: Exceeding much, when his burning fever takes him; and then he has the knuckles of a bailiff boiled to his breakfast.' See also Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601, l. 2522-4 (Fol. IV. xi).

23. *napkins*] Is Nashe perhaps using the word for frisket or tympan-sheet? No sense given in *N.E.D.* seems applicable.

24. *lost*] Apparently an unusual spelling of 'just'. The same in both editions.

32. *to swere men on a pantofle*] The oath on an old shoe was one of the ceremonies of 'salting' a freshman at the university; see Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 401, and may well, as seems indicated here, have been also customary among the pages of the court on the admission of a new member into their fellowship. Cf. the Page in Massinger's *Unnatural Combat*, III. ii. 107-8.

P. 208, 4. *Acts and Monuments*] The expression, borrowed from the title of John Foxe's work, was, I believe, current for a serious and ponderous tome.

5. *minorites*] There is evidently some joke, but I cannot explain it.

12. *alehouse: marry, the tauerne is honorable*] I take the meaning to be that Wilton is not to be discussed in an ale-house, as being somewhat disreputable; the tavern, i.e. wine-shop, was, however, on another footing.

18. *pull on*] Cf. i. 207. 14.

P. 209, 2. *About that time*] Henry VIII landed at Calais on June 30, 1513, and joined the camp at Térouanne on Aug. 4. The town was taken on Aug. 23, and Tournay on Sept. 23 of the same year.

5-7. *two-hundred and fifty towers . . . attendants*] Cf. Lanquet (Cooper, 1565, fol. 275), 'King Henry of England, being confederate w^t the emperor & the king of Spaine, passed w^t a great power into France, where hauing in wages vnder his banner ye emperor Maximilian, & all the nobility of Brabant, Flaunders, & Holländ, he discomfited & abashed the whole power of France, & conquered Terwine & the great city of Turney, which is said to haue in it as manye toures as there be daies in the yere.'

8. *a Gentleman at least*] Can a somewhat odd expression in 2 *Tamburlaine*, III. i. 73, have been in Nashe's mind? Callapine purposing to make Almeda a king says:

I think it requisite and honourable

To keep my promise and to make him king

That is a gentleman, I know, at least.

9. *appendix*] The earliest instance of the word in the sense of 'attendant' given in *N.E.D.* is *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iv. 104.

12. *Cælum petimus stultitia*] Horace, *Od.* i. 3. 38.

14-15. *the court . . . the court*] The reason for the variation between the editions is not clear, nor is the whole phrase particularly lucid, unless it simply means that the court and the camp were for the moment one.

15-16. *when Turwin lost her maidenhead*] The expression is of course common, but it may here have been suggested by a speech of the provost of Tournay, given by Hall, *Chron.*, ed. 1809, 565, and Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 589, in which is mentioned a motto graven on the gates of that town (not of Térouanne), ‘*Jammes ton (sic) ne a perdeu ton pucellage*, that is to saye thou hast never lost thy maydenhed.’ For ‘virgin’ in this sense see side-note on 2 Kings 19. 21, in the Bishops’ and Genevan versions.

16-17. *Iane Trosse*] Not, so far as I know, mentioned elsewhere.

20. *prouant*] i. e. provision or arms supplied to troops.

21. *cobs*] i. e. young herrings, but cf. iii. 221. 21.

Paulô maiora canamus] Virgil, *Ecl.* 4. 1.

22. *acts and monuments*] Cf. 208. 4.

24. *slur a die*] A method of cheating at dice by throwing so that the die slides without turning.

25-6. *the oath of the pantofle*] Cf. 207. 32 and note.

27-8. *In grace and vertue to proceed*] Alluding, I suppose, to the rime with which it seems to have been customary to begin the study of the horn-book; cf. note on i. 366. 28. The lines passed into proverbial use; cf. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, vi. 680, ‘all their doctrine, even from Christ’s cross be my speed [first line only given] . . . unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry.’ Again at iii. 247. 439-40.

28. *Aliiquid latet quod non patet*] This phrase, the origin of which is unknown to me, is fairly often quoted, as in Dekker’s *Strange Horse-Race*, 1613, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 312, and, in the form ‘multa latent quae non patent’, in Greene’s *Disc. of Cosenage*, 1591, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 39. Cf. also Harman, *Caveat*, N. S. S. 20. 10-12, ‘as the prouerbe saythe, “sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare.”’

P. 210, 4. *on London bridge*] Picture of London bridge, from the Pepys Collection, in Harrison’s *Descr. of Eng.* Pt. iii, N. S. S. with description and all necessary references. There were houses on both sides for practically the whole length of it.

17-18. *where it is not to bee had the king must loose his right*] Cf. Heywood’s *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 83, ‘Where as nothing is, the King must lose his right,’ and W. Fulwood’s *Enemy of Idleness*, 1568, C 6, ‘the common prouerbe, where nothing is to be had, the King loseth his right.’

23-4. *alehouse . . . iuybush*] Properly speaking a bush of ivy—as being sacred to Bacchus—seems to have been the recognized sign of a wine-tavern, while that of an ale-house was a wisp of straw (or did this merely indicate stabling?); cf. i. 256. 21; iii. 248. 485; 84. 15-16; also Dekker’s *Lanthorn and Candlelight*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 242, ‘But the Village into which they rode being not able to maintaine an Iuybush, an Ale-house was their Inne’ and *The Return of the Knight of the Post*, F 1, ‘they shall never be quite banisht, whilst there

hanges a Garland before a Tauerne, or a wispe at an Ale-house.' On the other hand cf. Dekker's *Wonderful Year*, u.s. i. 138, 'a bush at the end of a pole, (the auncient badge of a Countrey Ale-house).'

24. *welt or gard*] Cf. i. 382. 8.

27. *Tendit ad sydera virtus*] This looks like an alteration, for the sake of the joke, of 'tendit ad aethera virtus', a phrase which seems somehow familiar though I cannot place it; or it may be from Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 2, 113 'tendit in ardua virtus'. Of cider, J. Taylor in *Drink and Welcome*, 1637, A 2^v, says, 'It is called *Syder a Sydera*; (as the Dictionary tels me) of the Starres.'

29. *Aqua cœlestis*] The name of some drug considered to be a powerful restorative; cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 99, 'Trades that lay dead & rotten . . . started out of their trance, as though they had drunke of *Aqua Cœlestis*, or Vnicons horne'; also Jonson, *Barth. Fair*, I. i (before entry of Quarlous). Cf. ii. 113. 21.

P. 211, 9. *mary, and shalt*] The form of the phrase is common; cf. *Span. Trag.* (Kyd, ed. Boas) III. xiv. 155.

10. *the three cups*] It was usual to give distinctive names to the rooms of a tavern; cf. i *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 30, 42.

11. *wash the pot*] Can this be the host's name for the tapster or servant? If not, it was perhaps intended as a mark of special respect to the guest; it seems to have been not unusual to remind a tapster to 'wash the pot cleane when hee goes to drawe'; see Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 279. 1-3.

16. *I vp with*] The phrase, still in occasional familiar or vulgar use, seems to have been common; cf. *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, C 1, 'the Prior vppe with his basket and away.'

17. *shift of the seventenees*] I have no idea what this means. Can it have any connexion with the—to me at least—equally mysterious expression in Harington's *Apology*, ed. 1814, p. 3, where of the last verse of the *Faery-Queen* stanza it is said that it 'disordered their mouths, and was like a trick of seventeen in a sinkapace'?

22. *vasticie*] i. e., probably, 'wasteness'; cf. i. 168. 8, ii. 47. 23.

29. *way*] A unit of weight which, in the case of cheese, seems to have varied from less than two cwt. to three.

P. 212, 1-2. *doit . . . denier*] Nashe seems to consider the half-souse and the denier as worth much more than the doit and the dandiprat, but all were coins of very small value. The 'doit' was a Dutch coin worth about a farthing; the 'dandiprat' an English coin of the value of three halfpence; a 'sous' or 'sou' was worth about 1½d., while a 'denier' varied in value, but was, a little later than this, only the tenth of an English penny.

5-6.] For the form of the expression cf. iii. 8. 25-6.

23. *the other fresh pint*] Cf. ii. 185. 13 and note.

P. 213, 11. *single mony*] i.e. small change; cf. *Tarlton's Jests* in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest.-Books*, ii. 232, and Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 117. 16-17.

14. *Mercie*] I see no reason for positively asserting, with Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 139), that this alludes to Mercy Harvey, Gabriel's sister, though this is of course possible; cf. iii. 129. 24-30.

24. *haue wepte all my vrine vpwarde*] Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, V. i. 121-4.

24-5. *The wheele under our citie bridge]* The first of these wheels was erected by Peter Morice, a Dutchman, in 1582; cf. Stow's *Annals*, 1615, 695^b, and *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. i, pp. 25, 27. The wheel was in the first arch from the north side. See Harrison's *Description of England*, N. S. S. Part iii, p. 4†.

28. *pissing Conduit]* See 2 *Hen. VI*, IV. vi. 3-4, also quotation from Dekker in note i. 173. 4-5. I believe that the position of the conduit in question has not been determined with certainty. See, however, Mr. Bullen's note on Middleton's *Chaste Maid*, III. ii. 173, where the conduit is also referred to, and Ritson's on the passage in *Hen. VI (Var. Sh.)*.

33. *your daies]* The change to 'these daies' in B, which can hardly have been a mere misprint, is difficult to understand.

P. 214, 4. *in emptie barrels]* It may be noted that about 1586 there had been much smuggling of prohibited goods into London from the Continent in pretended empty barrels. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 203. It is possible that Nashe remembered this.

19-20. *memento]* i. e. brown study. Cf. ii. 153 note.

29. *The world is well amended]* The phrase, which seems literally to mean 'things are all right so far as you are concerned', was, I believe, especially used in euphemistic allusion to one who was dead. It was not uncommon; cf. Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream*, ed. N. S. S., 71. 6-7, 'the world is wel amended with your man and you.'

30. *Epeminedes]* The sleep of Epimenides is said by Pausanias, i. 14. 4, to have lasted forty years; by Diog. Laert. i. 10. 2. 109, and Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 1. 14. 4, fifty-seven.

P. 215, 13. *snudge]* i. e. miser, skinflint.

25-6. *The hunter pursuing the Beauer . . . off]* Pliny *H.N.* viii. 47; frequently referred to.

P. 216, 3. *I thinke]* The words seem to be used in an asseverative sense, much as 'I should say' is occasionally employed at present.

4. *scuppets]* i. e. a kind of shovel.

8. *spiggots and faucetes]* Properly the faucet was the body of a tap, the spigot the plug which when withdrawn allowed the liquor to flow, and which later developed into the part of a tap which one turns. The words were, however, loosely used, and Lyly seems to have regarded one as the proper term for the tap of a beer-barrel, the other for that of a wine-cask; see *Mother Bomby*, II. v. 29.

16. *to cast at a dogge]* A not uncommon phrase. Cf. *As You Like It*, I. iii. 3, the earliest example (1600) given in *N.E.D.*

23-4. *syder-merchant]* The reading of B seems decidedly a weakening.

30. *beadsmanrie]* i. e. a grant to reside in an almshouse.

P. 217, 1. *brachet]* I cannot learn what is meant by this.

3. *on]* Possibly 'one', the reading of B, should be allowed to stand; whether as giving a different sense, or merely as a variant spelling.

10. *welfare]* i. e. good luck to, a good memory is a useful thing. Cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, E 4^v, 'This dapper slawe when I knew him first, had neither credit nor beard, but well fare a woman for the first, and oft shauing for the second.' The expression is frequent; cf. *Common Conditions*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, ll. 216, 396, 510, 1050:

Old Wives' Tale, I. 161 : *James IV*, IV. v. 89 : Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 30.

15. *a thrumming of buttons*] I do not understand the literal sense of this phrase for 'wasting time'.

fall in] i.e. make friends with ; cf. *Barth. Fair*, I. i. 'Littlewit : . . . you must not quarrel with Master Quarlos, Win. *Quarlos* : No, we'll kiss again, and fall in,' and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 171. 17-18, 'sometimes it so fals out, that they [i. e. young wives and their admirers] fall in where they should not.' Cf. 256. 3.

18. *in their state-house*] i.e. I suppose, in their glory, held in honour ; cf. ii. 128. 14.

23-4. *Jupiter . . . quake*] Cf. *Dido*, at ii. 341. 10-11.

25. *parings*] i.e. earnings—for the sake of the pun.

28-9. *the golden dice . . . Demetrius*] Probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 14, trans. 1569, fol. 26^v, 'And it [i. e. dice-play] was accoumpted so greate a reproche emonge the noblest men, that the Kinge of the *Parthians* sente golden Dice to Kinge *Demetrius*, for a reproche of his lightnesse.' Cf. Elyot's *Governour*, ed. Croft, i. 278, where the editor refers to Justin, xxxviii. 9, and cites several other references to the story, including Chaucer, C. 621-6.

31. *quater trey*] i.e., I suppose, a die so weighted or cut that either three or four shou'd come uppermost ; cf. 'bard Cater Trea,' i. e. dice so made that these numbers should *not* turn up, fully explained by Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 120. He speaks also of a 'Flat Cater Trea' which seems to be the die here alluded to.

32. *dead lift*] i. e., properly, an emergency, crisis ; perhaps used here vaguely for a sleight, trick.

34, &c. *Crede mihi res est ingeniosa dare*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 62.

P. 218, 4. *it flowereth*] We might evidently read 'flowereth', which would apply better to the marigold but less well to the money. Mr. W. W. Greg points out that in the remainder of the simile there are separate words applying to the marigold and to the money ; when 'the euening of Age comes on' the flower 'fadeth', and when 'he falls into disgrace' the money 'is not to be found'. He therefore suggests that the reading of the MS. may have been something like 'it flowereth and it floweth', and that the compositor, either through carelessness or thinking that there had been accidental repetition, dropped one of the two similar words. The conjecture seems to me almost certainly correct.

7-8. *Nominatiuo hic Asinus*] In Lily's *Grammar* the declension of nouns is given in the form 'Nominatiuo hic magister. Genitiuo huius magistri . . .' (*A Short Introduction of Grammar*, 1577, A 6^v). 'Asinus' is not itself given as an example, the word representative of this declension being 'dominus'.

11. *Iacke Drums entertainment*] The phrase means expulsion with violence and also occurs in the form 'Tom Drum's entertainment'. See Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 79, for an explanation of its origin, but one which was doubtless of Deloney's own invention. As 'Jack Drum's entertainment' it is exceedingly common.

23. *as melancholy as a dog*] '—as a cat' is more usual ; cf. *N.E.D.* s. v. *melancholy* a 3c, also *The Man in the Moon*, 1609, 'The Jealous Man.'

23-4. *high men and low men*] Dice so cut or weighted as to turn up high or low numbers.

24. *langrets*] A kind of false die defined in *Dice-Play* (c 1550), C 1, as 'A well fauored die that semeth good & square : yet is the forded longer on the cater and tray, then any other way, and therefore holdeth the name of a langret', *N.E.D.*

fullams] 'A die loaded at the corner (a *high fulham* was loaded so as to ensure a cast of 4, 5, or 6 ; a *low fulham*, so as to ensure a cast of 1, 2, or 3)', *N.E.D.* s.v. fulham.

P. 219, 6. *drumbling*] Cf. i. 368. 29.

7. *through stitch*] Cf. ii. 65. 22.

10. *which way your staffe falls*] i.e. where you are or what happens to you—from the idea of setting a staff upright and taking the road in the direction of which it happens to fall ; cf. Vaughan, *The Golden Grove*, 1608, I 6^v, 'to imitate Bedlems, who iourney still that way, where the staffe falleth.'

13. *scratcht his scabd elbowes*] To scratch the elbow seems to have been a gesture either of annoyance, defiance, or swagger ; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 50, where lusty Tom Stutely [or Stukely] hearing that a gallant-seeming man is only a shoemaker says, 'O how that word makes me scratch my elbo ! Can a shoemaker come to the court with more serving-men at his heeles then Captaine Stutely ? See how it makes my blood rise.' Also Dekker's *Belman*, 1608, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 134, where a gull who is playing cards with sharpers, being at first allowed to win, 'grins for Ioy, scratches his elbow, and is so proud that no ground about the Alley can hold him, thinking verily . . . it is impossible for his side to loose.' Apparently different from to 'rub the elbow' in *L.L.L.* V. ii. 109 and *I Hen. IV.* V. i. 77.

21. *to lay on load*] To strike heavy blows. Examples in *N.E.D.* from c. 1537 ; cf. Bernard's *Terence*, *Adelphi*, ii. 2 (3). 5 'Ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus. We are both of vs wearie, I with bearing the blowes and he with laying on load', and *Grim*, IV. i (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 445), 'I will lay on load, and when it is done, let who will take it off again.'

29-30. *like the Woolfe . . . seene*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 34.

30-1. *like a Hare . . . eyes open*] See Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 54.

31-2. *as the Eagle . . . casts dust . . . blinde them*] Perhaps due to a confused recollection of Pliny, *H.N.* x. 5, where it is stated that the eagle flaps dust into the eyes of deer and thus causes them to fall from the rocks.

P. 220, 2. *drinke, carouse*] Probably 'carouse' is meant as a noun, and the insertion of the comma in B is an error ; cf. Rowlands' *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, A 2^v, 'That dranke carouses to the other fие', and Drayton, *Idea*, 7, 'quaffing carouses.'

9. *swearing and staring*] Asserting in an overbearing manner ; cf. i. 170. 32 note.

17. *The whelpes of a Beare neuer growe but sleeping*] The authority for this is unknown to me ; cf., however, what Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 54, says of the growth of the adult bear during its winter sleep.

22-4. *Vlysses, Nestor, Diomed . . . Trojans*] See *Il.* x. 203, &c., Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 239-50, but the inclusion of Nestor suggests some other source.

26. *Architas*] See note on i. 331. 19.

27. *by which proportion*] i.e. similarly, or 'this being so'.

P. 221, 1-2. *neuer heare that he breaks pasture*] Again at iii. 241. 242-6.

23. *ingender by the mouth, as rauens and doves do*] See Pliny, *H.N.* x. 15 (cf. x. 79 and Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i. 15).

26. *resiance*] i.e. residence.

32-3. *with Palamed*] Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 35-9. The disguise of Achilles in the household of Lycomedes is alluded to in the same book, ll. 162-6.

P. 222, 1-2. *Ioue dining with Licaon*] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 217-39.

11. *packt vp hys pipes*] i.e. concluded, left; cf. 247. 2-3. The expression is common; cf. *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 13. 9. Examples in *N.E.D.* from 1556.

14. *Taurimontanus*] Taken doubtless from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 28, 'a yonge man called *Taurimitanus*, according as *Boetius* saithe, beinge stirred vp with this *Phrigian* sounde, hastened to burne a house where there laie a strumpet hidden.' See Boethius, *De Musica*, i. 1; Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 63 (Boet. 1), col. 1170. The name is variously given; Boethius has 'Taurominitanus', the Latin texts of Agrippa either this or 'Tauro-minitanus'.

20. *a bridge of gold to flie by*] Cf. ii. 179. 24.

26. *God send him good shipping to Wapping*] Probably a kind of fixed phrase equivalent to 'good luck on his journey'; he was not, of course, going near Wapping; cf. the use of 'God send him good shipping' in *Soliman and Perseda* (ed. Boas), IV. ii. 79, also *Tam. of Shrew*, V. i. 43, and *Club Law*, ed. Moore Smith, ll. 46-7.

P. 223, 4. *three*] An evident case of correction in B; cf. 224. 5.

daies to an end] The omission of 'came' in such phrases is not unusual; cf. 306. 32 and iii. 346. 20.

12. *Queuela*] Cf. i. 359. 24 'Cheuela'.

15. *duuels breeches*] Cf. i. 172. 15.

16-17. *a case for a pistol*] Compare the Switzer 'With a pistol in his great codpiece' in *The Duchess of Malfi*, II. ii.

24. *crosses*] This joke on the cross which was figured on the reverse of many of the current coins is of most frequent occurrence.

P. 224, 1-2] In B the first two letters of 'there' and the first of 'in' are illegible, apparently through biting of the frisket.

7. *stamp*] i.e. 'coined'.

12. *Rascall*] The word had the special senses of camp-follower and common soldier, as well as that of knave, scamp, &c.

15. *in a brauerie*] i.e. as a feat of bravado.

19-20. *goe to Islington and eate a messie of Creame*] Excursions to the farms in the suburbs of London are frequently referred to. Islington and Stratford at Bow seem to have been among the favourite resorts. A mess of cream was apparently some form of curds and whey, or junket, but it was regarded as sufficiently solid to make a meal off; cf. *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, V. i, where three men—or rather two and a devil—sit down to one.

23. *Adam neuer fell till God made fooles*] Evidently proverbial, but I can give no earlier instance.

25-6. *with a trice*] Cf. i. 198. 34.

P. 225, 1. *Corinthian Dionisius*] See note on i. 312. 7.

5-6. *the sparrow for his lechery liueth but a yeare*] Pliny, *H. N.* x. 52. Having spoken of the long life of pigeons and doves, the author continues, 'Contra passeri minimum vitae, cui salacitas par. Mares negantur anno diutius durare . . .' Sparrows were proverbial for the quality here mentioned; cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, A. 626 and 'passere salacior' in the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus (in the *Adagia* of Erasmus, 1574, ii. 595 b). Even the eggs of the sparrow were supposed to have an aphrodisiac quality; cf. 'All maners of egges waken a man to the worke of lecherie, & specellie sparowes egges.' L. Andrewe, *Noble Life*, O 3^y, in *The Babees Book*, E. E. T. S., p. 222.

6-7. *turnd on the toe*] This means, I believe, flogged.

7. *Plura dolor prohibet*] Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 708.

13-14. *battle-axes . . . flye out scutells*] A 'scuttle' was a flat dish; there is, perhaps, some joke on the sense of 'battle' as an allowance of food (see note on iii. 65. 10) and 'battle-axes'.

16. *halfe crowne*] Cf. ii. 149. 25.

18. *in cue, or in quart pot rather*] Playing on the two senses of 'cue' as (1) the signal for an actor, 'in cue' meaning hence 'pre-arranged', and (2)=q., a farthing, or a portion of food worth that sum obtained from a college buttery; also, I suppose, quart.

24. *antipast*] Examples of 'antepast', i. e. foretaste, in *N. E. D.* from 1590.

26. *scutcherie*] i. e. knavery.

27. *coystrell*] i. e., properly, groom, but used also as a term of contempt—base, knavish.

29. *pincht . . . to God-ward of*] The sense is evidently 'did them out of', but this use of 'to God-ward' is not recognized by *N. E. D.* For the more usual sense of 'to Godward' see iii. 350. 8.

30. *dead-pay*] Pay fraudulently drawn by officers on account of soldiers who were dead; the expression is of frequent occurrence; cf. Day, *Parl. of Bees*, char. iv, where Armiger (the soldier-bee) says:

I all this while

Drilled under honesty, never pursed dead pay,
Never made week the longer by a day,—
A soldier dead, his pay did likewise die.

34. *finigraphicall*] i. e. finikin; cf. iii. 5. 3. *N. E. D.* has no other instances.

P. 226, 1. *A Lowce (that was anie Gentlemans companion)*] There was perhaps some current saying of this sort. Cf. Erasmus, *Coll. Fam.*, first dialogue—the passage about Montacute College—where the creature is referred to as of the 'sodalitum scholasticum', and the story about Louis XI of France in the 'Convivium Fabulosum', translated in *Merry Tales and Quick Answers* (Hazlitt, *Sh. Jest-Books*, i. 37).

8-9. *slikestone*] A stone used in smoothing or polishing anything, as linen after washing; cf. Lyly, *Euph. and his Eng.*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 9. 19.

9. *foyled*] There is no need to adopt Grosart's emendation. The word was occasionally used in the sense of 'defile', being probably influenced by, or confused with, 'foul'; cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*,

(*Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 296, l. 10), ‘Cæsar and Cicero, whose purifie was never foiled,’ where, however, the editor reads ‘soiled’.

10-11. *the Cammel . . . troubled*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 26.

17. *at all a ventures*] i. e. anyhow. The division of ‘a ventures’ is an error which it would perhaps have been better to correct.

18. *Braggadoches*] Save Spenser, *F.Q.* ii. 3, argt., ‘Braggadocchio,’ this is the earliest instance of the word given in *N.E.D.* Cf. ii. 181. 33.

24-5. *stand to their tackling*] i. e. stick to their post. Very frequent. In *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. iv. 134, ‘We trifle y^e time; let vs sticke to our taclinge’ seems to mean ‘let us keep to the point; go on with what we purposed’.

P. 227, 3-4. *that the King is shipt againe into England*] Towards the end of September, 1513.

4. *at harde meate*] ‘hard-meat’ is properly corn or hay used as fodder, as opposed to grass (*N.E.D.*), and the expression thus naturally came to mean ‘in confinement’ or ‘in retirement’, as here. In Dekker’s *Bellman*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 143, we see clearly the link between the two senses; he tells how thieves put a fresh brand on a stolen horse, or alter his ear-mark, and keep him ‘at hard meate till he be perfectly recoverd’.

12-13. *my French dublet gelte in the bellie*] I suppose ‘gelte’ means here ‘cut’; cf. L. Wright, *A Summons for Sleepers*, 1589, D4, ‘doublets with great burssen bellies, as though theyr guts were ready to fall ont.’

14-15. *side paned hose*] Hose decorated with stripes of coloured cloth at the sides—or does ‘side’ here mean ‘wide’?

18. *of the legge*] One would think that ‘my’, the reading of A, was preferable to ‘the’, but the change was perhaps intentional; cf. the similar variations in 315. 26; 316. 2; 326. 14.

23. *banskin*] i. e. barm-skin, a leathern apron; see *N.E.D.* s. v. barm sb.¹ 3.

thirles] Those who can spin will probably understand exactly what is meant; I do not.

24-5. *all a more French*] Does this perhaps stand for ‘à la mode French’ or something of the sort? We find ‘alla mode de Fraunce’ and ‘Allespanyole’ in *The Defence of Cony-Catching*, Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 72, and almost any perversion of such phrases is possible.

26. *auglet*] ? A form of ‘aglet’ (cf. note on i. 166. 21), used here apparently for tassel or fringe (cf. use of ‘tag’).

27. *ankle of my chinne*] It looks as if but half the mistake had been corrected in the errata, and we should read ‘angle of my chinne’. The word ‘ankle’ seems never to have been thus used.

P. 228, 17. *Court cuppe*] Cf. i. 162. 13.

19. *sweating sicknes*] The first epidemic of this disease occurred in 1485; later ones in 1508, 1517, 1528, and 1551. See C. Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, i. 237-81. That of 1517 is presumably the one referred to. Under this year Lanquet (Cooper) says, ‘Many dyed in England of the sweating sickenesse and especially about London.’ The description here given is of course wholly fantastic; the sickness especially attacked the well-to-do, not the poorer and more laborious classes.

19-20. *take my heeles]* The expression is correct without 'to'; cf. note on i. 118. 23; also quotation from Gascoigne in note on i. 206. 1. With 'to' at 226. 28.

29. *to turne him ouer the perch]* to 'do for' him; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *perch* sb.² 3 e, and Dekker, *Gull's Horn-book, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 216. 13.

Mother Cornelius tub] See note on i. 182. 3-5, marg.

33. *their hall]* Cooks were admitted to be a company in the reign of Edward IV. Their hall was on the east side of Aldersgate Street, Stow, *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 112^b.

P. 229, 3. *slaughter budge]* 'budge' was a cheap fur made of lamb-skin; possibly 'slaughter budge' meant the fur derived from the slaughter-houses—as opposed to the expensive kinds obtained from wild animals, but I have not met with the expression elsewhere.

12-13. *nothing will kill an asse but colde]* Cf. Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 68 'Ipsum animal frigoris maxime impatiens', and Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* viii. 25 (24).

14-15. *that burne one another by excessive heate]* Pliny, *H.N.* ix. 86 'Huic [stellae] tam igneum fervorem esse tradunt, ut omnia in mari contacta adurat, omnem cibum statim peragat'. But Pliny does not say that they burn *each other*. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* v. 15 (13). 10. says merely that on account of their great heat they digest food very rapidly.

17. *to mixe their lyme]* to form plaster for walls, &c. Cow-hair is used.

17-18. *to stufte their balls with]* Tennis balls were made of leather stuffed with hair; cf. *Much Ado*, III. ii. 47, and Dekker, *Shoem. Hol.* V. v. *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 73, 'euery haire . . . that stickes in this beard . . . I'll shave it off, and stufte tennis balls with it.' Cf. iii. 384.27-8.

20. *haire breeches]* I suppose that breeches thickly padded with hair are meant.

29. *fat grosse man]* The reading of B 'fat goose' is certainly possible, but I cannot think that it is correct.

30. *dyde vp all]* i.e. all utterly perished, 'up' being merely a strengthening particle as in 'eat up', 'burn up'. This seems to be a late example of the use. Cf. 'kylleth vp al' in quotation from Ben Gorion in note on 71. 7, &c. (p. 224, l. 9 from foot).

33-4] See p. 193, ll. 5-12. I do not find any authority for the danger of sleep. Holinshed insists strongly on the necessity of lying in bed, well-covered up, for twenty-four hours.

P. 230, 1. *simples . . . simple fellowes]* An obvious and frequent pun; cf. Dekker's *Wonderful Year*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 116-17, where, in a passage very similar to this, he says that at the time of the plague 'their [i.e. Physicians'] Drugs turned to Durt, their simples were simple things, *Galen* could do no more good, than *Sir Giles Goosecap*: *Hipocrates*, *Auicen*, *Paraselsus*, *Rasis*, *Fernelius*, with all their succeeding rabble of Doctors and Water-casters, were at their wits end'.

wext] Grosart's reading is perhaps correct.

3. *shooe the Gander]* i.e. undertake a useless or absurd task; cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 102, 'Who medleth in all thing, may shoe the gosling,' and examples there quoted from 1434 and 1510. So also 'shoe the goose'; cf. Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, N.S.S. i.

117 foot, and ii. 31 mid.; also *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, III. i. 68.

9-10. *his Spirite of the Butterie and his spirites of Mineralls*] Cf. notes on i. 324. 32 and 366. 11. By Paracelsus' 'spirit of the buttery' Nashe means, I suppose, the familiar which he was supposed to keep in the pommel of his sword. See T. Erastus, *Disp. de Med. Nova Paracelsi Pars Prima*, Basle [1572], pp. 236-7.

11-12. *Plus erat in artifice quam arte*] Cf. the letter of N. W. to Samuel Daniel, prefixed to the latter's translation of the *Imprese* of P. Jovius, 1585, *6v, 'I must excuse him as *Traian* did a certain Poet, *Plus est in arte quam in artifice*.' I have been unable to find the source of the story. Nashe may have been thinking of a somewhat similar saying quoted by Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, ii. 241 'plus à medico quam à morbo periculi, more danger there is from the Physician than from the disease'; cf. Peacham, *Compl. Gent.*, ed. 1906, p. 29.

8-10. Perhaps alluded to—in the form given by Nashe—in *The Courtier*, 'Tudor Trans.' 93. 23-4.

18. *perplexitie*] The sense, which seems to be 'oppression', is unusual.

22. *Brother Banks*] Banks's horse Morocco is almost too well known to need a note. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 81 and iii. 285, also refers to it as a curtal. See the commentators on *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. ii. 57, or Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, i. 152-6, also *N. & Q.* 10th S., ii. 282. The most important of the old notices of him is in *Les Metamorphoses ou L'asne dor*, trs. of Apuleius by J. de Montlyard (ed. 1623, pp. 250-4 of the Commentary), but the correctness of many of the statements there made is disputed. One of the earliest allusions is in Donne's *Sat.* i. 80 (in or before 1593); see Mr. Chambers's note in his edition of Donne. What is the 'steede of Signor Roccoes teaching' in Greene's *Groat's-worth of Wit*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 118? Can this be a joke on Ma. Rocco—or was there some horse-trainer of the name?

27. *precious faces*] A very common jibe at sergeants, &c.; cf. the description of the sumner in *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, K 1^v-2. He had been seven years ale-conner of the town and his nose showed what liquor he loved:

His face was full of pretious stone
Richer in Inde was never none:
For Rubie, Pearle, and Crysolite,
With them all his face was dight,
From the brow to the very chin,
Yet to drinke he would nere lin.

28-9. *the Salamander ... blasteth ... trees*] Perhaps due to a confused recollection of Pliny, *H.N.* xxix. 23 'Nam si [salamandra] arbore irrepst, omnia poma inficit veneno, et eos qui ederint necat frigida vi, nihil aconito distans'.

30. *fieri facias*] It is hardly necessary to refer to this constantly occurring joke on the writ termed '*fieri facias*', an execution against property for the collection of debt. I should have noted that A reads '*facias*'.

31-2. *In some places of the world ... no shaddowe*] See Pliny, *H.N.* ii. 75.

32. *Diebus illis*] See note on i. 367. 33.

P. 231, 3-4. *Goates take breath . . . at the eares also*] See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 76, who states on the authority of Archelaus 'auribus eas [sc. capras] spirare, non naribus' (cf. Arist. *Hist. Anim.* i. 11 (9). 1). Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 53, says they breathe both by the ears and by the nose. Possibly Nashe took it from the Παντοπάλιον of G. Pictorius (cf. 285. 1-2, note), where on p. 17 we find it with the side-note 'Per aures anhelant caprae'.

8-9. *the King of France and the Switzers*] The expedition of Francis I in 1515 to recover Milan, which had been lost to the French three years previously, is here alluded to. A large army of Swiss, allies of Massimiliano Sforza, Duke of Milan, attacked Francis at Marignano, ten miles from Milan, on Sept. 13, 1515. The battle was continued on the following day, when the French, being joined by Bartolommeo Alviano with the vanguard of the Venetian army, completely routed their enemies. The Swiss lost about 12,000 men.

14-16. *here vnweeldie Switzers . . . there the sprightly French*] We should probably read the article in both cases (as in A), or in neither.

24-6. *the tyrant Romane Emperours . . . dead corses*] Told of the Etruscans by Val. Max. ix. 2. ext. 10; cf. Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 482-8. Not, so far as I am aware, attributed to the Roman emperors.

30-5] Taken probably from Lanquet (Cooper, 1565, fol. 275^v), 'A great battaile foughten betwene the Switzers and the Frenchmen, in the which the French king was in so great daunger, that the braine of his owne men sperclid in his face, and him self was thrise striken with a speare: but in the ende of the fight, by help of the Venecians and other, whiche came in good season, the Heluecians were discomfited and slayne, and the citie of Myllaine yelded to the French kyng.'

P. 232, 5. *to Munster in Germanie*] Nashe gives no hint of the nineteen years' interval between the battle of Marignano and the insurrection at Münster, which took place in 1534. It would seem that for some time before the actual rising a considerable party in the town had been inclined towards the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and to strengthen their position had induced a number of followers of that sect in Holland to settle at Münster, among them being Jan Beukelissen, or Bockelsohn, of Leyden, a journeyman tailor and later an innkeeper. The insurrection broke out on Feb. 6, 1534, and on Feb. 21 the Anabaptists secured a majority in the Council, and appointing Knipper-dollinck, their executioner, as Burgomaster, proceeded to realize the rule of Christ on earth. As a beginning they drove all who were not of their way of thinking from the town, so that many of them perished of cold and hunger. Seeking to have all things in common, they confiscated the goods of those whom they had exiled. They destroyed all images, pictures, and musical instruments, and passed certain sumptuary laws. They tried also to introduce polygamy, but this seems to have been a failure.

The head of the movement was at first Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, who, being killed in a sortie at Easter, 1535, was succeeded by Jan of Leyden. Until April, 1535, the siege was carried on by the Bishop of Münster with the help of some Hessian troops, and against

these the insurgents, in spite of internal quarrels, made a good resistance. At that date, however, a number of princes, both Catholic and Protestant, joined in an attack upon the town, and on June 24 it was taken by assault. Jan of Leyden and Knipperdollinck were tortured to death in the market-place. (Taken from *Camb. Mod. Hist.*)

A full account of the doings at Münster is to be found in the work of Joannes Philipsson, known as Sleidanus, translated by J. Daus and published in 1560 as *A Famouse Chronicle of oure time, called Sleidanes Commentaries*. It occupies the greater part of the tenth book, and there seems some slight evidence that Nashe had read it, or else some other account derived from it. He follows it, however, by no means closely, and the pitched battle which he describes in the pages which follow had nothing whatever to do with Münster or with John of Leyden, but is clearly the battle of Frankenhausen, fought nine years earlier, on May 15, 1525, between the Anabaptists under Thomas Muntzer (see note on 239. 6) and Frederic, Elector of Saxony, which is described in Sleidane's fifth book, fol. 56-7. Even so, his account is by no means accurate, but Sleidane's mention of the Anabaptists' want of proper arms (cf. 232. 27, &c.) and of the appearance of a rainbow, which being the device on their ensign was taken by them as a sign from heaven (240. 2-5) seem to put the matter beyond doubt. Whether Nashe purposely combined the two stories, or writing from memory confused the man Muntzer with the town Münster, I cannot say.

11-12. *kept the Emperour . . . play*] i.e. kept him engaged. Examples in *N.E.D.* from a 1548. More often 'hold . . . play' as at ii. 132. 29-30.

19-20. *made of lysts like a bow-case*] Cf. i. 166. 23-5. In *Martin's Month's Mind*, B IV, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 151, is a somewhat obscure reference to Puritans, who could not abide 'a standing collar answerable to the neck, that would [yet] weare bow-cases, and whole butterie hatches themselues vpon their backes'.

24. *Bruers cow*] 'cow' is apparently a variant of 'cowl'. The *N.E.D.* has examples of 'cow' for the cowl of a malt-kiln from 1736, but there seems no earlier instance of the word in any form. A 'cowl' was also a large tub, but it is difficult to see how this could be worn as armour for the back.

29. *coole-staves*] Otherwise 'cowl-staves', carrying-rods for cowls, or tubs.

30. *addises*] i.e. adzes.

34. *scull*] A kind of steel skull-cap; the simplest form of armour for the head.

P. 233, 13-14. *the land of whipperginnie*] Cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. iv. 93-4, 'wotte you where I had him? Ith alhouse at whipperginnye as close as a burr.' It seems here to be used for a fictitious locality, but 'whipperginnie' generally meant an unchaste woman; cf. *Tell Troth*, N.S.S. 13. 26 and 21. 23-4. See also Halliwell, *Dict.*, s.v. whip-her-Jenny, where the word is explained as meaning a kind of card-game.

P. 234. 3-4. *set vp his rest*] Cf. note on i. 384. 35-6.

5. *peace there in the belfrie*] A similar expression, 'O tace, peace in the bellfrie,' occurs in *Grobiana's Nuptials*, ed. Rühl in *Grobianus in*

England, l. 875. The 'belfry', or the part of the church under the tower, was used to accommodate the poorer part of the congregation; cf. Latimer, *Fourth Sermon before Edward VI*, towards end, 'a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice, as hath the bishop in his *pontificalibus*'.

P. 236. 4-7] Cf. i. 121. 10-11.

10-11] Cf. ii. 116. 35.

19. *Qui querunt cum qua Gente cadunt*] Altered from Lucan, viii. 504-5:

Postquam nulla manet rerum fiducia, quaerit
Cum qua gente cadat.

Used, as here, in the plural, but with 'cadant' in Lipsius, *Politica*, 1589, l. iv, c. 9, p. 145.

21-3. *In the dayes of Nero . . . glasse as hammer-prooife as golde*] Probably taken carelessly from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 90, trans. 1589, fol. 159, 'And Plinie [H. N. xxxvi. 66] declareth that in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperour the temperature of glasse was inuented, whereby it was made softe, and flexible,'—but the artificer was put to death, 'leaste that golde should be lesse esteemed then glasse.' See *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, cap. 44, and the numerous references to the story collected at p. 719.

P. 237. 1-3. *Cato . . . was not borne till his father was foure score yeres olde*] This statement is doubtless due to a confusion; cf. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 12 'Catonem Censorium octogesimo exacto e filia Saloniæ clientis sui [filium generasse clarum est]. Qua de causa, aliorum eius liberorum propago, Liciniani sunt cognominati, hi Saloniani, ex quibus Uticensis fuit'. The son in question, M. Porcius Cato Salonianus, was of no particular importance, and cannot possibly be the person referred to by Nashe, while Cato Uticensis was not the son, but the great-grandson, of Censorius.

30-5. *Diogenes . . . coyning monie in his cell*] Cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 1. 20-1.

35. *vpp and downe*] i.e. exactly; cf. i. 275. 26.

P. 238. 3-4. *shape their cotes . . . according to their cloath*] Proverbial; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 33. Frequent.

16-17. *for robbing of Jupiter of his golden coate*] The story is to be found in Val. Max. i. 1. ext. 3, and Cic. *Nat. Deor.* iii. 34. 83, where it is however told of Dionysius the Elder; see also Ael. *Var. Hist.* i. 20 and Lactant. *De Orig. Error.* ii. 4, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 6 (Lact. 1), cols. 272-3. The robbery is attributed to Dionysius the Younger, as here, by Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.* vi. 21, Migne, u. s. 5, col. 1205, and Clemens Alex., *Cohort. ad Gent.* 4, Migne, u. s. Ser. Grec. 8 (Clem. 1), col. 146. The story is again referred to at iii. 194. 3, &c. The first 'of' is probably a mere error.

18. *Schoolemaster at Corinth*] See note on i. 312. 8-9.

21-2. *Qui primus . . . pati*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 3. 3, 4. Mr. Crawford points out that the translation here given is Marlowe's.

26. *Cardinal Wolsey*] Nashe's dislike of Wolsey may well have been due to the fact that it was, as was generally believed, his influence which had deprived St. John's College of the estates bequeathed to it by the Lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, founder of the college. See Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, i. 468.

27. *Qui in suas pœnas . . .*] Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 342 'Inque meas poenas ingeniosus eram'.

P. 239, 6. *Cniperdolings and Muncers*] Cniperdolingus or Knipper-dollink was one of the leaders of the insurrection in Münster; cf. note on 232. 5, and Lanquet (Cooper), fol. 298^v. Müncer, Monetarius, or Muntzer was one of the founders and chiefs of the Anabaptists. He was put to death in 1525. See Lanquet (Cooper), fol. 283^v-4^v.

271. 5. 16. *Amor est mihi causa sequendi*] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 507; again at

271. 5. The quotation is here oddly inappropriate.

17. *Ego te potius, Domine, . . .*] Cf. Ovid. *Heroid.* 17. 70.

34. *Deteriora sequuntur*] Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 20-1 'video meliora, proboque: Deteriora sequor.'

35. *Quod petitur pœna est*] Ovid, *Trist.* v. 2. 77.

P. 240, 3. *signe of the rainebowe*] Apparently from Sleidane's account of the battle of Frankenhausen in 1525 (see note on 232. 18), *Famous Chronicle*, fol. 56^v foot.

6. *Wherewpon, assuring*] Since in A there is no comma it seems not impossible that 'whereupon' may refer to the sign.

6-7. *Miseri quod volunt, facile credunt*] Cf. 'quod nimis miseri volunt, Hoc facile credunt,' Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 313 (W. F. H. King, *Class. Quot.*), also Caesar, *B. G.* iii. 18 'libenter homines id quod volunt credunt', and Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 3. 90, where under 'Qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt' the phrase 'quod quisque sperat, facile credit' appears, either as a common saying or, at least, as a well-known truth.

P. 241, 12. *the mark is clean out of my Muses mouth*] i. e. my muse has become old and worn out. The expression is frequent; cf. Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, vi, 'Some say the mark is out of Gower's mouth, Others he's better then a trick of youth,' and Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, IV. v. 71-3, 'biscuit That bawds have rubb'd their gums upon, like corals, to bring the mark again.' Dekker explains in *Lanthorn and Candlelight* (Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 278) how fraudulent horse-dealers burn 'two black holes in the top of the two out-most teeth of each side the out-side of the Horses mouth ypon the nether teeth, & so likewise of the teeth of the vpper chap, which stand opposite to y^e nether, the quallitie of which marks is to shew that a horse is but yong'.

17. *he was hangd*] Lanquet's (Cooper, fol. 302^v) account that he, with Cniperdolingus and Cretching his companions, was 'tormented w^t burning tonges at Munster' seems to be correct.

29. *bidding . . . sunonimas*] i. e. saying farewell in German.

29. *boniure*] Of fairly frequent occurrence in English of the period; cf. *Nobody and Somebody* (Simpson, *Sch. of Sh.*), 67, 'to give his Maiestie the Bon-iure,' and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iv. 199. 24.

31. *tentoes*] Cf. *Disc. of Knights of the Post*, 1597, A 3, 'I traueiled . . . vpon my well approued hackney (ould Bayard of ten toes).' The spelling as one word is perhaps a misprint.

33. *knights arrant*] i. e. knights errant; 'infant' is presumably used here in the sense of a youth of high birth; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. 3.

34. *Henrie Howard, Earle of Surrey*] Henry Howard (1517?-47), was proposed as husband for Princess Mary; married Frances Vere 1532; in France 1532-3. In 1536 he was sent with his father

to Yorkshire to repress the 'Pilgrimage of Grace'; in 1537 was imprisoned at Windsor for striking a courtier. In 1540 he distinguished himself at jousts at Westminster to celebrate Henry VIII's third marriage. From 1543-6 he took part in military operations in France. Executed in 1547. He was never in Italy. Cf. introductory note on 'Sources'.

P. 242, 11-13. *vatis auarus . . . vnum*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 119-20.

27. *grosse earthly spirite*] Cf. i. 352. 21, &c.

28-9. *weake womanly spirite . . . water*] Cf. i. 352. 3-6.

33. *effects*] i. e. ? power, efficiency; cf. i. 307. 25.

P. 243, 17. *Geraldine*] For discussion of the story of Geraldine see the introductory note on Sources.

18-19. *she it is that is come out of Italie*] The Fitzgerald family to whom belonged Elizabeth Fitzgerald (1528? - 1589), the supposed 'Geraldine', was of Italian origin, being descended, or reputed to be descended, from the Giraldi of Florence. Elizabeth herself was, however, born in Ireland. She was married at fifteen to Sir Anthony Browne (d. 1548), and afterwards to Edward Fiennes de Clinton, earl of Lincoln. She was identified with 'Geraldine' by Richard Stanyhurst in his 'Description of Ireland' printed in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (ed. 1807-8, vi. 46). He quotes Surrey's sonnet in full.

20. *Queene Katherina Dowager*] i. e. either Catherine of Aragon (cf. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 777, 795 for her title of Princess Dowager, or Lady Catherine Dowager), or Catherine Parr, but Elizabeth Fitzgerald never, so far as I can learn, served either of these queens. She was in the household of Princess Mary and later in that of Catherine Howard.

23-5. *Phenix neast . . . funeral flame*] Cf. note on ii. 50. 34.

29. *deathes-man*] i. e. executioner; frequent in Greene's works; see Grosart's index.

P. 244, 3-4. *the whole receptacle of my sight was vnhabited*] This odd phrase seems to mean 'my mind was incapable of any other image, I could see her alone'. We find the somewhat similar 'receipt of the mind' used in the sense of 'mental capacity' (*N.E.D.* s.v. receipt, *sb.* 15 b).

14-15. *in paradice at Hampton Court*] This appears to have been the name of a room; cf. J. Taylor, *The Needle's Excellency*, 1640, p. 7:

In *Windsor* Castle, and in *Hampton* Court,
In that most pompous roome call'd *Paradise*.

(A room of this name at Wressel Castle in Yorkshire is mentioned in Leland's *Itinerary*.)

Nevertheless Drayton does not appear so to have taken it, for in the *Heroic Epistle* founded on this (see introductory note) he writes:

Of *Hampton-court* and *Windsor*, where abound
All pleasures that in *Paradise* were found,

lines which certainly look as if suggested by the present passage.

P. 245, 8. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*] Terence, *Andria*, i. 1. 99. In Erasmus's *Adagia*, chil. 1, cent. 3. 68.

24. *Erasmus . . . Sir Thomas Moore*] So far as I can learn they

were never at Rotterdam together. Their first meeting took place in England in 1497, and they again met there in 1508. In 1515 More was in Flanders for six months, chiefly at Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp, but during this time Erasmus seems to have been at Basle. They met later at Calais in 1520.

29-30. *seemed so much to mislike . . . fooles*] So far as I am aware, there is no reference to any particular passage of Erasmus; unless possibly to *Moriae Enc.*, ed. 1816, p. 17 'in principum aulis . . . mea Κολακεία primas tenet'—Momus being banished, lest he should tell them of their faults.

31-2. *a booke . . . in commendation of follie*] The *Encomium Moriae* appeared in 1509, several years before the *Utopia*.

32—246, 8. *Quick witted Sir Thomas Moore . . . Vtopia*] More's *Utopia* was planned and the second book written in 1515, when he was on an embassy in Flanders. The first (Latin) edition appeared in 1516. It was translated into English by Ralph Robinson and published in 1551 and again in 1556, and frequently.

35. *principalities were nothing but great piracies*] Perhaps suggested originally by the oft-quoted answer of the pirate to Alexander (St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 4) 'quia id [sc. latrocinium] ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor, quia tu magna classe, imperator'. Cf. *Midas*, III. i. 15-17, 'Those that tooke small vessells at the sea, I accompted Pyrates; and my selfe that suppressed whole Fleetes, a Conquerour.' But of course the idea is a commonplace.

P. 246, 3-5] Cf. *Utopia*, near end, 'Therfore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth' (trans. R. Robinson, Temple ed., p. 158).

10. *Wittenberg*] It appears from the epistle before the 1594 edition of *Christ's Tears* that some had sought 'to anagrāmatize the name of Wittenberge to one of the Universities of England', namely Cambridge; see p. 182. 2-3 and notes, much as 'Athens' in Lyly's *Euphues* was taken to mean Oxford (*Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 224-5). Nashe denies that he had any hidden meaning, but it is doubtful how far we should believe him. Some hints at least may have been obtained from the Queen's visit to Audley End in 1578, when she received a deputation from Cambridge. The University of Wittenberg was founded in 1502 by Frederick III, Elector of Saxony. Luther was sent thither in 1508, and later, after his return from Rome in 1512, became professor of theology there. It is needless to refer to the important part taken by the University in the Reformation.

18-19. *they were great heads of certaintie*] There is, I suppose, the usual joke; the 'head' is the antlers of a deer. Thus in the *Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, B 3^v, a woman determines to make her husband 'one of the heade men of the Parish, as well as his neighbours'.

21, &c.] It is possible, though not, I think, certain, that this passage was meant as an attack upon Gabriel Harvey, to whose foppishness and dainty dress Nashe has several references. The phrase '*esse posse videatur*', which is mentioned in l. 32 as a favourite

of this orator, was, according to Nashe, iii. 66. 21-4, characteristic of Harvey.

24-5. *by patch & by peecemeale*] i. e. by scraps ; for this meaning of 'patch' see 207. 19. So Wilson, *Rule of Reason*, 1551, Q 6^v, speaks of 'takynge out patches and pieces' from sacred writings, and reasoning falsely from them.

32. *Esse posse videatur*] This seems to have been a favourite ending of a sentence among Ciceronian imitators, who were often laughed at for their excessive use of the phrase. See Montaigne, *Essais*, ii. 10, about two-thirds through, *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, ll. 641-2, and Peacham, *Compl. Gentleman*, ed. 1906, p. 44.

P. 247, 2. *Dum iuga montis aper*] Vergil, *Ecl.* v. 76.

2-3. *packt vp his pipes*] Cf. 222. 11 and note.

13. *incorporationers*] Members of the corporation ; the only instance of the word in *N.E.D.*

19. *houghs*] Cf. iii. 386. 22, 'Hoffes and tappe houses.' Presumably connected with German *hof*. No such word seems to be recognized by *N.E.D.*; cf., however, 'hove-dance' (M. Du. *hof-dans*), a lively dance.

21-2. *carousing . . . armes*] These words added in B seem necessary for the sense, and an almost certain proof of revision by the author.

26. *Vanderhulke*] The correct reading of this name is settled by *Have with You*, iii. 31. 10. It seems there to be indicated—or at least suggested—that Vanderhulke was meant to represent Gabriel Harvey, but it is surely the orator of the university, mentioned on the preceding page, who, if any one here, resembles him.

30. *knit*] I do not understand the word here.

34. *a short gowne without anie gathering in the backe*] There is probably some special allusion in this, but precise information as to the gowns worn at the Universities seems unattainable. If Vanderhulke is Harvey we should expect him to be described as not wearing a doctor's gown ; cf. Nashe's gibes at him on the subject, i. 256. 35-6, 277. 33, &c.

P. 248, 3. *brocning*] I cannot explain this word, unless it is merely 'broking', often used as a vague term of abuse.

10. *orificall*] Explained by *N.E.D.* as 'mouth-making ; hence high-sounding, bombastic'. It is, however, suggested that the word meant was perhaps 'orifical'. The present is the only example given.

14. *troupe*] i.e. trope.

15-21] This is evidently not intended to be very lucid, and cannot be made so, however punctuated.

21. *fizgigging*] i.e. running or gadding about. See *N.E.D.*, which quotes a 1529, an example of 'fizgig' for a frivolous woman.

22. *firkng flantado*] To 'firk' is to dance, jig, or frisk, and 'flantado', for which *N.E.D.* quotes Stanyhurst 1583, means '? flaunting'. Nashe is evidently using the words for their oddity rather than with any strict meaning.

27. *squitter booke*s] Persons, not books, are meant. In a note to *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 279. 1470, where the same expression occurs, Collier compares 'squitter-wit' in *This World's Folly*, 1615, B3, 'The Primum mobile, which giues motion to these vnder-turning wheeles of

wickednesse, are those mercenary *Squitter-wits*, mis-called *Poets*'; also *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, 'I would mete with the scalde squitterbooke for this geare.' Cf. G. Harvey's use of 'squatter', *New Letter*, C 2, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 282. 3-4, 'I haue not been squattering at my papers for nothing'.

29. *as merry as cup and can*] The expression occurs in J. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 103.

verse] Joking on the slang sense of the word, i. e. to trick. See index to Grosart's ed. of Greene, under 'verse' and 'verser'; also note on i. 257. 13-14.

32. *drinke to his first man*] Cf. note on i. 207. 11.

34. *kneed*] No sense of the word known to me is possible here, unless it means simply tread up and down. It obviously cannot be an error for 'kneel'—unless the orator is intended to speak absolute nonsense.

35. *spruce beere*] 'A beer made from the leaves and small branches of the spruce-fir . . . and fermented with yeast.' *Cent. Dict.*

P. 249, i. *lubecke licour*] 'A strong beer brewed at Lubeck.' *N.E.D.*

3. *lambe skinne or miniuier*] Cf. i *Return from Parnassus*, Prol. 1. 6. Lambskin was worn on the B.A. hood, miniver—at Oxford at least—on that of the M.A. See *Scoggin's Jests* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 58-9, where we learn that the furs for the gown and hood cost over £6—or Scoggin represented that they did.

5. *lambs wooll*] See note on i. 272. 4.

9-10. *where Mahomet was hung vp*] There is a long account of Mahomet in Henry Smith's sermon entitled *God's Arrow against Atheists*, cap. 4, with which, as a great admirer of Smith (cf. i. 192. 33, &c.), Nashe was perhaps familiar. He describes how Mahomet's body was placed in an iron coffin and drawn up to the roof of the temple at Mecca by great loadstones.

12. *O quantus artifex pereo*] Sueton. *Nero*, 49 'Qualis artifex pereo'.

14. *Carnifex a scholler or hangman*] I cannot say whether there is a reference to some university joke, or whether Nashe intends merely to show the orator's ignorance of Latin.

17. *as garlike hath three properties*] The same statement occurs in Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, ed. 1814, p. 48, 'or rather (to compare it fitter) fresh beef and garlic, for that hath three properties more suiting to this discourse: viz. to make a man wink, drink, and stink.' Mr. Crawford compares what is said of ginger in Lodge and Greene's *Looking-Glass* (ed. Collins), I. ii. 251-4.

24-5. *Acolastus, the prodigal child*] A Latin comedy by the Dutch scholar Gulielmus Gnapheus, or Fullonius, a dramatization of the parable of the prodigal son, which had great vogue during the sixteenth century. Written in 1529, it was translated into English, for school purposes, by John Palsgrave in 1540. See Herford, *Lit. Relations between Eng. and Germany*, 85-6, 108, 154, 158. It was performed at Wittenberg in 1572.

P. 250, i. *thripping*] i. e., apparently, snapping the fingers (cf. 251. 5), but, save for these examples, the word is unknown to me.

12. *Luther and Carolostadius*] This may well have been suggested by Lanquet (Cooper), who under an. 1519 has 'At Lipsia was

disputation betweene Carolostadius, & Eckius, where Luther being presēt, was forced almost by Eckius to dispute of the supremacie, purgatorye, pardons, and suche other matters. Which disputation Luther after put in writyng, notyng the errors of Eckius, and other, vttered in tyme of the disputing.'

12. *leuell coyle*] The expression is derived from the French phrase (*faire*) *lever le cul* (*à quelqu'un*) used in the sense of the French *lèvencyl*, 'a rough, noisy game, formerly played at Christmas, in which each player is in turn driven from his seat and supplanted by another,' *N.E.D.*, which gives the present passage as the earliest instance of the word. In Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, Shaks. Soc., p. 28. 32, it is used for a disturbance, as apparently here—unless Nashe means that the disputants took each other's place in the rostrum.

18-19. *Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos*] A proverb of very frequent occurrence. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 6. 69, where it is explained as 'dictum Socraticum deterrens a curiosa vestigatione rerum coelestium et arcanorum naturae', and is referred to Lactantius, iii. 20, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 6 (Lactan. 1), col. 416, who says 'Celebre hoc proverbium Socrates habuit "Quod supra nos, nihil ad nos"'.

P. 251, 5. *thript*] Cf. note on 250. 1.

18-19. *not whole phrases but whole pages*] The reading of B may possibly be intended to mean that the Ciceronians make up their discourses of small fragments of their master, which are not properly pieced together (as Nashe speaks at ii. 127. 2 of the sermons of certain divines being 'concloutments of Scripture'), and thus produce a worse effect than more wholesale borrowing would have done. Still the earlier edition seems to give a better reading here.

24-5. *The leaden headed Germanes first began this*] I can only suppose that Nashe took Longolius, one of the most prominent of the Ciceronians, for a German; he was, however, a Belgian, native of Malines. Apart from him the excessive worship of Cicero seems to have been almost confined to Italy. See Dr. Sandys' *Harvard Lectures*, 1905, cap. 6. Or was Nashe really thinking of Sturmius (cf. Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 271-2)?

26. *Nizolius*] The reference is to the well-known *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* (1535) of Marius Nizolius (? 1498-1576), an Italian scholar. A similar attack on those who 'keep Nizolian Paper-books' of the figures and phrases of Cicero and Demosthenes, instead of really understanding the spirit of these writers, is to be found in Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, i. 202. But the subject is one which was very frequently discussed.

P. 252, 6. *Cornelius Agrippa*] Henry Cornelius Agrippa Von Nettesheim (1486-1535), born at Cologne, was one of the most widely known scholars of his time. He led a wandering life, first as a soldier and later as a teacher. His work *De Occulta Philosophia*, written in 1509-10, but not published until 1531-3, as well as lectures delivered by him on the Cabala in 1509, won for him the reputation of a magician, a reputation which grew enormously after his death. In England his *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnis Scientiarum*, translated by James Sandford (1569 and 1575), was widely known, and used, by other writers as well as Nashe, as a source of scraps of out-of-the-way learning.

7. *Scoto*] I have not been able to discover any juggler of the name.
 15. *when he ground corne in the mil*] See Aul. Gel. iii. 3.

16. *halfe a months mind*] The common phrase 'a month's mind', i.e. a strong inclination, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is generally supposed to have to do with a woman's longing.

19-22. *affirming that . . . strangely*] I have been unable to find anything in Erasmus which might have suggested this.

P. 253, 10. *the Emperours court*] Their visit may possibly have been suggested by Wier's account in the *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, i. 16, of the doings of a conjurer at the court of Maximilian I, when Hector, Achilles, and David were made to appear.

16-18. *an oxe roasted . . . birds*] I do not know whence Nashe took this statement, but the practice of stuffing one beast with another seems not to have been uncommon. We learn from Münster's *Cosmographia* (*Brief Collection out of S. M.*, 1574, fol. 41) that at the circumcision of a child the Turks made a feast of an ox in the belly of which was a sheep, in which was a hen, in which was an egg.

19. *tales of Cornelius Agrippa*] In spite of Agrippa's reputation as a conjurer there does not seem to have been, as one would expect, any collection of stories about him, and I am forced to conclude that these here related were the invention of Nashe. He seems to have made no use of the tales which were generally told of Agrippa. For some of these see the last chapter of Morley's *Life*.

22. *Cromwell being the kings Embassador*] Cromwell does not seem ever to have visited the Emperor's court, though there was talk of his going thither in 1530. He, however, carried on the difficult negotiations with the Emperor in 1532-3 at the time of the divorce of Katherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt—but through Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador in England.

22-3. *in like case*] i.e. in a similar way (he showed him); cf. i. 372. 11.

P. 254, 26-9.] Quoted in *England's Parnassus*, 1600 (ed. Collier, p. 461), with the readings 'paint' for 'paints' in l. 28, and 'falls' for 'flowes' in l. 29. Signed 'T. Nash'.

P. 255, 12. *blind ambages*] i.e. circuitous ways leading nowhither.

20. *Petro de campo Frego*] The name may possibly have been suggested by that of a real person 'Baptist of Campofregoso,' who is mentioned by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 64 (Of Bawdrie), among 'bawdy Historiographers'.

P. 256, 3. *fel in*] i.e. became friendly with; cf. 217. 15.

8. *her house stood vpon vaultes*] This is one of the passages which seem to me to argue against the theory that Nashe had travelled in Italy and was himself familiar with the places he describes. The word 'vault' seems generally to have meant an underground cellar, and for obvious reasons the houses at Venice do not, as a rule, stand upon these. It is, however, possible that Nashe meant simply that the ground floor of the house was not inhabited, but was used for storage. Cf. iii. 285. 1650.

31. *but*] i.e. absolutely, a rare use; see *N.E.D.* s. v. but 6 b. Cf. the pleonastic or emphatic use of 'but' in such phrases as '[In Spain] you are allowed to carry about you, onely but an hundred Reals', Peacham, *Compl. Gent.*, ed. 1906, 245. 5-6.

P. 257, 1-2. *at the hard heeles*] Cf. i. 276. 2.

6. *Brunquell*] I cannot explain the reference to 'no better name'. The only person known to me with a name approaching this is 'Bruquell', a dwarf in the service of Arnedes, son to the King of France, in *Palmendos*, who was a 'tall [i. e. valiant] Pigmy', and could well 'use his language to gain successe for his Masters intent' (ed. of 1653, end of cap. 13, and cap. 18). The work first appeared in English in 1589 and seems to have been very popular. In spite of the difference in the name I feel by no means sure that this dwarf was not the person in Nashe's mind.

21-3. *He . . . downe on his knees*] i. e. he fell down on his knees; cf. the similar use with 'up' at 211. 16.

32. *to be his owne caruer in reuenge*] Cf. Middleton, *Span. Gipsy*, IV. ii. 10, 'Be your own carver,' i. e. 'adopt any course you think fit,' Bullen. The phrase 'a closse carver' occurs without any very definite sense in *Misogonus*, II. iv. 285.

P. 258, 11-15.] Much better sense could be obtained by a slight change of punctuation. I would read 'had giuen me . . . a little before, amongst the grosse summe of my briberie. I, silly milkesop, mistrusting no deceit vnder an angell of light, tooke what shee gaue me, . . .' Both A and B punctuate as in the text. Jokes on the two senses of angel are too frequent to need comment. The 'angel of light' is from 2 Corinthians xi. 14; cf. i. 347. 23-4.

17. *turnd ouer*] i. e. put to death; cf. *Death of Rob. E. of Hunt.*, I. ii. (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 230). Similarly 'turned over the perch' at 228. 29.

knight arrant] i. e. knight errant.

24. *slip*] i. e. counterfeit coin; cf. *Mother Bomby*, II. i. 52-3 and Mr. Bond's note.

25. *made me a slipstring*] i. e. caused me to be hanged. The word 'slipstring' seems to have properly meant a truant—one that gets away from control, and is often used vaguely for rascal, as in Chettle's *Kindheart's Dream*, *Sh. Allusion Books*, N. S. S., p. 58. 13; 72. 16. I suppose there is here some allusion to the slip-knot. The word is used in a jest about hanging in *Mother Bomby*, II. i. 54, though the passage hardly illustrates the present one.

P. 259, 6-7. *the servant of my secrecies*] I suppose by this odd phrase 'my pretended (or? confidential) servant' is meant.

8. *an outcast of his cuppe or pantofles*] i. e. (?) his butler or page.

23. *brother Trulies*] Though I believe that I have met with this expression elsewhere in the sense of 'feigned friend', I am unable at present to find an example. Possibly a name for Puritans.

24. *with a pestilence*] i. e. with a vengeance; cf. note on ii. 319. 11.

29. *necke-verse*] It was usually the beginning of the 'Miserere', Psalm 51 (*N. E. D.*).

31. *shoulde deale*] 'should deal together' seems to be meant.

34. *the backe of an asse*] Compare the traveller at 297. 28-31.

P. 260, 11. *old who*] This apparently stands for 'old So-and-So', but I have failed to find other examples of the expression.

24. *bergomast*] i. e., presumably, Bergamask, or native of Bergamo.

P. 261, 2. *six penie hackster*] Cf. note on i. 217. 10.

12. *the tone side*] i. e. one side.

27. *informers. Those*] The sentences are perhaps meant to be run together.

31-2. *Ingenium nobis . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 84. Some texts read 'facit' for 'dedit'.

P. 262, 4. *ams ace*] Two aces, the lowest throw at dice.

7. *fire and flax*] Cf. Chaucer, *Cant. T.* D. 89, 'For peril is bothe fyer and tow t'assemble,' and Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 127, 'to lay fire and tow together' Dekker, *Batch. Bang.*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 176, 'it is ill setting fire and flaxe together.' A very common saying.

26-7] Doubtless an allusion to the sonnet-cycles of the time.

P. 263, 9. *Circes*] See note on ii. 154. 30.

16-17. *beatethe bush . . . caught the birde*] Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. beat v.¹ 26, 'a 1400 Cov. Myst. 119, Many a man doth bete the bow, Another man hath the brydde.' Also J. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 13, 'And while I at length debate and beatethe bush, There shall steppe in other men and catch the burdes.' Also in 2 *Return from Parnas.*, II. v. 63 (l. 824), in the form 'to beat the bush, while another kild the Hare'.

19. *Petro Desperato*] I have not met with this expression elsewhere.

20. *dunstable*] i. e. rude, plain; cf. note on iii. 391. 17.

28. *hoddie peake*] Cf. i. 17. 24.

29. *imfamie*] The *m* may be a misprint, but the spelling is interesting in view of the current, or at least frequent, pronunciation of the word at present.

32. *subaudi*] Cf. i. 268. 14.

P. 264, 1. *M. John Russell*] John Russell (1486?–1555) was employed in a number of diplomatic negotiations on the continent. In 1520 he was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in 1522 accompanied Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, in a naval expedition against France. He had been a gentleman of Henry VII's privy chamber and was continued in this office by Henry VIII, becoming in 1523 knight-marshal of the Household. It is not clear to what incident in his life Nashe refers here; being ambassador at the papal court in 1527 he was sent by the Pope to treat with the Venetians, but while on his journey to Venice broke his leg, and was obliged to entrust the negotiations to Sir Thomas Wyatt. I do not find any record of his actually being at Venice, though so great a traveller must surely have visited the town at one time or another.

2. *laie lieger*] i. e. was resident as English Ambassador or agent. See *N.E.D.* s.v. ledger, *adj.* 4.

4. *Petro Aretino*] See note on i. 242. 15. Nashe's statement that he was 'Inquisiter to the colledge of curtizans' is, I believe, a fiction. He did not receive a pension from Henry VIII, but in return for the dedication of the second volume of his *Lettore* in 1542, the king five years later sent him a present of three hundred scudi, through his ambassador at Venice. For details of this and the quarrel which arose out of it see G.-M. Mazzuchelli's *Vita di P. Aretino*, 1830, p. 66, &c.

25. *inkehorne tearmes*] See note on iii. 277. 1377.

26. *temporizers*] I suppose that writers who dally with their subject, as we might now say 'amateurs', are meant—but the word is used chiefly for the pun.

32-3. *Martiall had ten Muses . . . wine]* The nearest that I can find to this in Martial is *Epig.* xi. 6. 12-13:

Possum nil ego sobrios : bibenti
Succurrent mihi quindecim poetae.

P. 265, 3-4. *most of his learning . . . Florence]* So far as I can learn, Pietro was never at Florence.

11-13. *some dull braine maligners of his . . . de tribus impostoribus Mundi]* Among them Gabriel Harvey, in *A New Letter*, D 1, and Pierce's *Supererogation*, Z IV, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 290, ii. 270. See Bayle, *Dict.*, ed. 1734-7, art. P. Aretino, where the attribution is discussed, and, of course, rejected; also Mazzuchelli, p. 155, &c. The latter, on p. 157, uses the same argument as Nashe in ll. 17-18, denying to Aretino all knowledge of Latin.

13. *de tribus impostoribus Mundi]* The history of this book is wrapped in the greatest obscurity. Bayle denies that there ever was any such work, but there seems reason for thinking that a production bearing this title was current in the middle of the sixteenth century, and an (apparently) imperfect copy of an edition of 1598 was reprinted in 1846 by E. Weller, at Leipzig, and in 1861 by P. G. Brunet. Each reprint has a bibliographical preface summarizing what is known about the work, which is an attack upon Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, and, save for the mystery attaching to it, is of little interest.

24. *that rubarbe Epitaph]* The epitaph meant is evidently the following, which occurs in many variant forms; see Bayle, *Dict.*, ed. 1734-7, i. 437, or Mazzuchelli, pp. 78-81, where it is fully discussed:

Qui giace l'Aretin amaro tospo
Del sem' human, la cui lingua trafisse
Et vivi, & morti: d'Iddio mal non disse,
Et si scuso, co'l dir io no'l conosco.

27-8. *Il flagello . . .]* Perhaps taken from the title of the *Ragionamenti*, which in the 1584 edition (ed. 2—Brunet) bears the words 'Pietro Aretino, Cognominato il Flagello de Prencipi, il Veritiero, e'l Divino', but allusions to these names are frequent; cf. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, c. 46, st. 14, and Mazzuchelli, p. 109, &c. The last title given by Nashe, 'L'vnico,' seems to be merely an error; it properly belonged to the poet Bernardo Accolti; see end of note on i. 242. 15. Harvey makes the same mistake, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 125, ii. 272.

29-31. *The French king . . . fashioned]* See Mazzuchelli, p. 118.

30-1. *chaine . . . in the forme of tongues]* Mr. Crawford compares Marlowe's *Ed. II*, I. iv. 328, 'I'll hang a golden tongue about thy neck'—in reward of eloquence.

32. *the humanitie of Christ]* *La Umanità di Christo*, first complete edition, 1535; see C. Bertani, *P. Aretino et le Sue Opere*, 1901, p. 347 (also the following pages for most of the works mentioned below).

34. *Genesis]* First edition, 1538.

35. *Il sette]* Should of course be 'I sette'. The mistake is one which would hardly be made by a writer familiar with Italian. The usual title of the work, which first appeared in 1534, is *I Sette Salmi de la Penetentia di David*.

P. 266, 2-3. *lyfe of Saint Thomas*] *La Vita di San Tomaso, Signor d'Aquino*, 1543.

4. *La vita della virgine Maria*] *La Vita di Maria Vergine*, 1539.

7. *Vita . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 354. Generally 'mihi', not 'mea est.'

11. *Euen Beza himselfe*] The youth of Théodore de Bèze was dissipated, and he was the author of a number of somewhat licentious Latin poems, of which he repented in later years.

16. *indefinite*] i. e. without limitations, much the same as 'infinite'.

16-18] Mr. Crawford compares Peele's reference to the dead Marlowe as 'Fit to write passions for the souls below', *Honour of the Garter*, Prologue.

18-19. *Puritans . . . inuentionts*] The omission from B of this sentence must be an error, as it is absolutely required to make sense of what follows.

26. *an unsatiable famine in Venice*] I am not aware of any historical basis for this.

28. *record*] i. e. witness.

P. 267, 8. *ful-hand*] Cf. ii. 51. 36. Nashe seems here to mean that Diamante paid for the freak; cf. 268. 20, 269. 25-6.

23. *standing boules*] i. e. large bowls or cups, used either for ornament or for replenishing the cups out of which wine was drunk; cf. *Looking-Glass for Lond. and Eng.*, Greene, ed. Collins, l. 1768, ('standers' at l. 1858), and Puttenham, *Art of Poesy*, iii. 23 end.

24. *bad much good it vs*] i. e. bade us 'much good may it do you !' or 'Mytchgoodditchye' as Buttes has it (*Dry Dinner*, P 6^v).

P. 268, 8. *aboue Ela*] i. e. excessive. The note called *e-la* was the highest, as *gam-ut* the lowest, in Guido d'Arezzo's musical scale. The expression is of very frequent occurrence; cf. Lyly's *Mother Bomby*, II. i. 132-3 'his knauerie is beyond *Ela*, & yet he sayes he knowes not *Gam-ut*'; also *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 3. 25 and note.

28-9. *undertooke the estimation*] i. e. ? took upon myself the honour.

P. 269, 13. *Non veniunt . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 121, with 'atque' for '&'.

23. *clog*] A piece of wood fastened to the leg. Examples of a clog for an ape in *N.E.D.* from 1450. For the use here cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 694, *All's Well*, II. v. 58.

P. 270, 19-22, 31-2] Quoted, as if one stanza, in *England's Parnassus*, 1600, ed. Collier, p. 539, with the reading 'towne' for 'towre' in l. 22. Signed 'Th. Nashe'.

P. 271, 3. *anatomize*] Apparently 'sketch out', from the sense of 'skeleton'; note 'body-wanting' in next line.

4. *Dulce puella malum est*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 9. 26.

4-5. *Quod fugit ipse sequor*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 19. 36.

5. *Amor est mihi causa sequendi*] Cf. 239. 16 note.

6. *Cur vidi? cur perii?*] Cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* xii. 33 'Ut vidi, ut perii'. Possibly also glancing at *Tristia*, ii. 103 'Cur aliquid vidi ??' Cf. also note on i. 198. 33.

Non patienter amo] Ovid, *Heroid.* xix. 4.

6-7. *Tantū patiatur amari*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 3. 3.

24. *bases*] i. e. the skirts of armour.

P. 272, 3. *Ex lachrimis lachrimæ*] Not found. Many of the mottoes in the next few pages seem not to be classical. Nashe may have taken them from one of the numerous books on *imprese* or emblems, but I have been unable to discover any definite source. Those on which there is no note I have not found elsewhere.

5. *plush*] The earliest example in *N.E.D.*

8. *thinking they had bin yron*] Pliny and others say that the ostrich can digest anything, but I know of no early authority for the bird's special fondness for iron. Cf. Ang. Politianus, *Opera*, 1512, ii. fol. 44^v top (*Probl. Alex. Aphrodisei*) 'Dicunt autem & Struthochamelum ferrum concoquere: non proprietate quidem aliqua: sed caliditate: quod profecto absurdum. Leo nanque qui hoc animanti calidior est: ferrum tamen non concoquit'. The sixteenth-century pictures of an ostrich with a key in its mouth allude, of course, to this notion.

19. *as the Estrich hath a sharpe goad or pricke*] Gesner, *Hist. Anim.* I. iii (De Avium Natura), ed. 1585, 742. 35-7, says, 'In extremis alis, ut audio, ossei quidam mucrones extant, quibus ceu calcaribus inter currendum se incitat, infligendo eos coxis ubi deplumis est, ut in plerisque aliis partibus corporis'. It is not clear whether all this is part of a quotation or is Gesner's own.

P. 273, 4-5. *hatcheth . . . her egs . . . by the effectual rayes of her eyes*] The fable is referred to by Gesner, *Hist. Anim.* I. iii (De Avium Natura), ed. 1585, 743. 28-32.

7. *needle quickning*] i.e. spurring like a needle.

20. *Militat omnis amans*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 9. I, 2.

24. *pointed*] i.e. appointed, designed.

P. 274, 6-7. *Liberalitas liberalitate perit*] From St. Jerome, *Epist.* 58. 7, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. I), col. 584, taken probably by way of Lipsius, *Politica*, ed. 1589, ii. 17, p. 69. Also quoted at iii. 286. 1697.

7-8. *a Bee intangled in sheepe's wool*] Cf. ii. 98. 27.

8. *Frontis nulla fides*] Juvenal 2. 8 'Fronti nulla fides'.

14. *truncheions*] Apparently shafts of spears are meant.

Cura futuri est] Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 363.

19. *faburthen*] 'false-burden' or 'bass', but here used merely for 'mot', to avoid repetition of the word. Generally applied to a big-sounding expression, as in Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, C1, 'mirabile, miraculoso, stupendo, and such faburthen words.' In *Euphues and his England*, Llyl, ed. Bond, ii. 83. 33, it means something that a person keeps continually harping upon, 'refrain.'

22-3] Cf. 'Himens saffron colour'd robe', iii. 189. 36; also Massinger's *Unnat. Combat*, III. ii. 58-9, and Middleton's *Women beware Women*, V. i. 90, S. D. Mr. Bullen compares *l'Allegro*.

23, footnote] My conjecture is nonsense; cf. ii. 82. 27, 'all to be poynyarded.' The form is not unusual, though perhaps only correct in the case of verbs with the prefix *be-*.

24-5. *Nos quoque florimus*] The last word is evidently a mistake, or misprint, for 'florimus'; see Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 8. 19-20.

27-8. *the yellow iandies, that make all things yellow they looke vpon*] A frequently repeated statement; cf. P. Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Spectres*, 1605, fol. 92, 'And when a man is sicke of the yellow laundise, whatsoeuer hee seeth about him on euery side, will appeere

to be yellow, and of the colour of saffron: by reason of the cholericke humour which lieth like saffron in the eyes,' and Webster, *White Devil*, I. ii, 'they that have the yellow jaundice thinke all objects they look on to be yellow.' Mr. Crawford quotes the same statement from Montaigne, bk. ii. cap. 12 (trs. Florio, ed. Morley, p. 307^a). See Sextus Empiricus, *Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 44 οἱ γοῦν ἵκτειῶντες ὥχρα φαστὸν εἶναι τὰ ἡμῖν φαινόμενα λευκά.

32. *sightly*] i.e. slightly, deftly.

34. *spoke*] i.e. 'mot', properly a saw, or proverbial expression; cf. *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, II. i. (ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.* iii. 351-2), 'Such spokes as th'ancient of the parish use, with "Neighbour, 'tis an old proverb and a true . . ."' Cf. also Lyly's *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 69. 10, and *Midas*, II. ii. 55, 'He hath made a spoke,' i.e. He has uttered an epigram, a proverb.

P. 275, 2-3. *lion . . . cock*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 19 end; Ael. *Nat. Anim.* iii. 31, v. 50, vi. 22 et al.; Plut. *De Inv. et Odio*, 4. Frequently referred to. Cf. iii. 294. 1942.

12-13. *Tu mihi criminis author*] Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 40.

21. *eight*] i.e. eighth, the usual Elizabethan form.

22. *engrailed*] i.e. ornamented with semi-circular indentations; perhaps, here, made with rough or jagged edges.

29. *with a thorne at her breast*] Allusions to the idea are of course very numerous; cf. Greene's *Friar Bacon* (ed. Collins, ll. 1591-2). Hence Lyly (*Campaspe*, V. i. 36), jestingly refers to the bird's song as 'prick-song'.

30. *Luctus monumenta manebunt*] Ovid, *Metam.* x. 725. Quoted also at 175. 7.

34-276, 1. *Non sine vulnere viresco*] Perhaps based on 'Virescit vulnere virtus' quoted from Furius Antias in Aul. Gel. xviii. 11.

P. 276, 2-3. *Toads . . . at his rootes*] Cf. note on i. 225. 6-8.

32. *Inopem me copia fecit*] Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 466.

33. *the rich pray makes the theefe*] Proverbial; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, i. 43. Fairly frequent.

P. 277, 2. *Primo extinguor in ævo*] Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 470 'primoque extinguor in aevo'; see also *Heroid.* viii. 121.

7-8. *the eyes of yong swallowes comming againe*] See Pliny, *H.N.* xi. 55 and xxv. 50.

9. *Et addit et addimit*] Not found, but possibly suggested by the saying 'Nihil potest nec addi nec adimi'; see Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iv, cent. 8. 4.

17. *Pompeies ordinance for paracides*] References to the law are numerous; cf. Erasmus, *Adag.*, chil. iv, cent. 9. 18 'Culleo dignus.' It was perhaps familiar from being described in Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, trans. Udall, 1542, I 8^v.

34-278, 1. *Quid regna sine vsu*] Ovid, *Amores* iii. 7. 49.

P. 278, 19. *coolestaffe*] See note on 232. 29.

28. *offals*] i.e. 'leavings'.

P. 279, 1-2. *Pascal de Medicis*] Nashe must mean either Alexander dei Medici, tyrant of the Florentine republic, 1530-7, or his successor Cosimo, 1537-74.

16. *Bazelus manus*] See note on i. 239. 15.

23. *bag and baggage*] Examples in *N.E.D.* from 1525.

25. *Johannes de Imola*] There was a celebrated Roman jurist of the name (†1436). He was professor of law at Bologna.

P. 280, 2. *his montebanke banner*] The custom of itinerant physicians hanging out banners, as signs, is alluded to at i. 364. 32.

9. *Saint Austen compareth heretikes unto them*] The statement seems to be founded on a collation of two passages in St. Augustine's writings; in one of his letters, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 33 (August. 2), col. 219, he says, 'Ideo animositas haereticorum semper inquieta est . . . Quam inquietudinem muscae illae brevissimae significaverunt, sub quibus magi Pharaonis defecerunt, dicentes: *Digitus Dei est hic*'. In *De Trin.* iii. 7, *Patr. Curs.* 42 (August. 8), col. 875, he has 'Scyniphes enim musculae sunt brevissimae, qua tertia plaga superbus populus Aegiptiorum caedebatur', but there is no reference to heretics. Cf. Isidorus, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 83 (Isid. 5), cols. 292-3. 'Cymeses' (i.e. *cimices*, bugs) stands, I suppose, for 'Scyniphes'.

10-11. *the church of the seuen Sibels*] I cannot identify the church referred to.

18. *Pontius Pilates house*] There is in Rome a place called the Casa di Pilato, because it formed one of the Stations of the Cross in Passion Plays—see Murray's *Rome*, 1899, p. 212. Cf. Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1617, i. 133.

18-20. *The name . . . Piazza*] This is the longest of the additions in B and the most important, for it certainly suggests that the writer had actually visited Rome, or that he had borrowed the passage word for word from some one who had.

20. *Saint Paules Church*] There were at least two churches dedicated to St. Paul; one on Mt. Caelius, another a mile outside the city, on the road to Ostia; it seems more likely to be the latter that is meant.

the iemmes Piazza] I cannot discover any place of the name, either in old or modern accounts of Rome.

22-5. *the man that was condemned to death . . . his daughters breasts*] See Solinus, cap. 7, and Festus, s. v. Pietatis aedes. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 36, and Val. Max. v. 4 § 7 say it was the mother who was in prison, not the father, but the latter tells a similar story of Cimon, a Greek, and his daughter, v. 4. ext. 1.

32-3. *the most monstrous*] Nashe may have written 'the monstroustest' or possibly 'the monstroust', a not impossible form; cf. 'Venomost' in l. 7 footnote.

P. 281, i. *Pompeies theater*] See Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 24. § 7.

1-2. *nine wōders of the world*] Possibly a mere error, caused by confusion with the 'nine worthies'; or the number may have been obtained by adding together the alternatives of various lists; see discussion of the wonders in *Treas. of Anc. and Mod. Times* (ii), 1619, ii. 7, where nine are noticed.

2. *Gregory y^e sixths tombel*] There is presumably some mistake; Gregory VI, pope 1044-6, abdicated, and died in Germany. I can only suggest that Gregory XIII and the Cappella Gregoriana, erected by him from the designs of Michael Angelo, may be meant. It contained the tomb of Gregory Nazianzen.

Priscillas grate] I do not know what is referred to. There was, of course, Priscilla the wife of Aquila (Acts xviii. 2 and Rom. xvi. 3), but I can learn of no 'grate' in connexion with her. The tomb of

another Priscilla, wife of Abascantius, a minion of Domitian, is still to be seen (Murray's *Rome*, ed. 1899, p. 353).

16-17. *which when they found . . . with his point unblunted*] I can learn nothing of the prohibition of weapons at Rome. They were, however, forbidden at Venice; see Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.* ed. 1904-5, v. 205.

27-8. *hee is counted no Gentleman . . . that goes not in blacke*] The fashion of dressing in black was, I believe, Spanish rather than Italian, but Castiglione in *The Courtier* (trans. Hoby, in 'Tudor Trans.' p. 134) recommends the wearing of black, or 'not throughly blacke, yet somewhat darke'.

33-4. *The Bandettos, which . . . lie betwixt Rome and Naples*] These bandits seem to have been notorious, and there are several references to them. Ascham, *Report . . . of Germany, Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, p. 142, says they 'comber so the passage betwixt *Rome* and *Naples*, as no man departeth commonly from *Rome* without company which commeth to *Naples* without robbing'. Cf. Moryson, *Itin.* i. 104.

P. 282, 13. *the gorgeous Gallerie of gallant deuices*] I suppose that Thomas Proctor's *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, a poetical miscellany published in 1578, is referred to.

17. *slust*] As *N. E. D.* gives this passage as an example of the verb 'flush', it may be well to note that A has certainly 'sluste', B probably 'slust', but the opening ligature is somewhat damaged; Grosart printed 'sluste', Gosse 'fluste', both using the A-text.

19-21. *great winde instruments . . . discent*] P. Le Loyer, *Treatise of Spectres*, 1605, fol. 72, mentions 'Organs, which do go and play alone of themselves, onely by meanes of the water' as in a villa of the Cardinal of Ferrara at Tivoli. The gardens were a well-known show place; cf. Dallington, *Survey of Tuscany*, 1605, C 2^v-3, and Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1617, i. 104, top, and 141, foot.

29. *enwrapped*] i. e. concealed.

33-4. *which musick . . . in the true heauen*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 139, says that this 'was probably the origin of *The Merchant of Venice*, V. i. 62-4', but surely the idea is common enough. For full information on the subject see J. L. E. Dreyer, *Planetary Systems*, 1906, pp. 178-81, also 36-7, III.

P. 283, 7. *linealy*] I suspect that the word should be 'liuely', more especially as Nashe uses 'lineally' elsewhere in the ordinary sense (300. 29, 'lineally descended'). The error of printing—or writing—'linealy . . . delineated' for 'liuely . . . delineated' belongs of course to a well-known type of mistake. Cf., however, *The Downf. of Rob., E. of Hunt.* V. i., Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 205, where 'lineally' is perhaps used for 'in detail', a sense which would fit the context here.

20. *there*] Grosart's reading 'they' seems preferable.

22. *experimentes*] i. e. contrivances; cf. iii. 235. 59-60.

P. 284, II. *string-wise*] i. e. like a syringe.

26. *sweete-breathing Panthers*] Cf. i. 21. II.

27-8. *men-imitating Hyenaes that chaunged their sexe*] See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 44, and Aelian, *Anim. Nat.* i. 25.

28-9. *Wolues . . . eate earth*] Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 34 'Eundem [sc. lupum] in fame vesci terra [traditur]'.

30-2. *The Vnicorne . . . before hee dronke*] On the unicorn see

G. C. Kirchmayer, in E. Goldsmid's *Un-Natural History*, i, ii, where many references will be found. The idea, universal in the sixteenth century, that its horn was a remedy against poison, is not, I believe, classical, but was held by J. Tzetzes; see his *Var. Hist. Chiliades*, ed. Gerbelius (with Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 1546), p. 86 (chil. v. 7). He calls the horn ἀντιράβες φαρμάκος.

35. *the rose had no cankers*] As to the meaning of 'canker' see a correspondence in the *Athenaeum*, 1904, July to Dec., p. 123, &c., in which it was suggested that the bedeguar or rose-gall was known by this name. It is certainly curious, if, as is usually stated, the word meant canker-worm or caterpillar, that it should be so constantly referred to in connexion with roses, so rarely with other flowers or fruit.

P. 285, 1-2. *Goats then bare wooll, as it is recorded in Sicily they doo yet*] Nashe may have taken this from the Παντοπόλιον of G. Pictorius, a work which he had perhaps come upon bound up with the *Isagoge* of the same author; see note on i. 227. 3, &c. There we find, p. 17, under the heading 'De capra',

Capra gerit setas quam dat Germania, Sicla
Lanosam profert uitibus atque malam,

with the sidenote 'Sicilia lanosas capras habet'. The statement is possibly derived from a mistaken recollection of Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 76, where it is stated that the people of Cilicia shear goats and make clothes from their hair (cf. Ael. *Nat. Anim.* xvi. 30, of the goats in Lycia).

5-6. *the Elephant understandes his countrey speach*] Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 1 'intellectus illis sermonis patrii'.

8-9. *a perpetuall spring, as Ouid sayth*] *Metam.* i. 107 'Ver erat aeternum'.

12-14. *The peach tree . . . hatefull*] Evidently founded on Pliny, *H.N.* xv. 13; though mistakenly, Pliny says 'Falsum est, venenata . . . in Persis [Persica] gigni, et poenarum causa a regibus translata in Aegyptum, terra mitigata. Id enim de Persea diligentiores tradunt, quae in totum alia est'.

14. *hatefull*] Thus in both quartos; we should rather expect 'hurtfull'.

21. *Mercators globe*] Gerardus Mercator designed a pair of globes in 1541-51; these were in common use in England in 1592. See *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th. ed., x. 681-2. Pairs of the originals are preserved at Brussels and Vienna.

30. *Their hospitals*] Cf. what is said about the hospitals 'in other lands' at ii. 160. 34, &c.

P. 286, 5-6. *a word and a blowe*] Cf. *Marriage of Wit and Science*, 1, near end, Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 333, 'I am plain, I tell you, at a word and a blow.'

8. *in Lanquets chronicle*] Under the year 1522, 'A pestilence in Rome, whiche consumed an .100. thousande.'

P. 287, 19. *zanie*] Properly a fool or clown, but occasionally used, as here, for a personal attendant.

P. 288, 10. *assayed her with honie speech*] Mr. Crawford remarks that this appears to be a recollection of *Dido*, II. i. 136, 'Assayd with honey words to turne them backe.'

P. 289, 12. *euerie Pater noster while*] Cf. i. 378. 29 and note.

18. *the Prouost Marshall*] The officer charged with the execution of sentences passed by martial law.

21-2. *the age of goats is knownen by the knots on their hornes*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 76.

31-2. *As Mecænas . . . was seuen yeres without sleepe*] Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 52 says three years, 'Quibusdam perpetua febris est, ut C. Maecenati. Eadem triennio supremo, nullo horae momento contigit somnus'.

P. 290, 2-3. *It is . . . honour*] The reading of A certainly seems preferable, but the change appears like a deliberate one.

6-8. *Deares . . . run to men for succour*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 50.

32. *win the bridle or lose the saddle*] I do not know this saying, which looks like an alteration of the very common 'win the horse or lose the saddle'; cf. iii. 187. 12-13.

P. 291, 4. *the poore fellowes haue . . .*] A sense can be obtained by taking 'haue gone . . .' and 'had course bread . . .' as grammatically parallel clauses, as is perhaps indicated by the comma of the Qq after 'Gehenna'. It seems, however, better to suppose the omission of a relative pronoun after 'fellowes'.

5. *whipping chere*] Cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, V. iv. 5-6. Steevens quotes from an 'ancient bl. l. ballad, entitled, *O, yes, &c.*' :

And if he chance to scape the rope,
He shall have whipping-cheere.

13. *a paire of staires*] i. e. a flight, or two flights; cf. i. 167. 32.

15. *Leno*] i. e. pander. Used commonly as if an English word. Cf. Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S. 64. 16, 'the olde Lenos that are shrine-keepers.'

to make his best of her] i. e. to do the best he could with her. Cf. *Tam. of Shrew*, IV. iii. 100.

22. *swearing and staring*] Cf. note on i. 170. 32.

24. *sacriliugis*] Perhaps a misprint for -ious, but cf. 'facetius', i. 7. 13 footnote. A number of examples of similar spellings might be quoted, but not, I think, from carefully printed works of this date.

P. 292, 5-6. *her iewels did sweat*] An interesting example of the superstition will be found in Holinshed's account of the death of King John, *Chron.* ed. 1807-8, ii. 336. A dish of pears being set before the king he 'suspected them to be poisoned indeed, by reason that such pretious stones as he had about him, cast foorth a certeine sweat, as it were bewraieng the poison'. John compelled the person who offered him the pears to eat some of them, but he naturally enough chose those which were harmless, whereupon the king ate the rest with fatal results.

31. *Timpany of teares*] Cf. ii. 49. 6 and note.

P. 293, 9. *Cephalus*] Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 840-50.

25-6. *the hog dieth presently if he loosest an eye*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 77, from Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* vi. 18. 2.

P. 294, 7-8. *Heu quam difficile . . .*] Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 447.

14-22] Probably taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 28^v, 'Kinge Agamemnon, also goyng to the Troiane warre, lefte at home a Musitian that plaied the Dorian tune,

who with the foote *Spondeus* preserued his wife *Clitemnestra*, in Chastitie and Honestie, wherefore shee coulde not be deflowered by *Egisthus*, before he had wickedly slaine the *Musitian*.'

23-5. *the Hart . . . hide himselfe*] See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 50.

P. 295, 34. *riding deuice*] i. e. slip knot.

P. 297, 28-31. *the backe of an asse to beare all . . . nothing*] There is considerable resemblance between this lecture on the disadvantages of travel and the Hermit's advice to Callimachus in Lylly's *Euphues and his England*, *Works*, ed. Bond, ii. 25. 14-20, ' . . . recorde with thy selfe the inconueniences that come by trauailing . . . when at all times thou must haue the backe of an Asse to beare all, and the snowt of a swine to say nothing, thy hand on thy cap to shew reverence to every rascall . . .' But other similar passages are to be found; cf. Florio's *Second Fruits*, 1591, N3, 'And if you will be a traueller . . haue alwayes the eies of a Faulcon, that ye may see farre, the eares of an Asse, that ye may heare wel, the face of an Ape that ye may be readie to laugh, the mouth of a Hog, to eate all things, the shoulder of a Camell, that you may beare any thing with patience, the legges of a Stagg, to flie from dangers.' See also a different list in J. Taylor's *Works*, 1630, III. 3.

P. 298, 1-2. *the veriest botcher . . . will dominere ouer a forreiner*] Cf. *Euphues and his England*, u. s., 26. 13-14, 'Euery Gentle-man will be their peere though they [i. e. foreigners] be noble, and euery pesaunt their Lord if they be gentle.'

7. *porridge*] The same as 'pottage'; cf. i. 314. 33, and *Jew o. Malta*, III. iv. 62, 87 (ed. Wagner, II. 1329, 1353), where the two words are applied to the same pot of food.

18. *fleering*] The sense seems to be almost 'cynical'.

20. *the Neapolitan shrug*] I can give no other instance of the expression.

23-4. *that of Epicharchus, Vigila, & memor sis ne quid credas*] Epicharchus is an error, probably Nashe's own, for Epicharmus. The saying referred to is Νῦφε καὶ μέμναστ' ἀπιστεῖν; see *Frag. Phil. Graec.*, ed. Mullah (F. Didot, 1860), i. p. 144, l. 255. This quotation, with 'es' for 'sis', and the one from Seneca which follows, occur on consecutive pages of Lipsius, *Politica*, ed. 1589, bk. iv, cap. 14, pp. 209-10.

26-7. *Multi fallere docuerunt . . .*] Seneca, *Epist.* 3 § 3 'Nam quidam fallere docuerunt . . .'

33. *Philemon*] Val. Max. ix. 12. ext. 6. His death is variously related by other writers.

P. 299, 3. *Spanish figges*] 'A poisoned fig used as a secret way of destroying an obnoxious person,' *N.E.D.*, which quotes from the *Theses Martinianae*, 21, 'Italian figge.'

5. *with the Candians, liue on serpents*] Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 34 'Candei, quos Ophiophagos vocant, serpentibus vesci assueti'.

6-7. *Rats and mice ingender by licking one another*] See Pliny, *H.N.* x. 85.

11. *Non formosus erat . . . Vlysses*] Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 123.

12. *the long Traueller*] Cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, D 1, 'he [i. e. Scandale] hath beene a long Traueller.'

14-17. *it is not possible . . . to learne the Art of Memorie . . . naturall memorie before*] Probably a reminiscence of C. Agrippa, *De*

Incert. et Van. cap. 10, trans. 1569, fol. 24^v–25, where of the ‘Arte of memorie’ it is said that ‘Notwithstandinge what so euer it be, it cannot stande without natural Memorie’. Among those who have written on the subject are mentioned Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, Petrarch, Mareolus of Verona, Petrus of Ravenna, and Hermannus Buschius. Buschius (1468–1534) was a German scholar of repute in his day and professor of history at Marburg.

21] Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 12. 31 ‘Patientia longa malorum’.

27–9. *What is here . . . Studie?*] Similar advice to read of other lands instead of travelling in them is given in *Euphues and his England*, u. s. 26. 36–27. 5.

30–1] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 11. 17–18 ‘Et vobis . . . Quas Scylla infestet . . .’ The translation is not here Marlowe’s, though somewhat similar.

34–5] Ovid, u. s. 21–2. The somewhat peculiar arrangement is that of Q.

P. 300, 12. *weerish*] Cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, Eng. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 194. Εὐφύης is one that has ‘a countenance, not wearishe and crabbed, but faire and cumlie’.

16–17. *Burdeaux . . . Gascoigne . . . Orleance*] From Peele’s *Old Wife’s Tale*, ed. Gummere in Gayley’s *Repr. Eng. Com.* ll. 351–4, it appears that the wine of Orleans was considered the best. Nashe refers to that of Bordeaux at i. 305. 27.

18–19. *to esteeme of the pox as a pimple*] Lodge also speaks of the slight regard which was paid to this disease. In describing ‘Fornication (a notorious lecher)’ in *Wit’s Misery*, 1596, G 4, he says, ‘Tell him he hath y^e pox, tut it is a gentlemans disease.’

P. 301, 6. *dishcloth*] Mr. Crawford compares *Rom. & Jul.* IV. v. 221, ‘Romeo’s a dishclout to him.’ Cf. also Aylmer’s *Harborough*, 1559, Q 2, ‘They contempned them as dishe cloutes’.

11. *mizers*] See *N. E. D.* s. v. miser, sb.², where it is explained as ‘a kind of sop made with the crumb of bread, etc.’ the only other example given being 1670–4 Han. Woolley, *Queen-like Closet* (1684) 169, ‘To make Misers for Children to eat in afternoons in Summer. Take half a pint of good small Beer, two spoonfuls of Sack, the Crum of half a penny Manchet [etc].’ It is stated that it is ‘perhaps a use of F. misère, which according to Cotgrave had the sense of a drink made from the washings of bee-hives.’ The ‘misons’ of A is presumably a misprint.

15. *the Paradice of the earth*] Cf. Harrison, *Descr. of Brit.* i. 18, ed. N. S. S. ii. 132, ‘Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world;’ also Aylmer’s *Harborough*, P 4, ‘England is the paradise and not Italy, as commonlye they call it’. Much earlier the term had been applied, by Richard of Bury, to Paris; see Sandys, *Class. Schol.* i. (ed. 1906), 628.

27–8. *he hath beene in Italy*] See note on i. 10. 22.

31. *doe nothing but fill bottomeles tubs*] For the traditional drunkenness of the Danes cf. i. 180. 16 and note. For that of the Dutch see i. 204. 32–3.

35. *Pitch and pay*] i. e. pay ready money; see *N. E. D.* s. v. pitch, v.¹ 7b, examples from 14 . . . among them *Hen. V*, II. iii. 51. Nashe seems to incorporate a bit of popular rime.

P. 302, 17. *Cum patriam amisi . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 3. 53.

25-6. *with the Ethiopians inhabiting ouer against Meroe, feed on nothing but scorpions]* From Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrr. Hypotyposes*, i. 14. 83 ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰθιόπων οἱ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Μερόης . . . σκορπίους καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ἀκινδύνως ἔσθιονται.

26-7. *use is another nature]* Cf. the Latin form at ii. 36. 34-5.

P. 303, 23. *the Element]* i.e. the sky; so Dekker in *The Gull's Hornbook* calls the sun 'the eye of the Element', *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 218. 2.

28. *fell into it]* A similar incident is made use of in Fletcher and Massinger's *Custom of the Country*, III. iii. 30, &c., where Rutilio, wandering about at night, falls through a trap-door into a vault.

29. *oreloope]* i.e. orlop, lower deck.

32. *tumble on a sodaine into hell]* It is perhaps worth noting that hell was popularly considered as being in the centre of the earth, not below it as in the Miltonic cosmology; cf. Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, 1596, O 3^v, 'For as the heart is in the middest of a creature, so is Hell in the middest of the earth.' Details will be found in a curious little book by Giuseppe Rosaccio called *Teatro del Cielo*, Fiorenza, 1599 (and earlier). The writer places hell in the centre of the earth. It is 7,875 Italian miles in circumference and is 3,758½ miles distant from the surface (pp. 10-11).

P. 304, 11-14. *It was then the lawe in Rome . . . hang him]* I can learn nothing of any such law.

21-2. *yearely Anatomie]* Cf. note on i. 196. 19-20.

36. *Bona Roba]* i.e. good stuff; commonly used for 'wench'.

P. 305, 8. *my Iewish Premunire]* The sense of 'premunire' here seems to be 'an awkward predicament', as in Middleton and others' *Old Law*, V: 'If the law finds you with two wives at once, There's a shrewd premunire' (example from *Cent. Dict.*), but even so the phrase is not very clear.

14-15. *script naked . . . sound]* Possibly suggested by the way in which the Turks examined slaves before purchase; see *Strange Things out of S. Munster*, ed. 1574, fol. 50^v-51.

32. *surgeons hal]* See note on i. 196. 20.

33. *incarnatiues]* i.e. lotions to cause wounds to heal up.

35. *in this distance]* i.e. during this time; cf. i. 359. 15.

P. 306, 7. *Manna]* Properly 'the concrete juice obtained from the bark of the Manna ash, *Fraxinus Ornus*, chiefly in Calabria and Sicily; used in medicine as a gentle laxative,' *N.E.D.*

8. *conserue of chippings]* Nashe is perhaps joking on the name of some drug, but I do not know what. In its ordinary use 'chippings' simply meant 'the ashie parings of bread'.

10-12. *His snot . . . snow water]* Either a common saying against misers, or imitated in *The True History of the Life . . . of Old John Overs* (ent. *S. R.* 1636/7) ed. 1744, p. 17, 'Some have said, that in the Winter Time he hath saved the Droppings of his Nose, and offered to sell them to an Apothecary in the Stead of Snow-water.'

13. *Mithridate]* See note on ii. 159. 15-16.

14-15. *allome water]* Recipe in Lodge's *Poor Man's Talent*, ed. Hunt. Soc., p. 11: it is 'good against tetteres, itchings, and heats that happen in the skinn'.

18. *dodkin*] i. e. with a negative, not at all. A diminutive of the word 'doit'; cf. 212. 1.

29. *his throte-bowle*] i. e. mine. The sentence is one of those odd mixtures of direct and indirect speech that we so often meet with.

32. *ere a month to an end*] For the form of the expression cf. 223. 4.

P. 307, 17-18. *Crocodile tears*] See i. 184. 8, note.

28. *the old Iurie*] I presume that Nashe is thinking of the district in London so called. See Stow's *London*, ed. Thoms, 105-6.

P. 308, 5. *the soule was nothing but blood*] C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 52, trans. 1569, fol. 66, gives a long list of the opinions of various philosophers about the soul, in the course of which he mentions those who would have it to be 'of bloud, as *Empedocles*, and *Circias*'.

5-6. *then thought I, what . . .*] I follow the punctuation of Q, but 'then, thought I, what' is probably meant.

12-13. *Good drinke makes good blood*] A common saying; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. i. 26-7, 'And to breade some goode bloude toth alhouse he went,' G. B. Gelli's *Fearful Fancies of the Florentine Cooper*, trans. W. Barker, 1568, C 7^v, 'good Wine maketh good Bloud,' and *Pasquil's Palinodia*, ed. Grosart, p. 149, 'Good wine doth breed good bloud.' Cf. iii. 152, 11-12 and 266. 1044.

14. *Seneca and Lucan*] Similarly coupled together in i. 286. 7-9.

lobcoocks] Properly a country bumpkin, hence a fool; cf. *Horesies*, I. 379, 'In fayth, goodman lobcocke, your handsomley drest.'

17. *faintest hearted*] Possibly the correction was intended for 'faint-heartedst'; cf. *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, III. i. (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 432), 'Well, go thy way, for the true-heartedst man That liveth.'

27. *for*] So both quartos, but we should perhaps read 'from'. Compare, however, the common use of 'for' to mean 'against', 'to prevent', as at iii. 386. 29-30.

29. *apple squire*] i. e. a harlot's attendant.

P. 309, 21. *liripoop*] From its earliest sense, the long tail of a graduate's hood, the word later came to mean 'lesson', 'rôle', or 'part'. See *N.E.D.* s.v. *liripipe*. Though in common use, its history is somewhat obscure. Cf. *Mother Bomby*, I. iii. 128, 'Theres a girle that knowes her liripoope,' and note in Mr. Bond's edition of Lylly.

23. *cloke for the raine*] i. e. an excuse or pretence to cover their actions, a very common expression; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 120; Greene's *Discovery of Cosenage, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 33. 7, 'yet haue they clokes for the raine and shadowes for their vilanies'; Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i, V. ii, 'O my lord, these cloaks are not for this rain!'; *Two Angry Women of Abington*, IV. iii. (middle); *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601, l. 2826.

P. 310, 1. *tantara*] The same as *taratantara*, the Latin onomatopeia of the sound of a trumpet; its meaning here may be illustrated from Wilson's *Art of Rhet.*, ed. 1560, fol. 88^v, where, speaking of onomatopoeia and words coined on occasion, he gives as an example, 'when one is lustye to say Taratauntara, declaryng thereby that he is as lustie, as a Trumpette is delitefull, and styring.' Cf. also Peele's *Old Wives Tale*, l. 292, 'Faire Lady, if thou wert once shrinde in this bosome, I would buckler thee tara-tantara.'

4. *The ballet of the whipper]* Apparently a reference to a ballad entered in the Stationers' Register, Feb. 16, 1590/1, as 'A ballad entituled all the merrie prankes of him that whippes men in the highe waies'. (*S. R.*, ed. Arber, ii. 575.) I do not know of any copy of this ballad at present existing.

5-6. *the Colliers of Romford]* The entertainment of whipping a blind bear, which often followed a bull-baiting or bear-baiting, is described by Hentzner (1598); see Harrison, *Descr. of Eng. N. S. S.* i. lxxix. The bear was chained up and five or six men stood round him 'with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy, as he cannot escape from them because of his chain'. It is several times referred to; cf. Dekker, *Satiromastix, Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 260, and *Two Angry Wom. of Ab.* III. ii, ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.*, sc. viii. 93; but why the colliers of Romford should hold their corporation in this manner I cannot imagine.

20. *toad fish]* I do not know this fish. Possibly the 'globe-fish' or one of the other creatures called 'swell-fishes' or 'swell-toads' (cf. *Cent. Dict.*) is meant, but the bursting spoken of suggests that a fish caught in very deep water is referred to.

36. *blacke sanc]* See note on i. 357. 6.

P. 311, 7-9. *Ile tice all the young children into my house...throates]* It need hardly be said the enticing away of Christian children for the purpose of crucifying them or otherwise putting them to death was a common charge against the Jews. Several instances of this are given in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*; cf. Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*.

12. *scorpions oyle]* Good against the bite of a scorpion, also a remedy for the stone. See Mizaldus, *Memorabilia*, 1573, cent. ii. 41 'Oleum de scorponibus'.

21-2. *thunder and lightning ... to sowre all the wines in Rome]* This effect of thunder does not seem to be mentioned by the classical writers, but is remarked upon by G. Gratarolus in his treatise *De Vini Natura*, ed. 1565, pp. 91-2, and at p. 164 a method is given for restoring wine 'corruptum occasione tonitrus' by adding aqua vitae. See also Lemnius, *De Mirac. Occ. Naturae*, I. ii, cap. 48, and J.-B. Porta, *Magia Naturalis*, iv. 23. On the other hand, in Lylly's *Mother Bomby*, II. v. 37-8, Stellio says that sack is not soured by thunder, though beer is.

P. 314, 11. *fauorable ladie vnto me]* It may be noted that the punctuation is correct, not 'fauorable, ladie, vnto me', as might be thought. Cf. G. Harvey, *Letter-Book*, p. 62, 'Marry, on this condition, that your worship will be so good and favorable master unto me as . . .', and *Merry Tales of Skelton* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-books*, ii. 24, 'I praye you be good master vnto me.'

24-5. *here in this page]* I cannot help drawing attention to the odd fact that this sentence actually begins a page (in both editions); not that I accept the possible inference that Nashe dictated his story to the compositors, making it up as he went along.

P. 315, 6. *the duke of Bourbon]* Charles de Bourbon. As a fact he did not sack Rome, being killed in the assault upon it in 1527.

18. *Non est inuentus]* The return made by a sheriff to a writ commanding him to arrest a defendant, when he is unable to do so owing to the defendant not being within his bailiwick. Renton, *Encycl. of Laws of England*.

23, &c.] The tortures inflicted on Zadoch are little worse than those suffered in 1591 by Dr. Fian for witchcraft. See *Newes from Scotland* (Roxb. Club, 1816), or R. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, i, pt. 2, p. 222. I suspect that Nashe had seen the tract, of which there were at least two editions, 1591 and 1592.

31. *Mercury sublimatum*] i. e. corrosive sublimate, mercuric chloride.

P. 316, 7. *smiths syndry water*] Cf. ii. 36. 21. Burton in his *Anat. of Mel.* ed. Shilleto, ii. 298, mentions the medicinal use of 'the water of a Smith's Forge' ('aqua, in qua faber ferrarius saepe candens ferrum extinxerat').

25. *the three brothers*] Familiar as is this idea, I am unable to discover any form of the story to which Nashe can have been alluding.

P. 317, 1-2. *Saint Peters daie*] i. e. June 29.

14. *the Burgo*] Properly the suburb of the Vatican, but the name seems to have been especially applied to the chief street of the suburb.

31-2. *such as is carried ouer greate princesses heads*] I have not been able to discover other allusions to these. Nothing of the sort is to be seen in such pictures of Elizabeth in procession as are known to me.

P. 318, 3. *Interea quid agitur domi*] Not found, if a quotation.

5. *fac totum*] The earliest instance in *N. E. D.* is Gascoigne, *Supposes*, III. iv. Cf. Kendal, *Flowers of Epigrams*, 1577, D 2^v, 'Thy mountyng minde doth still aspire, | thou still doest boast and cracke: | And Leonel thou wouldest be | Magister totum fac.' Earlier in Aylmer's *Harborough*, 1559, O 3, 'M. Haman, who was, domine fac totum' (Aylmer is referring to the story of Esther). See also note on iii. 174. 16.

8-9. *Quid non auri sacra fames*] Verg. *Aen.* iii. 56-7 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames!'

10-11. *Dimicandum est pro aris & focis*] Erasmus in his *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 8. 18, under 'Dignum propter quod vadimonium deseratur', gives the phrase 'pro aris focisque dimicare'. I am not aware that the saying occurs exactly as here given in any classical author, though 'pro aris et focis' is of course frequent.

16. *size ace and the dice*] A term doubtless borrowed from some game, but I have failed to find it elsewhere. It seems to mean all they possess.

19. *pestred*] i. e. crowded, either with persons or things.

P. 319, 11-12. *with a verie vengeance*] Cf. Lodge and Greene's *Looking-Glass for Lond. and Eng.*, ed. Collins, 232-6, 'if he [i. e. a horse] haue outward diseases ... we let him blood and clap a plaster to him with a pestilence, that mends him with a very vengeance.'

14. *in my grandames beanes*] i. e., evidently, in a great to-do; but I have not met the phrase elsewhere. A similar expression 'in myne eames peason', which occurs in the *Merry Tales of Skelton* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-books*, ii. 16, appears to mean very drunk, so drunk as not to know what one is doing.

21-2. *A theefe, they saie, mistakes euerie bush for a true man*] Cf. 3 *Hen. VI*, V. vi. 12, 'The thief doth fear each bush an officer,' and Steevens' note on 1 *Hen. IV*, II. ii. 98, 'The thieves have bound the true men,' where he remarks that 'a true man is always set in opposition to a thief', and gives several instances. Cf. i. 298. 18-19.

26. saild in the hauen] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. I, cent. I. 46
'In portu navigare . . . qua significamus, nos iam a periculo abesse'.
Terence, *Andria*, iii. I. 22.

P. 320, 16. empaire] i.e. bring into discredit, reflect upon; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. impair and appar.

27-8] Mr. Crawford compares Greene's *James IV*, ed. Collins, ll. 2439-40 (Nano's last speech) and *First Part of Jeronimo*, I. iii. 114, 'My minds a giant, though my bulke be small.'

31-2. Coblers are men, and kings are no more] Such sayings as 'a man is a man, and kings are no more' are very frequent, and to be regarded as proverbial. They are perhaps based on Wisdom 7. 1-5.

P. 321, 14. swordes walking] The verb 'walk' is used of many things, especially when there is some sense of attack; of fists—*Grim the Collier*, V. i, in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 469 (also of the tongue); Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i, IV. iii; Rowlands' *Crew of Kind Gossips*, A 4^v; of eyes—Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 251. 15.

18. my elbowes itch] Here apparently as sign of joy; cf. 219. 13 and note.

P. 323, 17-18. the leasteie witnesse is unrefutable] Alluding, perhaps, to Plautus, *Truc.* ii. 6. 8 'Pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem'. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 6. 54.

P. 324, 25. haue broken their strings] Cf. *Cymbeline*, I. iii. 17. The expression is frequent.

P. 325, 20-34] The story of the 'notable newe Italionisme' of getting a man to renounce God in order to save his life and then immediately killing him is evidently related to that told in Heywood's *Gvaukeion*, 1624, p. 400, of a Milanese gentleman, but I have not traced the source. It is also referred to in the anonymous annotations upon Browne's *Religio Medici*, ed. Sayle, i. 1.

25. seals of religion] Certain of the chief distinguishing marks of Christianity, as baptism and the sign of the cross, were so called.

P. 326, 13-14. The veyne in his left hand that is deriuied from the hart . . . he pierst] Prof. Logeman (*Faustus-Notes*, 1898, p. 58) sees in this passage a reminiscence of the *Faust-Book* (1592, B 1). When making the bond with the devil, 'to confirme it the more assuredly, he [i. e. Faustus] tooke a small penknife, and prickt a vaine in his left hand' (*Faust-Book*, ed. Logeman, p. 10). There is, I think, no reason for supposing that Nashe was acquainted with the *Faust-Book*. That the vein of the third finger of the left hand is especially connected with the heart was a commonplace; see Macrobius, *Sat.* vii. 13, § 7, &c., and Aul. Gel. x. 10, who thus explain the wearing of rings on that finger. The latter says 'propterea non inscitum visum esse eum potissimum digitum tali honore decorandum qui continens et quasi connexus esse cum principatu cordis videretur'. So too—of the marriage ring—Isidorus, *De Eccl. Off.* ii. 20. 8, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 83 (Isid. 6), col. 812. Is it not then natural that in signing in blood a most solemn compact it should be this vein which is pricked for the purpose? I may add that in the translation from S. Michaelis, published in 1613 as *The Admirable History of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman*, the pricking of this finger for the signing of diabolical contracts is referred to as if it were the usual

thing. See p. 393 (cf. B 2 and B 3^v foot), also p. 390 mid, and the reference to this passage in the index, 'Magdalene prickt in the heart finger by John Baptista a Magician.'

24. *blacke as a toad*] The idea that bodies of persons in league with the devil became black at their death was of course universal. For 'black' applied to toads, cf. *Timon*, IV. iii. 181.

P. 327, 7-8. *olde excellent*] Cf. G. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 129. 15-16, 'Dubble V. is old-excellent at his *Cornu copiae*', and, for 'excellent' alone, Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, F 3^v, 'She is the excellent of her age at a ring and a basket.'

15. *quaueringly*] i.e. with quick blows.

17. *for the nores*] i.e. for that special purpose; cf. Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 13-14, 'in the length of thy foot thou surpasest all; therefore I must have a paire of lasts made for the nonce.' The sense fluctuates between this and 'for a (temporary) occasion'.

31-3. *ere I went out of Bologna, I . . . hasted so fast out of the Sodom of Italy*] The grammar is careless, but the meaning clear. 'Sodom of Italy' does not, I think, mean Bologna, against which there does not appear to have been any special imputation of the kind, but Italy in general.

34-5. *the king of Englands campe*] The reference must be to the meeting at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold', in June, 1520, but Henry's camp was really at Guisnes, that of Francis at Ard, the meeting being in the valley between the two towns.

THE TRAGEDIE OF DIDO QVEENE OF CARTHAGE

i. Date of Composition.

So far as I am aware, there is not the slightest direct evidence as to the date of *Dido*, though, so far as it is the work of Marlowe, it seems natural to place it early rather than late among his plays. In his *Collectanea*, i. 91, Mr. Crawford remarks on the resemblance of many passages to Tamburlaine and suggests that it belongs to the same period. Dr. Ward and Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 147) also consider it to be an early work. The latter states that it was acted 'perhaps at Croydon, in 1591', but does not say how he arrives at this.

2. Authorship.

It seems fairly clear from the general evidence of style that the greater part of the work is Marlowe's, but what share, if any, Nashe had in it is very difficult to decide. The only attempt known to me definitely to apportion the play between the two authors is that of Mr. Fleay in his *Biog. Chron.* ii. 147. He conjecturally assigns to Marlowe I. i. 1-121, II. i, ii, III. iii, IV. iii, iv, V. i, ii; to Nashe I. i. 122 to end, III. i, ii, iv, IV. i, ii, v.¹ The question has since been very

¹ Mr. Fleay assigns to Marlowe the authorship of 'I. i a' and to Nashe that of 'I. i b', which, he says, 'should be marked as a new scene.' He does not, however, mention any second scene of the first act, though in Grosart's edition and Mr. Bullen's, both of which he seems to have used, the act is divided as in

elaborately discussed by Dr. B. Knutowski in *Das Dido-Drama von Marlowe und Nashe*, Grosser & Co., Breslau, 1905, whose conclusion is that the play as we have it at present is essentially Marlowe's, the share of Nashe being limited, at most, to a few very short and unimportant passages. Dr. Knutowski adds certain conclusions which seem to me somewhat speculative, (1) that the play was Marlowe's first attempt at dramatic work and was probably written while he was a student at Cambridge (1581-7), (2) that Nashe several years before Marlowe's death 'hat das Stück leicht überarbeitet', (3) that Marlowe towards the end of his life, probably before the writing of *Edward II*, 'hat es nochmals einer gründlichen Überarbeitung unterzogen.'

3. Source.

So far as I can discover, the sole source used for the story is Vergil's *Aeneid*.¹ Dr. Knutowski in an Appendix to his dissertation points out a large number of incidental borrowings from Ovid; as, however, in these the original is seldom closely followed, I have only thought it necessary to mention a few of the most important.²

As the play seems to belong almost entirely to Marlowe and can only be satisfactorily dealt with in connexion with his other works, and as it seems to throw no light whatever on the rest of Nashe's writings or to be in any way connected with them, I have made no attempt to annotate it fully.

P. 341, S. D. *Mercury*] In the text at l. 38 and in S. D. and speakers' names on p. 387 he is called 'Hermes', but 'Mercury' in the text at 389. 93. On the title-page he stands as 'Mercurie, or Hermes'.

6. *pleasance*] i. e. a fine kind of lawn or gauze; quotations in *N.E.D.* from c 1420.

my text. It is therefore doubtful whether, as I suppose, he wishes to break I. i into two scenes, beginning a fresh one at 345. 122, or possibly at l. 134 below, or whether he is merely referring to the two scenes into which the act has been divided by editors. In any case he probably meant to assign I. ii to Nashe, for his statement (l. 6 from foot of same page) that Nashe spells Cloanthes in V. ii apparently refers to the stage direction on p. 349, for the fifth act is not divided, save by Robinson and Cunningham, and Cloanthus is not mentioned in their sc. ii. It will be noticed that Mr. Fleay appears to break Act II also into two scenes.

¹ It may be remarked that the author, or authors, of the play seem to have gone directly to the Latin text of the *Aeneid*. It is of course impossible to say that no use was made of Phaer's translation, but a few examples will show clearly that it cannot be regarded as the immediate source of the play. At 344. 106 we have 'Princesse priest', the Latin 'regina sacerdos': Phaer (ed. 1584, B 4^v) simply 'Ilia Queene', not mentioning her priesthood. P. 347. 186, 'spotted Leopards skin': 'maculosae tegmine lyncis': Phaer (B 5) omits this, mentioning only the quiver. P. 347. 203, 'such honour, stranger, doe I not affect': 'Haud equidem tali me dignor honore': Phaer (B 5^v) has 'As for mine altars (quod she tho) no such estate I beare'. P. 392. 202, Aulis (*Aen.* iv. 426) is not mentioned by Phaer (F 7^v). The translations of books ii and iv by Surrey and of books i-iv by Stanyhurst seem equally to have been ignored by the authors of the play.

² To Dr. Jakob Friedrich's dissertation, *Die Didodramen des Dolce, Jodelle und Marlowe in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander und zu Vergil's Aeneis*, Kempten, 1888, I have been unable to refer.

10-11. *earth threatening haire . . . quake*] Cf. ii. 217. 23-4. Dr. Knutowski compares Ovid, *Metam.* i. 179-80. Perhaps taken by way of Golding's translation, ed. Rouse, i. 205-6.

13-15. *To hang her . . . Hercules*] ll. xv. 18-28.

20. *walde in with Egles wings*] Dyce refers to Titian's [?] picture (in the National Gallery) of the rape of Ganymede.

P. 342, 25. *exhal'd*] This seems to mean 'drawn out of myself'; cf. the use of 'exhale' in iii. 248. 481-2; also a very similar passage in Greene's *Menaphon*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. 91. 19-24.

32. *Vulcan shall daunce*] Mr. Bullen remarks that though the speech is undoubtedly Marlowe's, there is a close parallel in *Summer's Last Will*; see iii. 294. 1930-3. He suggests allusion to *Iliad* i. 599-600. Perhaps, however, a nearer source was Erasmus, *Enc. Mor.*, ed. 1816, p. 17 'Quin et Vulcanus ipse in deorum conviviis γελωτοποιόν agere consuevit, ac modo claudicatione, modo cavillis, modo ridiculis dictis exhilarare compotationem: tum et Silenus . . . saltare solitus', &c.

50-121] *Aen.* i. 223-300 and 50-86.

P. 343, 70-3] Cf. ii. 220. 22-4, and note that Nashe seems there originally to have written 'Calipsus' for 'Rhæsus' (it can hardly be, as he states, a printer's error). The passages seem too much alike to be independent, and the above-mentioned error renders it unlikely that this is the original and the other copied from it; can we infer that ll. 70-81, or perhaps more, is Nashe's addition to fill a gap? Mr. Bullen has noted that the riming lines 76-81 are suggestive of Nashe.

73. *Astræus*] 'The stars were the children of Astræus and Eos. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 381-2', Bullen. Dyce quotes from Aratus *Phaenomena*, 98. Dr. Knutowski cites *Metam.* xiv. 544-5.

P. 344, 96. *beauties better worke*] I cannot explain the meaning.

106. *Princesse priest*] *Aen.* i. 273-4.

108. *eternish*] A common form, or rather the usual one, of 'eternize'.

112. *taint*] Collier has written 'tint' in the margin of his copy (see p. 331 foot), probably as an explanation, rather than an emendation.

P. 345, 130. *Triton*] His duty was to recall the winds and waves; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 333-5.

132. *Cymothoë*] Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 144, Bullen.

134-248] For the whole scene cf. *Aen.* i. 312-409.

145-9] *Aen.* i. 200-3, Bullen.

P. 346, 158. *map*] i.e. picture.

159. *haire*] The copy of Robinson's edition at the British Museum (11771, d. 4), which belonged to James Boughton, and has a number of notes, also conjectures 'hair', and cites Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*, 'Up, youths! hold up your lights in air, And shake abroad their flaming hair,' as well as many other parallels.

169. *arts necessitie findes out*] See the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus in Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 459, for references to such sayings.

177] Possibly Ascanius is intended to go out, but it would seem from ll. 166 and 171 that the fire was to be lit close at hand. As Aeneas and Achates could 'rove abroad' without leaving the stage perhaps the others could do so also.

P. 347, 183] Mr. Bullen notes that 'from this point to the end of the scene Marlowe follows Vergil very closely. Cf. *Aen.* i. 321-410.'

204. *Turen*] All editors, except Grosart, read Tyrian (Lat. 'Virginibus Tyriis').

P. 348, 241. *the mouings of her feete*] *Aen.* i. 405 'vera incessu patuit dea'.

P. 349, 252-95] In Vergil the appeal is made by Ilioneus to Dido herself. All, save the speeches of Iarbas, is closely from *Aen.* i. 524-41.

267. *buckled with*] i. e. joined in battle with.

P. 350, 289. *Baucis*] Cf. Lylly, *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 81. 9, 'you shall be no lesse welcome then Jupiter was to Bacchus.' Mr. Bond, pointing out the obvious error, refers to Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 629 sqq.

Act II, sc. i] According to the Vergilian account Aeneas first sees Carthage from a hill overlooking the town (*Aen.* i. 418, &c.). Descending thence he is enveloped in a cloud and passes unseen into the midst of the city, where is a grove and a temple of Juno. In this temple he sees depicted the tale of Troy (*Aen.* i. 446, &c.). He is apparently accompanied by Achates alone. It seems to me evident that in this scene the locality is intended to change while the action is in progress; a fiction to which several parallels might be found. See, for example, *George a Greene*, IV. iii (ed. Collins, ll. 916-18), *Rom. & Jul.* I. v (a modern division; see s. d. before it in Folio; cf. Collier, *Hist. E. Dr. Poet.* 1831, iii. 368), also Webster, *White Devil*, I. ii, V. iii.

P. 351, 39, &c.] In Vergil, Dido enters and, shortly after, Cloanthus, Sergestus and other Trojans approach, accompanied by a crowd. Ilioneus then addresses Dido in the speech already used in the preceding scene. Dido laments the absence of Aeneas and he reveals himself (*Aen.* i. 586, &c.). Ascanius has remained with the ships and Achates is sent to fetch him (643-6,) but Venus has substituted Cupid and it is he who is brought by Achates to Dido, while the real Ascanius is conveyed by Venus to the groves of Idalia (691-4). In the play the real Ascanius is brought to Dido, and the substitution takes place later (II. i. 304, &c.). Then in Virgil follows the banquet (*Aen.* i. 705-6), which in the play is merely referred to (l. 71), after which Dido asks for the story of the fall of Troy (*Aen.* i. 753 sqq.; *Dido*, ll. 106, &c.).

P. 354, 108-11] Not in Vergil.

114-299] The whole of Aeneas's description of the fall of Troy is from *Aen.* ii, though the Latin is not followed closely in arrangement and in some other points, and there are certain additions, especially at the end.

135. *marcht*] Tenedos being an island, as is stated in the passage on which this is based, the word seems inaccurate, but Dyce quotes from Harington's *Orl. Fur.* x, st. 16:

Now had they lost the sight of Holland shore,
And marcht with gentle gale in comely ranke,

which Mr. Bullen considers amply to vindicate Marlowe. Nevertheless the general use of 'march' is certainly of land-travel.

P. 356, 186. *quenchles fire*] Cf. 2 *Tamb.* III. v. 27. Mr. Bullen compares *Ed. II*, V. i. 44.

201. *came*] Grosart notes (p. 209) that, as we have at l. 207, 'burst from the earth,' Mr. P. A. Daniel would read 'brave Hector's ghost'.

P. 358, 254. *wind*] Collier's conjecture in *Hist. Eng. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 226; cf. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 495, and *Strange News*, i. 321. 30.

P. 359, 297-9] Cf. *Aen.* vi. 494-534.

304, &c.] As in Vergil the exchange of Cupid for Ascanius has been already made (cf. note on l. 39), there is nothing corresponding to this scene, which is, however, all suggested by *Aen.* i. 657-96.

P. 360, 335. *these*] Perhaps caught from the preceding line; we should rather expect 'the'.

P. 361, 7. *Iarbas*] The wish of Iarbas, king of Mauritania, for the hand of Dido is merely mentioned in passing in *Aen.* iv. 36 (cf. ll. 213-14) and Ovid, *Heroid.* vii. 125. The important rôle which he here plays is the chief divergence from the Vergilian story.

P. 362, 52. *Iarbas . . . backe?*] I follow Mr. Bullen in counting this as one line.

P. 363, 60-1] The love of Anna for Iarbas is not taken from Vergil.

P. 364, 107. *Shelfes*] So spelt at 381. 205, but 'shelues' at 346. 147. 115. *riuel'd*] 'i.e. (I suppose) twisted.'—Dyce.

122. *Pyramides*] The discussions of this word by Mitford and Dyce and by Collier in *Eng. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 228, were based on the misconception that Q reads 'Pyramids', which it does not.

P. 365, 127. *meanly*] I have allowed this reading to stand simply because no one of the emendations proposed seems at all satisfactory. Grosart upholds 'meanly', considering that the word 'is used in a semi-boastful way, as putting it by contrast as though to one so rich and mighty the most lavish gifts were nothing to speak of'. He notes that Dr. B. Nicholson thought it to be "used as often=evenly [with the before-mentioned treasures]; 'shalt be as richly clad as the ship's furniture is precious'".

138. *the pictures of my suiters*] Nothing corresponding in Vergil.

P. 366, 158. *Alcion*] I cannot learn whence the author took this name, unless it is due to a mistaken recollection of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 29-29^v, 'In Homer a Harpar plaieth, and *Alciones*, and *Vlisses geue eare*'. This '*Alciones*' seems to be in turn an error for 'Alcinous'; cf. *Od.* viii. 62, &c.

178. *The heire of furie*] The note in the Boughton copy that Q reads the heir of Fame refers to a copy at that time in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford.

P. 367, 191. *mind*] Whatever be the correct reading here, it seems unreasonable for Juno seriously to declare that she has no mind to hurt her foes. It is, however, quite possible that her words are meant ironically, as I now think to be the case. I therefore withdraw my conjecture.

195] Cf. i *Tamb.* II. iii. 37, 'When she that rules in Rhamnus' golden gates.' Rhamnus, the northernmost town in Attica, was famed for a statue of Nemesis.

P. 368, 217-21] Mr. Bullen compares *Aen.* i. 26-8.

233. *Fancie*] i.e. love.—Bullen.

P. 369, 263. *these walles*] i.e., presumably, the walls of Carthage. The scene passes in the grove where Ascanius lies asleep, which is apparently contiguous to the place where Dido's banquet was

served; see pp. 359–60. Possibly the authors may have meant the grove surrounding Juno's temple (see p. 334 mid.), though this would obviously be a most dangerous place for Venus to leave him.

Scene iii.] As stated on p. 334, I believe the scene is meant to change during the progress of the action, Dido's first speech being uttered as she leaves the palace, and the wood being reached at about l. 305. Cf. *Aen.* iv. 129–59.

P. 370, 280. *All fellowes]* i.e. all equals—I have laid aside my state; the phrase is common. Cf. Dekker's *Lanthorn and Candle-light*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 251, where, in a description of the doings of horse-thieves, we are told how some are dressed as gentlemen, while ‘the other act their partes in blew coates, as they were their Seruymen, though indeede they be all fellowes’, and p. 254, when after the theft is completed, ‘the Seruymen cast off their blew coates, and cried *All fellowes!*’ See also Dekker's *Hon. Wh.* Pt. i, V. ii, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 77 foot, and *Death of Rob. E. of Hunt*, I. i, Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 221.

299. *out of ioynt]* I take this to mean ‘cantankerous’, but the sense is unrecognized in *N.E.D.*

301. *man of men]* This appears here to mean simply ‘any human being’, though *N.E.D.* gives it under *man* 6b ‘a man of supreme excellence’, as in *Ant. & Cleo.* I. v. 72. The expression occurs earlier; cf. iii. 317. 26, and R. Harvey's *Philadelphus*, 1593 (apparently completed by the preceding summer, if not before). Harvey is speaking of the ideal nobleman or captain, ‘Then seeing Histories breed onely desires and wishes and expectations in the hearts of students & nothing but affections, seeing they neuer create any habit or perfection in them: I omit the verball and talkative vses of histories, which other men stand vpon, and conceiue in my mind this *Idaea* of one that would be a man of men, as God is named the Lord of Lords’ (*O 2*, p. 103).

336. *the soyle]* i.e. marsh or water to which an animal flees when pursued.

P. 371, 339. *far fet]* In Q there is a slight mark after the *r*, but the space is not enough for a hyphen. Boughton's marginal note ‘forfeit’ is not accompanied by any remark, and it is therefore doubtful whether he intended it as an emendation, or whether it is, as many similar notes, a correction from his transcript of the quarto. On the whole the reading ‘forfeit to’ perhaps gives the best sense of any; for the expression cf. ii. 201. 9. The opposition seems to be not between one coming from a distant country and Dido's neighbour, but between a castaway and a king.

P. 372, 359] i.e. all the gain is to thy rival. Iarbas is addressing himself;—or is ‘thy’ a slip for ‘my’?

Scene iv] Expanded from *Aen.* iv. 160–72.

P. 373, 385–6] These lines are far from satisfactory, and something has probably gone wrong—the rimes (conceale: reueale) are suspicious—but a kind of sense can be obtained by taking all from ‘but sickle’ to the end of line 388 as an aside.

397. *effect]* Probably rather a confusion with ‘affect’ than a misprint for the latter word. See instances in *N.E.D.* under Effect v. 4, and *Tell-Troth's New-Year's Gift*, ed. Furnivall for

N. S. S., 26 mid, 'such as, onely led with extreames, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childishly.'

398. *for*] It is not clear what Collier would read. Perhaps 'foreign fame'.

P. 374, 407. *descend*] Mr. Bullen's emendation is very plausible, and I have little doubt of its correctness; the error might easily arise from the preceding 'did'. Yet it seems possible that the writer, regarding Venus as daughter of the Sea, used 'descend' in the genealogical sense. It will be noticed that Aeneas joins in his invocation 'the purple Sea' with the name of Capys, his father's father.

P. 375, 19. *Tiphæus*] The giant imprisoned by Jupiter under Aetna (Ovid, *Metam.* v. 346, &c.).

22. *edged sting*] i. e., perhaps, sharp-pointed; cf. i. 88. 25.

P. 376, *Scene ii*] Suggested by *Aen.* iv. 198-218.

45. *Eliza*] i.e. Elissa. The two names were regarded as equivalent, and G. Harvey and many others refer to the Queen as Elissa. See Harvey's *Grat. Vald.*—'De Osculo':

Siste, Harueie, inquit, iam iamque videbis Elissam,
Teque tuosque elegos iam iamque videbit Elissa.

53. *is straight way fled*] This must surely be a random insertion to fill up some gap or other. Iarbas is praying that Aeneas should leave the country; cf. l. 56.

P. 378, 94-105] This dream seems to be the invention of the authours. In the *Aeneid* Hermes is only sent once (cf. p. 387. 24). The scene is, in fact, to some extent a reduplication of V. i. 1-50. It is, I think, from here onwards, or perhaps from the beginning of Act. IV, that, if anywhere, we can detect a rehandling of the original scheme.

94] No comma in Q. It would perhaps have been better to place it after 'Hermes'.

P. 379, 146. *female drudgerie*] i.e. servitude to a woman. Or did the author perchance write 'druerie'?

P. 380, 156. *souldiers*] The word was not confined to the land forces; cf. the common 'fresh water soldiers' where we now say 'sailors'.

P. 381, 197. *wherein thou fleest*] Mr. Bullen refers to II. v, where (ll. 344-5) Apollo shrouds Aeneas in a cloud that he may escape from Diomed. Dr. Knutowski compares Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 803-6.

211. *now, to*] It should perhaps have been noted that Q has no comma. A slightly different sense might be obtained by omitting it.

P. 382, 232. *thee, sister; leade*] So all editors. Q has 'Do as I bid thee, sister leade the way'; but cf. l. 212.

P. 383, 274. *Packt*] i.e. plotted, conspired.

P. 385, 332. *twigger*] i.e. wanton. See *Cent. Dict.*

P. 388, 1-39] Cf. *Aen.* iv. 259-76, but Hermes does not there bring Ascanius.

P. 387, 22. *calde*] Dyce and Mr. Bullen print 'called'; 'Anchisæon' is probably to be read 'Anchísæon'.

38-9] Perhaps corrupt. The Latin (*Aen.* iv. 274-6) has:

Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli

Respic, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus

Debentur.

P. 388, 61. *sterne*] i. e. rudder.

62-77] The provision by Iarbas of rigging, &c., for the voyage is, of course, an invention of the dramatists necessitated by their addition in IV. iv, where Dido destroys the tackling.

P. 389, 89. *Rhode*] So spelt in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, ed. Wagner, ll. 84, 120.

106. *quit*] i. e. requisite, Bullen.

P. 390, 110-11] I feel almost certain that this line should form part of Dido's speech, and that we should read, with modern punctuation:

Dido. ‘Let me goe!’ ‘Farewell!’ ‘I must from hence!’

These words are poysen to poore *Didos* soule . . .

All these expressions are quoted from Aeneas's speeches just above; see ll. 109, 104, 93. Cf. the similar repetition in l. 105. Q has commas after 'goe' and 'farewell'.

125. *ugly blacke*] Cf. Heywood, *Woman Killed with Kindness*, V. iii. 113 (ed. Ward, who prints 'ugly, black').

114. *chaind*] Mr. Bullen compares 1 *Tamb.*, V. i. 21.

136-40] *Aen.* iv. 317-19 and 360-1.

P. 391, 141-5] Cf. *Aen.* iv. 320-3.

156-9] Closely following *Aen.* iv. 365-7. What follows, to l. 173, is based on ll. 368-84.

P. 392, 200-8] *Aen.* iv. 420-36.

P. 393, 212-71] Not represented in Vergil.

221. *too keened*] Mr. Bullen remarks that if 'kenned' is correct, we must suppose the meaning to be 'too clearly perceived'.

P. 394, 234. *heart's*] I adopt this emendation, as it gives some sort of sense, but it seems far more probable that a line—signifying that Aeneas turned his back upon Anna, or went below—has dropped out after l. 235, the subject of the verb being 'he' in l. 234. The word 'whit' is followed by a colon in Q, but the punctuation of this text counts for little.

247. *like Tritons neece*] I can only suppose that Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, king of Megara, is meant; see Ovid. *Metam.* viii. 143-4. She had nothing to do with Triton, but the other Scylla, the sea-monster, who is often confused with her, is represented as either his daughter or sister. See Prof. Collins's note on the meaning of 'niece' in Greene's *Dr. Wks.*, i. 283.

P. 395, 272-8] Cf. *Aen.* iv. 478-98. The witch was 'Hesperidum templi custos'.

P. 396, 300-1. *papers all, Shall*] So Q. All editors except Grosart read 'papers, all Shall . . .'

304-11] *Aen.* iv. 621-9. As Dyce remarks, the approved reading is 'pugnent ipsique nepotesque'.

313] *Aen.* iv. 660.

318-29] The deaths of Iarbas and Anna are not recorded by Vergil.

VOLUME III

HAVE WITH YOV TO SAFFRON-WALDEN

1. *Date of Composition and Publication.*

There seems to be no precise evidence as to the date of this work, the composition of which perhaps extended over a considerable period. The reference, at 52. 23-4, to Raleigh's voyage to Guiana seems to date that part after February, 1595, and before the end of that year, while one to the 'late deceased' Countess of Derby, at 77. 20 (see note), shows that the sheet in which it occurs had been at least not printed off by the end of September, 1596. The work seems to have circulated in MS. for some three months among the author's friends before publication (32. 3-5), and it is, I think, not improbable that all the early part, as far as 33. 30, was added just before it was sent to press. At 133. 1-3 there is a reference to its publication in Candlemas Term.

The only serious reason alleged for the delay in replying to Harvey seems to be that Nashe expected the aid of others (32. 5-19), among them being Llyly (137. 32-138. 6).

2. *General Character of the Work.*

The book is intended as a reply both to *Pierce's Supererogation* and to the *New Letter of Notable Contents*, which had appeared within a short time of each other in the autumn of 1593. It does not, however, answer these works of Harvey in as detailed a manner as *Strange News* did his *Four Letters*, but is rather of the nature of a general attack upon his person and behaviour.

It opens with a humorous dedication, on much the same lines as that of *Strange News*, to Richard Lichfield, barber to Trinity College, Cambridge (5-17). This is followed by an epistle to the readers, in which Nashe briefly comments upon his quarrel with Harvey, and explains the plan of his reply—which is to be in dialogue form.

The work itself consists of a mass of discursive criticisms of Harvey's person and writings, in which are inserted (a) an oration made up of scraps taken from his books, intended to exemplify and ridicule his style, with, of course, a running commentary by Nashe (43-53), and (b) a 'Life' of Harvey (55-102), including a pretended Letter from his tutor at Cambridge to his father (65-9). The rest of the book (102-39) is supposed to be a summary of *Pierce's Supererogation*, with comments. It is, however, very disorderly and defies analysis.

3. *Sources.*

There is little or nothing to say under this head, save that according to Nashe the idea of the dialogue-form of the work is taken from Bullen's *Dialogue of the Fever Pestilence* (20. 32-3). The notes will show that Nashe had evidently been reading Bodin's *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*, Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, and John Bale's *Acts of English Votaries*.

4. *After History.*

The work was replied to, presumably by Gabriel Harvey, in *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe, Gentleman, by the high-tituled patron Don Richardo de Medico campo, Barber Chirurgion to Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, 1597.*

For explanation of the references to Harvey's works see note on pp. 153-4 of this volume.

P. 8, 10. *Omne tulit punctum*] Greene's motto; cf. note on i. 10. 3-35.

II. *Pacis fiducia nunquam*] Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 2. 71.

P. 5, 1. *Orthodoxall*] Perhaps borrowed from Harvey, *P.S.* L 3^v, G. H. ii. 145. 15.

6 footnote] The first two of these reference marks are also used in Vaughan's *Golden Grove*, 1608, printed by S. Stafford, the one like γ being generally inverted. They seem to be far from common.

13. *Dic mihi, Musa, virum*] Hor. *A. P.* 141.

15. *the male and female of red herrings*] This seems to have been some current joke; cf. Fletcher and Massinger's *Elder Brother*, II. iii. 12-13.

16. *Dic obsecro*] I do not know what, if any, is the point of the phrase here. It occurs in Plautus, *Merc.* iii. 4. 20, and, of course, frequently.

18. *old Dick of the Castle*] Cf. the expression 'my old lad of the castle' in *I Hen. IV*, I. ii. 48, which is looked on as a reference to the name of Oldcastle; also, Harvey, *Wks.* ii. 44, *P.S.* B 2^v, 'a lusty ladd of the Castell'. The expression has not been satisfactorily explained.

19. *bird-spit*] Often used contemptuously for a small dagger, as possibly here; cf. *Two Angry Women of Abington*, III. ii, ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.* viii. 355.

20. *in the pike of his buckler*] The 'pike' was the point in the centre of a buckler; 'in' seems to be used for 'as' or 'for'. But the sentence, as much of the passage, is far from lucid.

Swash] i.e. swaggerer; cf. 133. 6. In T. Wright's *Songs and Ballads*, Rox. Club, 1860, p. 209, is the line 'Dick Swashe keepes Salesbury plane, syr,' from which we may perhaps gather that highwaymen were thus known.

20-1. *Desperate Dick*] Equivalent to desperado, swaggering ruffian; cf. Harvey's *4 Let. A* 3^v, *Wks.* i. 161, where Greene is called 'a rauing and desperate Dick'; also, *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, I. iv. 21, 'That desperat dick must I nedes haue; I am to fight a match'. Professor Bang refers me also to Collier, *Reg. Stat. Comp.*, p. 195, and Simpson, *Sch. of Sh.* ii. 291, last line.

21. *Cutter*] i. e. bravo, bully; cf. i. 368. 5; here, of course, used jestingly. 'Cutting Dick' in Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsden*, II. i, towards end, is much the same as 'Desperate Dick'; in his *Fair Maid of the West*, III. i. 6, he seems to allude to a particular bravo known by this name.

24-5. *Dick of the Cow*] See Child's *Engl. and Scot. Popular Ballads*, iii. 461-8, for a ballad of Dick of the Cow. No printed

version of the story at this date is known. Dick of the Cow having been robbed of some cattle by two of the Armstrongs, manages to steal a couple of their horses, and being pursued by Johnie Armstrong on the 'Laird's Jock's' horse, fights with him on Canobie Lea and fells him with the pommel of his sword. Nashe had perhaps heard the ballad sung and had retained an imperfect recollection of it. In no version of the story does Dick fight with the 'Laird's Jock', who of all the Armstrongs is the least unsympathetic towards him.

25. *Demilance*] i.e. a light spear, or a horseman armed with one; cf. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, ii. 630, 'He that might dispend ten pounds, should furnish himselfe, or find a demilance or light horsseman (if I shall so terme him) being then called a hobler with a lance.'

28. *was Heigh, fill the pot, hostesse*] i.e., I suppose, stood one a drink; or, possibly, presided at a drinking bout.

P. 6, 2. *Dicke of Lichfield*] The 'Barber Chirurgion to Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge', under whose name (as 'Richard de Medico campo') G. Harvey's *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, a reply to the present work, was issued. Richard Lichfield's will was proved in 1630; see *Cal. to Cambridge Wills, 1501-1765*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 51.

6. *dicker*] i.e. ten, but frequently used for a large indefinite number.

15. *to triе if that will helpe him*] On the principle that shaving produces a beard; cf. Lodge, *Wits' Misery*, E 4^v, l. 8, S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, B 1^v.

18. *Crowner*] Joking, of course, on 'coroner', of which this was a usual form.

23. *french crownes*] i.e. jestingly for crowns rendered bare by the *Morbus gallicus*; cf. *Mids. Nt. Dr.* I. ii. 99.

24. *pild Friers crownes*] Cf. i *Hen. VI*, I. iii. 30, 'Peel'd priest,' alluding primarily to the tonsure; also *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. v. 32, where a priest is addressed as 'pild Jacke'.

25. *Scottish horne crownes*] I cannot explain the allusion.

33. *the terrible cut*] Cf. Stubbess, *Anat. of Abuses, Part ii*, ed. N.S.S. 50 'they [i.e. barbers] will aske you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or amiable to your freend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleasant & demure (for they haue diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes, or else they lie).' Also Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 247. 15-17, 'whether he will haue his peak cut . . . to be terrible like a warrior and a Soldado', and Rowlands, *Greene's Ghost*, 1602, B 1, l. 12. Cf. iii. 252. 615.

36. *take him a button lower*] Cf. i. 204. 14-15 and note.

knacke] Allusions to barbers snapping their fingers are very numerous; cf. Stubbess's *Anat.*, *Part ii*, u.s. 50 foot, Lylly's *Midas*, III. ii. 34-5, and Mr. Bond's note. It appears from Stubbess, u.s., and Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 246. 21-2 and 247. 26, that they also snapped the scissors as at present.

P. 7, 7. *olde dogge at*] i.e. skilled or practised at; cf. iii. 191. 20.

9. *Beechfeeld*] i.e. Bitchfield, 15 m. N. of Stamford in Lincolnshire.

12. *old King Harrie sinceritie*] I have not met with the phrase elsewhere.

18-19. *by Poll and Aedipoll*] The not unusual collocation of these two interjections is probably a reminiscence of Lily's *Grammar*, where

in the section 'Of the Aduerbe' it is stated that 'Some be of Swearing: as Pol, ædepol, hercle, medius fidius' (*Short Introduction of Grammar*, 1577, C iv). The words seem sometimes to mean nonsensical talk; cf. 'Dekker, *Shoemaker's Holiday*, l. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 14, 'Away with your pisherie pasherie, your pols and your edipolls'.

16. *Siguisses*] The meaning is sufficiently explained by Nashe's own note, but it may be remarked that a 'Si quis' was properly an announcement that a candidate for Holy Orders was about to offer himself for ordination and that persons who knew of any impediment should declare it (*Cent. Dict.*). The term seems, however, to have been applied to almost any public notice. See note on i. 194. 27.

20. *marg. contraction*] Should not this be 'subtraction'?

25. *a profound Abridgement upon beards*] See l. 33.

28. *like a rubbing brush*] So Harrison (*Descr. of Eng.*, ii. 7, ed. N.S.S. i. 169), speaking of beards, says 'some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a *pique de vant*'.

33. *Defence of short haire*] Nothing seems to be known about this book, which may or may not have been by Richard Harvey. It was not, however, a creation of Nashe's fancy, for it was entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wolf on Feb. 3, 1592-3, as 'A defence of shorte haire, &c.' The *Calvitii Encomium* of Synesius had been translated in 1579 by Abraham Fleming, as *A Paradoxe, proving by reason and example, that Baldnesse is much better than bushie haire.* Valeriano Bolzano, called Pierius, wrote a satirical work, *Pro Sacerdotum Barbis Defensio*.

P. 8, 2. *Prolixior est breuitate sua*] The source, if any, of the phrase is unknown to me.

3. *Burne Bees and haue Bees*] This looks like a proverbial phrase, but I have not met with it elsewhere. It alludes, I suppose, to the smoking out of bees in order to obtain the honey. Tusser in his *Hundreth Points of Husbandry*, June, has the somewhat odd couplet:

'Saint Mihel byd bees, to be brent out of strife:
sajnt John bid take honey, with fauour of life.'

8. *a great Man of this Land*] As no copy of the work seems to exist it is not known who this was.

15. *hair-braind*] This (incorrect) form of the word seems to have been the commoner at the date.

18. *hair lines*] i. e., presumably, lines or ropes made of hair, but *N.E.D.* has no example before 1731. At that time they seem to have been used for drying linen on.

25. *With teares be it spoken, too few such . . .*] For the form of the expression cf. ii. 212. 5-6.

29. *de lana caprina*] See Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 15, and Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 3. 53.

cast] i. e. rejected, worn-out.

30. *Catts smelling haires*] The superstition that cutting off a cat's whiskers deprives it of the sense of smell is still, I believe, common.

31. *short cut and long taile*] Cf. ii. 186. 2.

32. *dandiprat*] i. e. three-halfpence, but commonly used for a trifling sum or quantity. I do not know why 'fortieth', unless because it was this fraction of a *crown*.

35. *by-founder*] i. e. subsidiary benefactor.

37. *browne Bakers dozen*] Cf. Massinger, *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, III. ii: 'Greedy: There are a dozen of woodcocks— Overreach: Make thyself Thirteen, the baker's dozen.' A 'brown baker' was a baker of brown bread; see *N.E.D.*, but whether his dozen differed from that of other bakers I cannot say.

of Almanackes] John Harvey had published at least two almanacks; cf. 81. 32-3 and Appendix A; and Nashe accused Gabriel of the authorship of these issued by 'Gabriel Friend'; see 70-1.

P. 9, 3-4. *thorough hayre*] Cf. ii. 185. 21.

marg.] I have been unable to find any other reference to this notion.

18. *Palermo rasour*] Probably regarded as the best; cf. *King Leir* (in *Six Old Plays*, p. 411), 'more sharpe then a razer of *Palerno* [sic].'

31. *thy painted May-pole*] For the history of the pole as a barber's sign see the article by Mr. MacMichael referred to in note on i. 72. 9.

37-10, i. *Tilbury Campe*] The famous muster of the London trained bands at the time of the Armada; see, *inter alia*, R. Robinson's *Archippus*, MS. Royal, 18. A. lxvi, in the British Museum, where is to be found the number of soldiers recruited from each district, together with the names of the captains.

P. 10, 3-4. *struggled through the foamie deepe, and skirmisht on the downes*] This must almost certainly be a quotation, but I have not traced it.

5. *with a hey downe and a derry*] A meaningless refrain. There was a tune called 'Hey downe derry'; see note on 32. 21-2.

10-11. *those loue-letters in rime*] The only rimed love-letters known to me are those appended to W. Fulwood's *Enemy of Idleness*, 1568. Julia's words to her maid in *Two Gent. of Ver.* I. ii. 79 seem to suggest that they were then considered vulgar; sonnets and the like were doubtless on a different footing.

12. *Pace*] See note on i. 153. 17.

13. *Proctor of Saffron-walden*] A proctor was a species of attorney in a court of civil or ecclesiastical law. The allusion is doubtless to Harvey's legal studies, with probably at the same time some reference to the use of 'proctor' for a beggar. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Com., Apx. to 7th Rep.* 621a (? 1568), 'That no person . . . gyve lodginge . . . to any Tynker, mynstrell, proctor, or wandring roge . . .' Possibly Nashe also remembered that Harvey had, in 1583, been Junior Proctor at Cambridge.

17. *out of all scotch & notch*] Cf. Lyly's *Mother Bomby*, II. iii.

78. Mr. Bond cites *Hay any Work for Cooper*, ed. Petheram, p. 8. The meaning of the expression is clear, but its origin is, I believe, uncertain.

19. *dated letters from his gallerie in Trinitie Hall*] See 2 *Let.* I 2, G. H. i. 27; cf. note on i. 290. 25.

23. *rob Peter to pay Powle*] Joking, of course, on 'powling'. The saying, in its ordinary form, is fairly common; see *N.E.D.* s.v. Peter 2. The earliest instance given is from Barclay's *Eclogues*, i, 1515. The present instance and one in T. Adams's sermon, *The White Devil*, 1613, F 2^v, l. 4, together fill a somewhat long gap in the examples given.

25. *four nobles Curate*] Was ‘four nobles’ a typically minute income? In Deloney’s *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 86, it is the yearly wage of a water-carrier.

26. *Confessour of Tyburne or Superintendent of Pancredge*] I can learn nothing of these two offices, but doubtless the attendance on ordinary criminals at their execution was neither a well paid nor an honourable task, while Pancras was notoriously a disreputable locality. Norden in his *Speculum Britanniae*, 1593, p. 38, says that ‘Pancras Church standeth all alone as vtterly forsaken, old and wetherbeaten’.

P. 11, 8. *Lenuoy*] The form is common; see *N.E.D.* s.v. L’envoy.

9. *without hum drum*] i.e. without hesitations, hemming and hawing; for ‘drum’ cf. ii. 219. 6, ‘without drumbling or pawsing’.

11-12. *not only but also*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 140, says that this ridicules Harvey’s continual use of ‘not only, but also’, but does he use the phrase continually, or more than another? The passage in *Locrine* I. ii (Hazlitt, *Doubtf. Plays of Sh.* 65), ‘so not only, but also, (oh fine phrase!) *I burn, I burn*’, &c., suggests that it is merely a typical affected expression.

12. *blunderkins*] i.e. muddleates, *N.E.D.*, where this example alone is given.

16. *Sarpego*] i.e. serpigo, herpes, a kind of skin disease; cf. *Meas. for Meas.* III. i. 31, ‘Sapego.’

P. 12, 5. *gub-shites*] Not in *N.E.D.*

16. *Dawes crosse*] An imaginary rendezvous of fools. See Hazlitt’s *Proverbs*, where he refers to the *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, and to *Tyro’s Roaring Megge*, 1598, A 4. In the extraordinary tale or parable told by Daphne in the *Third part of the Countess of Pembroke’s Ivychurch*, 1592, fol. 55, l. 9, certain scholars of Cambridge who wish to discover the way to heaven meet at Daw’s Cross; it is again referred to on fol. 56.

18. *Arcandums*] I can only suppose that Nashe was thinking of the fictitious astrologer Arcandam, under whose name a work, translated from French, had appeared in 1578 (see Lowndes). There were numerous editions.

Acarnanians] If Nashe is referring to the classical people of the name I cannot say whence he derived his idea of their foolishness.

Dizards] i.e. fools; cf. *Misogonus*, II. iv. 156, ‘dreminge dissarde’.

P. 13, 2. *Pachecoes*] The name ‘Pacheco’ was borne by several Spaniards of distinction, the most notable being Don Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena († 1474), a favourite of Henry IV, King of Castille, but Nashe was, I think, using it simply on account of its similarity in sound to ‘patch’, a fool. It is possible that he met with it in *Hakluyt*, ed. 1903-5, vi. 260.

Poldauisses] ‘Poldavy’ was a kind of coarse canvas, here used apparently for the wearer, clown, rustic.

Dringles] Apparently equivalent to ‘fools’; cf. iii. 151. 13, ‘John Dringle’.

6. *vnico*] In imitation of ‘l’Unico Aretino’; see note on ii. 265. 28.

10. *Saracen Butcher*] Cf. i. 201. 19, note.

15. *qui quxe codshead*] Used, apparently, for a beginner in Latin—one of the usual jokes on the grammar.

15-16. *the Latine Tragedie of K. Richard*] i.e. Legge’s tragedy

of *Richardus Tertius*, performed at St. John's College, Cambridge, in ? 1583 (cf. Prof. Moore Smith in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* iii. 141), reprinted with *The True Tragedy* by Barron Field, for Shak. Soc. in 1844; see p. 87, col. I 'Urbs, urbs, Cives, ad arma, ad arma'.

24-5. *qui mihi Discipulasses*] From the first words of a composition entitled 'Guilielmi Lili ad suos discipulos monita paedagogica, seu Carmen de Moribus' in Lily's *Short Introduction of Grammar*, 1577, D 4. The lines, which are frequently referred to, begin :

Qui mihi discipulus puer es, cupis atque doceri,
Huc ades, hæc animo concipe dicta tuo.

28. *perpolite*] i. e. highly polished. Earliest example in *N.E.D.*

30. *Spruce*] He is unknown to me.

32. *Lipsian*] The sense seems to be merely 'learned' or 'scholarly'—from the great reputation of Lipsius. Nashe calls R. Harvey 'Lipsian Dick' at 85. 24, but for the sake of a jest.

35. *be not a horse*] Cf. Psalm 32. 9.

P. 14, 2-5. *those prospectiue glasses . . .*] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 26, trans. 1569, fol. 37, 'and an other [glass], that dothe not represente the image receaued within him, but casteth it farre of in the ayre, and there dothe make it appeare like an ayrie image'. Also in Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 316, where most of Agrippa's chapter 'De Specularia' is borrowed.

8. *Doctor Dodipowle*] Examples of 'Doctor Doddypoll' are found from 1581; see *N.E.D.* For 'dodipoule' alone see i. 256. 36.

9-10. *Doctor Nott and Doctor Powle*] I cannot learn anything of the persons referred to. Gabriel Powell, afterwards chaplain to the Bishop of London, may possibly be meant, but he was not a doctor.

12. *Neoterick*] Earliest example in *N.E.D.*

13. *old Tooley*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 140, suggests that Nich. Tooley the actor is meant (not so Collier; see *Mem. of Princ. Actors*, 1846, 233, &c., 235 footnote), but it seems more likely that some well-known character at Cambridge is referred to. Harvey, in 3 *Let.*, D 2, G. H. i. 69, complains that Cambridge men now make no difference 'betwene the learned and vnlearned, *Tully*, and *Tom Tooley*'. He is also mentioned by Stanyhurst, trans. of *Aen.* i-iv, ed. Arber, p. 9.

13-14. *Stephen Gardineer and Sir John Cheke*] The well-known controversy as to the new pronunciation of Greek first suggested by Erasmus and introduced at Cambridge 1538-40 by Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, is fully discussed in Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 54-63. Cheke's controversy with Gardiner, then Chancellor of the University, was printed at Basle in 1555 as *Iohannis Cheki Angli de Pronuntiatione Graecae potissimum Linguae Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, septem contrariis Epistolis comprehensae*. Generally speaking, the pronunciation in vogue had been that of modern Greece, which did not differentiate between *η*, *ι*, *υ*, *ει*, *αι* and *υι*. Smith's reform was the introduction of a pronunciation in some respects similar to that now used in this country. Cf. W. G. Clark in *Journal of Philology*, i (2). 98-108.

20. *dowsets*] i.e. pastry or custards, sweets in general.

24. *Bosomes Inne*] Bosom's or Blossom's Inn—for it seems to have been equally well known by both names, was in Saint Lawrence

Lane, near Cheapside. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 51. In John Taylor's time it was here that the carriers from Chester and Shrewsbury put up (*Carriers' Cosmography*).

28. *a charme against the tooth-ache*] The curious may find such charms in Chettle's *Kind-heart's Dream*, in *Sh. Allusion-books*, N.S.S., p. 58, ll. 28, &c., and in Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 244.

31. *Textors Epithites*] The great collection, in the form of a dictionary or gradus, of the suitable epithets to use with words, examples being given. The first edition seems to have appeared in 1518.

35. *Pythagoreanly*] The point of the adverb is not very clear. Perhaps Nashe only meant 'strictly', in reference to the strict rules laid down by Pythagoras for the education of youth.

36. *Williamson*] Harvey refers to Williamson in an undated letter [? c. 1579] on the subject of his being called upon to deliver a Philosophy Lecture, *Letter-book*, p. 71, 'But would to God in heaven I had awhile for there sake the profounde lerninge of M. Buffington... the rowlinge tongue ether of M. Williamson, ouer fine Cambridge barber, or of Mistrisse Trusteme-trulye, mye Welche ostisse'.

P. 15, 2. *descanting on the Crates*] Of the last word *N.E.D.* says 'App. a name for a beard of some particular cut, or for some part of it : see Fairholt's *Costume in England*, Gloss. s.v. *Beard*.' The sole example given is from Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 247. 18.

6. *xenigmatically linguist*] I have been unable to find the phrase in Harvey. Possibly the asterisk should be at 'terme probatorie'.

6-7. *terme probatorie*] P. S. F 2, E e 1^v, G. H. ii. 85. 16 and 325. 14.

9. *villanie by connivence*] P. S. H 2^v, G. H. ii. 109. 4.

13-14. *causd all the bels in the Parish . . . to be rong forth*] This may possibly be a reminiscence of a story told of Boiardo, who caused his invention of the name 'Rodomonte' to be celebrated in a similar manner ; see Villari's *Machiavelli*, undated Eng. trans. i. 162 ; but I have not seen it anywhere whence Nashe might have borrowed.

19. *like a clowne of Cherry-hinton*] I cannot learn that the people of Cherry Hinton had any special repute for clownishness. According to the *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, G 1^v, G. H. iii. 64, they were greatly offended at the suggestion.

25. *I must require your conniunce*] There is a passage in *Satiromastix* which looks like a reminiscence of this, though it is Jonson, not Harvey, whose language is derided (Dekker, ed. Pearson, i. 212) : 'I was but at Barbers last day, and when he was rencing my face, did but crie out, fellow thou makst me *Conniue* too long, & sayes he sayes hyee, Master *Asinius Bubo*, you haue eene Horaces wordes as right as if he bad spit them into your mouth'.

27. *sinckanter*] i.e. cinquanter, a man of fifty, an old stager ; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, III. i. 24, 'But tell me, olde sincanter, what quick cattell hast thou heare?' Cf. *Trimming*, E 1, G.H. iii. 41. Quotations in *N.E.D.* from 1611 onwards.

27-8] In 2 *Return from Parnassus*, I. iv. 66-9 (ed. Macray, ll. 436-8), there is a passage which may possibly be a reminiscence of this : 'any of the hidebound bretheren of Cambridge and Oxford, or any of those Stigmatick maisters of arte, that abused vs in times past'.

Cf. also *Pilgrimage to Parn.*, ll. 216-17, 'an ould drousie Academicke, an ould Stigmaticke, an ould sober Dromeder'. The meaning of 'stigmatical' is not very clear; there is, perhaps, some Cambridge joke. In the *Trimming*, E 1, G. H. iii. 41, Nashe's use of the word is objected to on the ground that it means 'burnt with an hot Iron', i. e. branded as a thief, as of course it properly does.

28-9. *Charles the ninths massacre*] i. e. the St. Bartholomew massacre, August 24, 1572.

34. *non-proficiencie*] *P. S.* 2^v 2^v, *G. H.* ii. 13. 3-4.

35. *Paracelsian*] Apparently used for inflated, high-sounding. Can it be a joke on his name 'Bombastes'.

rope-reihorigue] See note on 65. 26-7.

35-16, 1. *What a pestilence*] The frequent use of 'with a pestilence' as a mere expletive (cf. note on ii. 319. 11), suggests that the correct punctuation of this may be 'What ! a pestilence !'

P. 16, 2. *Rayse . . . on the trees*] Possibly some technical term of shoemaking. I cannot explain it.

6-7. *Omniscious and omnisufficient Master Doctor*] Cf. *P. S.* D 4, *G. H.* ii. 70, 'Agrippa . . . such a one, as some learned men of Germany, France, & Italie, intituled The Omniscious Doctour', and *P. S.* B 3^v, *G. H.* ii. 46, 'Agrippa was reputed . . . a demi-god in omnisufficiency of knowledge'.

8-9. *cosmologized and smirk*] Neither 'cosmologize' nor, in the sense here given to it, 'smirk' seems to have been used by Harvey.

10-11. *the Bishop of Lincolne*] He was, and is, ex officio Visitor of St. John's. The bishop more particularly referred to must be either Thomas Cooper, 1571-84, or William Wickham, 1584-95.

12-13. *while there was euer a Bishop there*] See note on i. 97. 18-19.

21. *Tragotanto*] In default of a better explanation I suggest that the word is due to imperfect recollection of a story in Huarte's *Examen de Ingenios* (*Exam. of Men's Wits*, 1594, I 3^v-4) of a Spanish gentleman who was much bothered to find a suitable name for a furious giant in a romance which he was writing, until one day while playing cards he heard one of his companions say 'tra qui tantos', bring hither tokens or counters. The phrase struck him as having such 'ful sound in the eare' that he called his giant 'Traquitantos'.

23-4. *although thou beest fortie mile off from mee*] Nashe was probably at London. Though it is really, in a direct line, 47 miles from Cambridge, Harrison gives the distance by Ware and Barkway as 44 miles, or by Saffron Walden, which he calls a better way, as 46 miles, *Descr. of Eng.* iii. 16. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 417.

31. *hast mist mee nine score*] i. e., evidently, missed me completely; but I can give no other instance of the phrase.

35-6. *a spirit in the way of honestie too*] The meaning of the phrase is not clear. For 'in the way of honesty' cf. *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 75.

P. 17, 4. *an enthusiasticall spirit & a nimble entelechy*] *P. S.* H 1^v, *G. H.* ii. 107. 2, and *P. S.* H 1, *G. H.* ii. 105. 26.

6. *Guiny phrases*] I cannot explain the meaning of this.

8. *Dii boni, boni quid porto*] Terence, *Andria*, ii. 2. 1.

11. *Tindalls Prologue*] The Prologue, with some additions, was separately reprinted in London by Thomas Godfrey before 1532 under

the title '*A Pathway into the Holy Scriptures*', D.N.B., lvii. 429^a. It is not particularly long—22 pages in the Parker Soc. edition.

15-16. *Trinitie Colledge rubber*] The meaning is unknown to me.

23. *to sit on his skirts*] i. e. annoy, injure. The use varies slightly; cf. Puttenham, *Art of Eng. Poesy*, ed. Haslewood, 252-3, 'to speake faire to a mans face, and foule behinde his backe, to set him at his trencher and yet sit on his skirts for so we vse to say by a fayned friend', and Bernard's Terence, *Andria*, iii. 5, formulae loquendi, 'Te vlciscar, I will be reuenged on thee: I will sit on thy skirts: I will be vpon your iacke for it'. The phrase is common; cf. *Every Man In his Humour* (1601), l. 1406; Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 360, i. 225 mid.

24. *Nos-da diu catawhi*] For the Welsh 'Nos da, Duw cadw chwi', i. e. Good-night, God preserve you. See Dyce's note on 'Du cat a whee' in Fletcher and Massinger's *Custom of the Country*, I. ii. 81.

P. 18, 6. *two or three yeare*] Pierce's *Supererogation* was published about the end of August, 1593.

12. *Liff-lander Bogarian*] These terms are apparently taken, without any particular meaning, from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, which Nashe had evidently been reading previous to the composition of the present work, and from which I shall have occasion to note several borrowings. The 'Lieflanders', or Livonians, are frequently mentioned by Hakluyt (ed. 1903-5, ii. 407, 421, &c.), and once at least the country is called Lifland (iii. 93). The 'Bogharians' were the inhabitants of Boghar (Bokhara), Hakluyt, u. s. ii. 470.

16. *the hanging of Lopus*] Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, was chief physician to Queen Elizabeth from 1586 to 1594, when he was executed at Tyburn for complicity in a plot to murder her.

P. 19, 7-8. *about Mahomet and Mortus Alii*] Perhaps mistakenly from Hakluyt, u. s. iii. 159. 'Of the religion of the Persians. Their religion is all one with the Turkes, sauing that they differ who was the right successor of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Vsman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Ali.'

9. *with Vipers teeth*] Hakluyt, u. s. x. 52, of the arrows used by the natives of Florida, 'the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, &c.'

24-32] These two paragraphs are of course grammatically one, but it seemed better to leave the text as it stands.

27. *against M. Lilly*] Nashe refers particularly to the 'Aduertisement for Papp-hatchett' inserted in the middle of Pierce's *Supererogation*, 14-S3^v, G. H. ii. 124-221.

33-4. *Zephiris & hirundine prima*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 7. 13.

35. *Frier Tecelius*] i. e. John Tetzel (c. 1470-1519), a Dominican, who was charged by Leo X with the publication of his indulgences in Germany. See Philippson (Sleidanus), *Famous Chron.*, 1560, fol. 1^v; also, for what follows, fol. 177, where it is stated that in 1517 'John Tecell, a Dominicke Frere, caried about pardons to sell in Germany. . . He (I say) amonges other thinges taught, howe he had so great authoritie of y^e bishop of Rome, y^t although a mā had deflowered y^e virgin Mary, & had gottē hir w^t child, he had power to forgeue hī for money. Moreouer he did not onely forgeue synnes past, but also what so euer a man listed to commit hereafter'.

P. 20, 5. *Furicanoes*] See Eden, *History of Travel in the . . . Indies*, 1577, p. 195, 'Great tempestes, whiche they [i. e. the inhabitants of the West Indies] call *Furacanas*, or *Haurachanas*', and Hakluyt, u. s. x. 67, 'stormes . . . which they call *Furicanos*'.

6-8. *Wezell in Germanie . . . at all times*] I have not found the source of this statement.

11. *an Elephants fore-legs are longer than his hinder*] Hakluyt, u. s. vi. 164, 'The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder.'

13. *Aesopum non attriuistis*] See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 6. 27 'Ne Aesopum quidem triuisti', you don't even know Aesop, whom even the most ignorant know. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* i. 9, § 2, recommends Aesop's fables as the first things that a child should learn.

14-15. *as the Astronomers are in the true mouings of Mars*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 30, trans. 1569, fol. 43, 'Neither hathe the true mouinge of Mars bene knownen vntill this daie'. Cf. 1 *Henry VI*, I. ii. 1-2.

18. *the Caspian sea*] Cf. Hakluyt, u. s. iii. 166, 'The Caspian sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe'.

20-1. *Baldwin in his morrall sentences*] This must be his *Treatise of Morall Phylosophye contaynyng the sayinges of the wyse*, which first appeared in 1547, and was frequently reprinted with additions by T. Paulfreyman. A work called '*The Use of Adages; Similies and Proverbs; Comedies*' is ascribed to him by Wood, but of this nothing is known (*D. N. B.*).

22-3. *Heigh for our towne greene*] Cf. the similar expression 'hay for our Towne' in *The King & Queen's Entertainment at Richmond*, ed. Bang and Brotanek, I. 145, and Mr. Bullen's *Lyrics from Eliz. Dramatists*, 1890, p. 94 and note.

24. *Heggledepges*] Apparently a mere nonce-word.

24-7] From Holinshed, *Chron.*, Rich. I, an. 2 (ed. 1807-8, ii. 213). It was a punishment for sailors. Nashe carelessly omits to mention that their heads were first to be polled, thus losing the point of the 'barain scalp' in the line above. Nashe uses the same form of Richard's name at ii. 119. 35 and iii. 163. 4.

30-1. *Peter Maluenda*] A person of this name was the Pope's factor at Ratisbon and is mentioned as a persecutor in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, iv. 387, in connexion with the martyrdom of John Diazius, a Spaniard, in 1546, but it is not clear why he was sufficiently notorious for the present reference to be understood.

31. *Sinibaldo Crasko*] Unknown to me.

33. *Bullen and his Doctor Tocrub*] The reference is to the popular work of William Bullein (d. 1576) entitled *A Dialogue . . . against the fever Pestilence*, 1564. This consists of a number of colloquies, of which the second is between a rich usurer, Antonius, and a 'Medicus', who in the 1564 edition is styled Antonius Capistrinus, but in later editions bears the name Dr. Tocrub, doubtless intended for a Dr. Burcot, whose name occurs in the *State Papers* (Mr. A. H. Bullen in *D. N. B.*, art. William Bullein). Burcot is mentioned as 'though a stranger, yet in England for phisicke famous' in Chettle's *Kind-heart's*

Dream, in *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, N.S.S., 44. 20; at pp. 53-7 is a paper feigned to be of his composition. See also Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 144, 357, 522.

P. 21, 9-13. *Treasurer of Bride-well . . . surcease*] I have been unable to find other references to this custom.

19. *Americke Vesputius*] This must surely be a slip of the pen—or of memory—for Raphael Hythlodaye. The persons present at the conversation at Antwerp which forms the matter of the *Vtopia* were only Hythlodaye, Peter Giles, and More himself. It is, however, mentioned early in the book that Hythlodaye had accompanied Amerigo Vespucci in three of his voyages.

21. *Banke's his Horse*] See note on ii. 230. 22.

22-3. *one and twentie Maides . . . Boston Steeple*] I have not met with the story elsewhere.

34-5. *a Gentleman of good qualitie*] There is, I think, nothing which enables us even to guess at the persons referred to in this and the following paragraph.

P. 22, 1-2 (*as the Philosophers say of winde . . . moou'd*)] Quoted from Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, vi. 171, 'For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moved, as we see in a paire of bellowes, and such other.'

4. *journey*] i. e. day's fighting.

6. *Gimnosophist*] Nashe probably means merely learned man.

7-8. *as Aesculapius built an Oracle of the Sunne at Athens*] Apparently from Hakluyt, u.s. iv. 281, 'John Erigene . . . undertooke a long journey, even as farre as Athens . . . : he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built unto himselfe'.

14. *as Hippocrates preserued the Citie of Coos*] Perhaps taken by Nashe from the French *Academy* of La Primaudaye, ed. 1586, 5. 23-7, where the story is told in much the same words: 'that famous physician *Hippocrates* preserued his citie of Coos from a mortalitie that was generall throughout all Grecia, by councelling his countrymen to kindle many fires in all publike places, to the end thereby to purifie the aire'.

20. *the scratches*] 'A disease in horses, consisting of dry chaps, rifts or scabs between the heel and the pastern-joint.' *Cent. Dict.*

21. *Pinego Riminos*] Not identified.

29-30. *Musique . . . infinite and without end*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 30, 'They [i. e. musicians] saie moreouer, that it is an endelesse Arte, and that it cannot be thorowely learned with any witte: but that dailey according to the capacitie of every man, it geueth freshe melodie'.

33. *Florentine Poggius*] Alluding presumably to the *Facetiae*.

34-5. *ignem faciens ex lapide nigro*] Münster several times mentions the coal in England, e. g. *Cosmog.*, ed. 1572, pp. 43, 47; but I cannot find anything about its being the greatest wonder of the country. The Latin phrase is not, I think, used by him. It appears to be a reminiscence of Pol. Vergil's *Angl. Hist.*, a work with which Nashe was certainly familiar; cf. 55. 34; see ed. Basle, 1570, 7. 40-1 'Scoti qui australem incolunt partem . . . cum rarae hic sylvae, ignem faciunt ex lapide nigro, quem ex terra effodiunt'.

P. 23, 4-5. as Polidore Virgill . . . burnt all the ancient Records] For this story, which rests on no good evidence, but seems to have been widely accepted, see Sir Henry Ellis's edition of *Three Books of P. Vergil's Engl. Hist.*, Camden Soc., 1844, pp. xx, &c. On p. xxiii he quotes a passage from Caius, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiae*, 1574, p. 52, in which the charge is made.

12. neighbor Quisque] I have not met with the expression elsewhere, but 'quidam' is frequent as an English word.

15. Gorboduck] The name of the legendary British king seems to have been more usually spelt 'Gorbodug', but it has the final *c* in the play and in the 'Historicall Preface' to Stow's *Annals*.

Huddleduddle] 'A decrepit old man', *N.E.D.*; cf. iii. 155. 22.

17. Antisthenes . . . Diogenes] Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 2. 21.

28-9. nimis credulos aut incredulos] Probably borrowed from Bodin's *Methodus ad Hist. Cognit.* (ed. 1595, 44 foot) 'illud meminiisse debemus, quod ab Aristotele sapienter dictum est, in historia legenda, neque nimis credulum, neque plane incredulum esse oportere.'

30-1. Qui cytharam neruis . . .] Ovid, *Metam.* x. 108.

31. Gam vt are] It would be more natural to read either 'Gamut are', or 'Gam-vt a-re'. They are the first two notes of Guido d'Arezzo's musical scale.

36. a fooles coat with foure elbowes] Apparently a coat with sewn-up sleeves hanging down the back is meant. Cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 37, 'O fond foole, worthy to weare a coate with foure elbowes', and Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 202. 4-6, 'y^e motley is bought, and a coat with foure elbowes . . . is put to making, in defiance of the seuen wise maisters'.

P. 24, 1. Prince of Wingan-decoy] Wingandecoa was the native name of Virginia; see Hakluyt, u.s. viii. 300.

3. Pomados] The pommando was a manner of vaulting on to a horse without using the stirrups.

P. 25, 8-9. Saint Faiths Church] This was underneath the choir of St. Paul's, and served, as Stow says, as a Parish Church for the stationers dwelling in St. Paul's Churchyard, Paternoster Row, and the vicinity.

10. Cole-harbour] This place, also called Cold-harborough and Coal-harbour, was originally a large building in Dowgate Ward. It came into the hands of the Earls of Shrewsbury, who some time before 1590 pulled it down, and built instead a great number of small Tenements 'now letten out for great Rents, to People of all sorts' (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 206—in the ed. of 1598). The place seems from numerous allusions to have been looked on with disfavour and to have become a refuge for scoundrels. See Hall, *Virgidemiae*, v. 1 (Chalmers, v. 279^b):

Or thence thy starved brother live and die,
Within the cold Coal-harbour sanctuary;

and Dekker, *English Villainies*, 1620, L4^v, 'The fauour of a Prison-Keeper is like smoke out of Cold-Harbor Chimneyes, scarcely seene once in a yeare'; also *Westward Ho!* IV. ii, ed. Pearson, ii. 336 and note; and Ep. to Reader before F. Sabie's *Flora's Fortune* quoted in *Brit. Bibl.* i. 498.

11. *myst*] Cf. Fletcher's *Wit without Money*, V. ii. 40, where the reading of the early editions 'midst' is almost certainly an error; possibly also the expression 'mist language' in Dekker's *Gull's Horn-book*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 258. 9. For the fumes from brew-houses cf. Harington, *Met. of Ajax*, ed. 1814, 112-13, 'it should poison all the town with the ill savour (as the brewhouse by White-hall doth her Highness' own house and all Cannon-row)'.

23. *Stones the fooles nose*] Stone is several times referred to, but little is known about him. See Nares, *Glossary*.

26. *Tewksbury mustard*] See note on i. 350. 29.

27. *Tower-hill vineger*] Stow does not seem to mention the repute of Tower Hill for vinegar, nor have I been able to discover any reference to it elsewhere. Mr. Farmer, *Slang. Dict.*, s. v., explains the phrase as 'The swordsman's block,' but gives neither authority nor examples.

P. 26, 13. *toies for priuate Gentlemen*] Cf. 31. 1-5, also what is said at 129. 33-7 as to Harvey's charge of 'baudie rymes'.

13-14. *busines . . . concerne*] The word could be used as a plural; cf. 108. 6; Grosart's alteration is therefore unnecessary.

15. *had I wist humours about Court*] Mr. Crawford compares Spenser, *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 892-3:

Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
Hath brought to Court, to sue for had ywist.

For the expression 'had I wist', borrowed from the classical '*non putaram*' (see Cic. *De Off.* i. 23. 81), cf., inter alia, Elyot's *Governor*, ed. Croft, ii. 51. Examples in *N. E. D.* from 1390. Nashe refers again to the charge at 30. 2, &c.

20. *euerie minute of an howre*] The expletive use of the words 'of an hour' after 'minute' is not uncommon. Cf. *Lazarillo de Tormes*, ed. 1586, E 5^v, 'I went in, and within a minute of an hour, I visited the whole house aboue and beneat, without staying, or finding wherat to stay'.

29. *a treatise in Diuininitie*] i.e. *Christ's Tears*.

P. 27, 2. *old Laertes in Homers Odissæa*] Perhaps referring to *Od.* xxiv. 219 ff., but there are many allusions to his neglect of himself in the absence of Odysseus.

4. *at sixe and seauen*] The singular was the usual form; cf. Rich. II, II. ii. 122 and other examples in *Cent. Dict.*

15. *in thy other booke*] See i. 268. 3.

17. *morts and doxes*] Both words, in canting language, meant 'woman'; the former was a general term; the latter signified the female companion of a beggar.

19. *at the vtmost*] Used, apparently, for 'at any rate'. We should rather expect 'at the least'.

28. *qui tacet consentire videtur*] 'Law Maxim in *Corpus Canon. Iur.* (*Liber Sextus Decretal.*, lib. 5, tit. 12, reg. 43)', W. F. H. King, *Classical Quotations*.

P. 28, 5. *in the 2700. age of the world*] Lanquet (Cooper), *Chron.*, dating the creation as B.C. 3962, says that Orpheus flourished in the year of the world 2697.

5-6. *it is now 5596.*] Nashe evidently followed a chronology which

placed the creation 4,000 years before the commencement of the Christian era. According to that of Luther, which was widely known as being given in the Genevan Bible, the year 1596 would have been A.M. 5563. A list of twenty-nine dates assigned by different authorities to the creation of the world is given in Lycosthenes' *Prodigiorum Chronicon*, Basle, 1557, b 2^v. They range from 6984 to 3707 years before the birth of Christ.

10-11. *those in Germanie, which beeing executed are never buried*] I have been unable to trace the authority for this statement.

33-6. *and secondly . . . could proue*] The construction is a little awkward, but the sense is clear:—‘and secondly, or to the second lie (where he saith if I do answer him it is nothing, since I have been a whole age about it) [I reply that,] if I list, I could proue . . .’ In l. 34 ‘and’ is for ‘if’. Cf. 26. 6-9.

P. 29, 3. *Veritas Temporis filia*] See Aulus Gellius, xii. 11. 2.

18. *Dianas Temple at Ephesus*] See note on ii. 106. 33-4; but Nashe here follows some other authority.

20-5. *Anie time this 17. yere . . . upon the yce*] Probably ‘17.’ is correct. The sense seems to be that ever since 1579, the year of his first letters to Spenser, Harvey has been amassing worthless manuscript, and has now published treatises against Lyly and Nashe which are not newly written, but made up of scraps which he has had by him ever since the great frost. The frost of 1564-5 must be referred to; but only vaguely as typical of an event long past. It lasted only from Dec. 21 to Jan. 3, but was exceptionally severe. Stow mentions the archery matches on the Thames. There was another cold winter in 1572-3, and possibly in 1584; cf. i. 280. 29.

21. *Frigius Pedagogus*] Cf. note on i. 272. 25-6. ‘Johannis fridgij pedagogus’ was entered to J. Harrison, senior, on Nov. 27, 1582, but I cannot learn that the work was printed in England.

28. *tar-boxe*] Jocularly for standish.

31-2. *scelerata sinapis*] Plautus, *Pseudolus*, iii. 2. 28 ‘Teritur sinapis scelerata cum illis’.

shrewish snappish] Nashe uses the same words when speaking of mustard at iii. 200. 19-20.

P. 30, 1. *Pope Siluesters or Frier Bacons brazen head*] Allusions to the supposed magical powers of Pope Sylvester II (Pope 999-1003) are numerous; for his brazen head cf. Bale, *Acts of Eng. Votaries*, pt. ii, ed. 1560, B 6^v-7. For that of Friar Bacon cf. i. 331. 18. I have nowhere found the statement that the head was to be set up on Salisbury Plain.

6. *like cutting of haire*] I cannot learn that there was any such superstition as seems here to be indicated regarding the proper times for hair-cutting.

12-14. *those in Florida or . . . Negroes, that kindle fire . . . another*] From Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, x. 52; cf. also vii. 372.

20. *Perdere posse sat est*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xii. 75.

22-3. *Dum desint hostes . . .*] Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* i. 713.

25. *as it was said of the blacke Princes souldiers*] Holinshed, *Chron.*, 20 Ed. III, ed. 1807-8, ii. 643, the ‘souldiers and men of warre were so pestered with riches, that they wist not what to doo therewith: they esteemed nothing but gold and siluer, and feathers for men of warre’.

The passage really refers to the army of the Earl of Derby, not to that of the Black Prince.

30. *hey gallanta*] I have not met with this elsewhere.

36. *res est angusta domi*] Juvenal iii. 165.

P. 31, 3. *Galiardos*] i.e. Ital. *gagliardo*, brisk, lively.

4. *Villanellas*] A species of Italian rustic poetry—or possibly the French *villanelle*, a much more complicated form, is meant.

Quipassas] The only other example of the word known to me is in Stanyhurst's account of Ireland, in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807–8, vi. 13 mid., 'And trulie they [i.e. jests] beeset a diuine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to friske trenchmoore in a paire of buskins and a doublet'. It probably represents the opening words of some well-known song, but I cannot identify it.

10. *Doctour Vanderhulk*] See *The Unfortunate Traveller*, ii. 247. 26, &c. This passage seems to indicate that Vanderhulke was intended as a hit at Harvey.

16. *Domine Dewse-ace*] Cf. 72. 9 and note.

conswapped] The only instance in *N.E.D.*, which has 'conswap, v. [f. CON- meaning completion + SWAP to strike] ? To knock on the head'.

17–18. *a paire of newe shooes . . . like a Russian when he is buried*] See Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, 1589, 346 (ed. 1903–5, ii. 447), 'When any man or woman dyeth, they stretch him out, and put a new payre of shooes on his feet, because he hath a great iourney to goe: then do they winde him in a sheet as we do, but they forget not to put a testimony in his right hand, which the priest giueth him, to testifie vnto S. Nicholas that he dyed a Christian man or woman' (cf. ii. 237, where Saint Peter replaces Saint Nicholas, but the shoes are not mentioned). Also in Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.*, cap. 9, in Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1870–8, i. 35, and referred to in *Soliman and Perseda*, II.i. 312.

25. *Gobin a grace*] The reference to the Black Prince's soldiers at 30. 25 shows that Nashe had been reading Holinshed, and it seems likely that he took this name from the same source. See ed. 1807–8, ii. 636, where is mention of a certain prisoner, variously called Gobin de Grace and Gobin Agace, who showed Edward III a ford of the river Some.

ap Hannikin] I have not found this name, which is perhaps, as Chappell thought, merely a form of 'Hankin'; cf. 63. 12.

31–2. *Gregorie Huldricke*] Huldricke is Ulric, a saint celebrated on July 4; cf. iii. 185, 6—used here, of course, without any particular signification.

P. 32, 4–5. *any time this quarier of this yeare*] It would seem that part of the work—perhaps from 33. 31 onwards—had been circulated earlier in MS.

7–8. *Ad metam properate simul . . .*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 727. Also quoted at 110. 26–7.

10. *so did I stay for some company*] It appears from 137. 32, &c., that Lyly was to join in the attack.

13–14. *as the King of Spaine did with Sebastian, King of Portugal*] There seems to be some confusion here. In 1577, the year before Sebastian's ill-fated expedition to Morocco, which ended

in his death at the battle of Alcazar-Kebir, he had an interview with his uncle Philip II of Spain at Guadalupe. Philip, however, did not promise Sebastian his assistance, but strongly urged him to abandon the proposed attempt.

16. *veiah diabolo*] Nashe probably means 'Forward, in the devil's name'. 'Veiah' must be 'Via!'

17. *tickling ... Tobacco*] The word 'tickle' seems to have been in frequent use in this connexion; cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 276. 17-19, 'the Horse-courser tickles his nose (not with a Pipe of Tobacco) but with . . .', and Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 27. 22.

20. *fearst no colours*] Cf. i. 280. 20.

21-2. *Ienkin Heyderry derry*] There is probably no particular allusion in this, but the words are suggestive of some ballad or other. There was a tune called 'Hey downe derrye', of which nothing seems to be known (Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 770).

24. *Venice dye*] The fine quality of the red Venetian dye is mentioned by Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, ii. 52.

26. *shredded*] i.e., apparently, ruined.

30. *Omnigatherum*] The word, which has been in use since early in the fifteenth century for miscellany or collection of any sort, seems to be used here for people generally.

33-4. *grand commander of silence*] Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, ii. 255, 'on the one side of him [i.e. the Emperor of Russia] stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold'.

35. *in my sleeve*] For the use of the sleeve as a pocket cf. i. 159. 25.

36. *beslue*] Cf. i. 322. 25.

P. 33, 4. *towlid and bookt*] The sense is somewhat obscure, and I can only suggest that the expression means 'put him down in writing', 'made sure of,' or something of that sort. There may be allusion to the entry of tolls paid for horses at a fair in the 'toll-book'.

7. *merry Greeke*] The earliest example in *N.E.D.* is the name Mathew Merygreeke in *Roister Doister*, but 'gay Greek' is found earlier.

8-9. *Macaronicall tongue*] Nothing is known of this translation.

12. *maimedly translated into the French tongue*] This translation has never been discovered; see introductory note to *Pierce Penilesse*, end, pp. 85-6 above.

13. *ill interpreted*] Cf. i. 154. 20, &c.

19-20. *Aesope did buy vp all the tongues in the market*] The story is from the life of Aesop prefixed to his fables. See the undated [c. 1580] edition of *The Fables of Esope in Englishe*, fol. xiii, 'How Exantus sent Esope to the market to bye the best meate that he coulde get, & how he bought nothing but tongues'.

23. *the tongs*] The same joke on 'tongues' and 'tongs' is found in Lyly's *Midas*, V. ii. 29-31.

27-8. *Mahomets angels in the Alcheron*] I have not found the source of this.

31. *Mascula virorum*] Taken apparently from the line in Lily's *Grammar (Short Introd. of Gram. 1577, E 6)*, 'Mascula nomina in a dicuntur multa virorum'.

Saint Mildred] A grand-daughter of Penda, king of Mercia,

Abbess of Minster, St. Augustine's, and St. Gregory's, Canterbury ; died c. 700. She is celebrated on Feb. 20.

Saint Agapite] Agapetus, Pope, 535-6, celebrated on Sept. 20. The point, if any, of the reference to these two saints is unknown to me.

33. *Grauesend Barge]* See note on i. 64. 22.

P. 34, 5-6] Collier and Grosart apparently understood, 'quoth he to me "those [persons] are the heaviest [i. e. saddest] whose cart has cried creak under the weight . . ." ' I take the passage to mean 'the news is heaviest to me whose cart has cried creak under the weight . . .'

6. *cryde creake]* i. e. creaked, but the phrase also had the special sense of to confess oneself vanquished; cf. *Cambyses*, in Manly's *Pre-Sh. Drama*, l. 810, and Stanyhurst's account of a quarrel between William de Vescy and John Fitzgerald in 1294, 'when the prefixed daie [for trial by battle] approached neere, Vescie turning his great boast to small rost, began to crie creake, and secretlie sailed into France' (Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, vi. 52).

14. *Lodum]* A game of cards. Nashe is apparently joking on 'load 'em', which there is some reason for thinking to be the etymology of the word ; see *N.E.D.* s. v. *loadum*.

15. *vnbumbast]* i. e. take the stuffing out of.

bag-pudding] i. e. a pudding made of the paunch of an animal stuffed, a kind of haggis.

19-21. *letters . . . remooue]* Alluding, I suppose, to the story of Bias ; cf. iii. 243. 311-12.

21-2. *Anthonie Gueuaras golden Epistles]* i. e. *Golden Epistles*, contayning varietie of discourse . . . gathered, as well out of the remaynder of Guevaraes workes, as other Authours . . . By G. F[enton], 1575. Nashe was, however, perhaps thinking of the *Familiar Epistles*, all taken from Guevara, which had appeared in 1574.

26. *Surgeons Hall]* See note on i. 196. 19-20.

28. *Statutes of clothing]* There does not seem to have been any special collection of statutes relating to clothing, and I am at a loss to know what is meant.

29. *Charter of London]* I do not know what charter is referred to. There were of course many ; cf. Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 346, &c.

32. *Packstonisme]* I cannot explain the allusion.

P. 35, 11-13] The charge is to a certain extent true. Grosart's index to Harvey has twenty-four references to Sidney and seventeen to Spenser.

16. *in making benefit of his enemie]* Alluding of course to Plutarch's *De Capienda ex Inimicis Utilitate*.

19. *passing . . . through the pikes of]* i. e. running the gauntlet of ; quotations in *N.E.D.* from 1555.

sixe Impressions] As stated at i. 140 foot, I can trace only five.

21-2. *spittled at the Chandlers]* Cf. i. 192. 22-3.

24-5. *gorbellied]* i. e. big-bellied, grossly fat.

26-7. *Swissers omnipotent galeaze breeches]* The Swiss seem to have been notorious for their great breeches, but the use of 'galeaze' is not clear. Possibly no more is meant than 'galeas' or 'galley' (cf. 'gally-gascoines or a shipmans hose' at i. 172. 16). Dekker, *Wks.*,

ed. Grosart, i. 79. 21-2, refers to goblins with 'bladder-cheekes puft out like a Swizzers breeches'.

29-30. *at the ende of the 199. Page hee beginnes with one 100. againe*] This is true. Pp. 200 (Cc^v) to 220 are wrongly numbered 100 to 120. After what should be 220 follow Ff⁴, Gg² not paged at all. This is the additional matter corresponding to pp. 332-46 in Grosart's edition.

33. *Antæus Shield . . . Elephants hyde*] Source not found.

P. 36, 2. *there an ende*] For this common phrase cf. iii. 149. 34, *Two Gent. of Ver.*, I. iii. 65, II. i. 168, *Tam. of Shrew*, V. ii. 98.

2-3. *the Giant that Magellan found at Caput sanctæ crucis*] Patagonians ten or eleven feet high were found by Magellan at the straits which bear his name; see Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, xi. 256, but I can learn nothing of any giant at Cape St. Cruz.

3-4. *Saint Christophers picture at Antwerpe*] Thomas Wilson in his *Art of Rhetoric*, ed. 1560, fol. 100, speaking of images in churches, refers to the same St. Christopher, 'But is any man so mad to thinke, that euer there was soche a one as S. Christofer was painted vnto vs? Marie God forbid. Assuredlie when he liued vpon yearth, there were other houses builded for hym, then wee haue at this tyme, and I thinke Tailers wer moche troubled, to take measure of him for making his garmentes. He might be of kin to Garganteo, if he were as bigge as he is set forth at Antwerpt.'

4-5. *the monstrous images of Sesostres, or the Aegiptian Rapsinates*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, trans. 1569, f. 39^v, 'the monstrous images of Rapsinates, of Sesostres, and of Amasis'. See Herodot. ii. 121 (1); 110 (1); 176.

11. *Bonarobe*] i.e. *buona roba*, good stuff, a wench. Cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, III. ii. 26, which is the earliest instance in *N.E.D.*

11-12. *Rounceuall*] i.e. a giant, a great fat woman; see Nares's *Gloss*. Cf. Dekker's *Satiromastix*, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 243. 9-10, 'dost roare bulchin? dost roare? th'ast a good rouncliall voice to cry Lanthorne & Candle-light.'

32. *In Sandon style as late befel*] The ballad is unknown to me.

34. *Sixe and thirtie sheetes*] See ii. 180. 23-4 and note.

P. 37, 11. *Fy, fa, fum . . . English-man*] See the notes of the commentators on *King Lear*, III. iv. 189-90. The words 'Fee, Fa, Fum' are used in S. Rowlands' *Knave of Clubs*, 1609, as a mock invocation to Beelzebub.

15. *tying a flea in a chaine*] See Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 406. One Mark Scaliot, a blacksmith, made an extremely minute lock and key, 'He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of three and fortie linkes, to the which chaine the locke and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke, she drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie, chaine, and flea, weied but one graine and a halfe'. Also in Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 680 b.

18. *Kent and Christendome*] Cf. iii. 168. 2, and Lyly, *Mother Bomby*, III. iv. 5, 'I can live in christendome as well as in Kent'. The expression 'Kent and Christendom', i.e. everywhere, was fairly common, but has not been satisfactorily explained.

20. *Doctour Ty*] Christopher Tye, 1497?-1572, Mus. Doc. Cambridge, 1545, composed anthems and other music, mostly sacred.

24-5. *like an ape ouer the chaine*] Cf. Jonson, *Barth. Fair*, Induction, 'a juggler with a well-educated ape, to come over the chain for a King of England, and back again for the Prince, and sit still on his arse for the Pope and the King of Spain'.

31-2. *with one strop*] I do not understand this.

35-6. See 3 *Let. E* i, G. H. i. 79. The lines are :

'O blessed Vertue, blessed Fame, blessed Aboundaunce,
O that I had you three, with the losse of thirtie Comencementes.'

P. 38, 7-8. *Midsommer Moone*] See note on iii. 363. 25-6.

8. *Calentura*] Cf. note on ii. 92. 15.

10-11. *counterfet and portraiture*] Both Nashe's excuse in ll. 20-8 for putting Harvey in a costume which he did not usually wear, and the condition of the block itself, especially the unsupported leaves on the left hand, lead one to suspect that the 'portraiture' here given was simply an old wood-cut which the printer happened to have by him, probably a piece cut from a larger one. So far as I am aware, however, it has not been identified.

13-14. *when he libeld against my Lord of Oxford*] See note on i. 295. 27-8.

15. *single-soald*] See note on i. 165. 8-9.

27. *Lute pin*] 'One of the pegs or screws for tuning the strings of the lute'.—*N.E.D.* Rowlands, *Knave of Hearts*, 1612, B 1^v, has a similar expression :

My Breeches like a paire of Lute-pins be,
Scarce Buttocke-roome, as euery man may see.

33. *ouzled*] No such word in *N.E.D.* It looks like a verb formed from *ooze*, the liquor of a tanning vat, and may perhaps be used here vaguely for 'prepared'.

33-4. *gidumbled, drizled*] Neither word seems to be in *N.E.D.*, nor have I met with them elsewhere.

34. *Hauns Bol*] Hans Bol (1534-93) painted views of cities and towns in the Low Countries, especially Amsterdam (Pilkington).

34-5. *Hauns Holbine*] Holbein, 1498-1554.

35. *Hauns Mullier*] The name probably stands for Müller, but I have been unable to identify him. Hermann Müller, an engraver who worked at Antwerp in 1585, seems to have been fairly well known.

P. 39, 2. *Blockland*] A. de Montfort Blockland (1532-83) painted at Delft and Utrecht (Pilkington).

Trusser, Francis de Murre] I can learn nothing of these two artists.

4. *murre*] i. e. catarrh.

5. *Kerry merry buffe*] Cf. Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, ed. Dyce, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 1, 'One hath written Kemp's farewell to the tune of Kery, mery, Buffe'. In a note Dyce compares Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, I. i, 'Tricks, tricks ; kerry merry buff'. The meaning of the expression is unknown to me.

6. *Iohannes Mabusiusses*] Mabuse or Baubenge, i. e. ean Gassaert (1499-1562), a painter of the Flemish school.

8. *at sharpe*] Commonly used in such phrases as 'to fight at sharp', i. e. with unblunted rapiers. Cf. Coryat's *Crudities*, ed. 1905, i. 413. 28.

32. *rapt omnia secum*] Not found.

35. *Currenti cede furori*] Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 119 'Cum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori'.

P. 40, 1-2. *Tempus edax rerum, quid non consumitis anni?*] Apparently a confused recollection of Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 234-6.

6-8. *as amongst the Samogetes and Chaldeans . . . cofounds*] Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, iii. 402, mentions the worship of the sun by the Samoyedes (Samogetae).

9-10. *curse the sunne when it riseth, and worship it when it setteth*] Probably taken from Hakluyt, u. s. vi. 167—of the Moors or Negroes. Cf. Herodotus, iv. 184, where it is stated that the Atarantes, a people of Libya, curse the sun when it is over their heads. The worship of the setting sun seems to be Nashe's addition.

13. *Ponuloi nashe*] Evidently borrowed from Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, 1589, p. 345 (ed. 1903-5, ii. 443), 'All their [i. e. the Russians'] seruice is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people have no other prayers but this, *Ghospodi Iesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe*. That is to say, O Lord Iesus Christ, Sonne of God haue mercy vpon vs.'

16-17. *for the death of Cæsar*] Suetonius, *I. Caesar*, 81. One of the prodigies before his death.

27-8. *the dyuing boate twixt Douer and Callis*] I can learn nothing of this.

34. *upon the naile*] i.e. on the spot, the earliest instance in *N. E. D.* The origin of the phrase has not been satisfactorily explained.

P. 41, 6. *And shall*] Cf. the similar phrase 'mary, and shalt', ii. 211. 9.

7-8. *Tropologicall*] Not, I think, used by Gabriel; see ll. 18-19.

12. *gamash*] A kind of leggings.

gotchie] i. e. bloated, swollen, the only example in *N. E. D.*; from 'gotch', a big-bellied earthenware pot or jug.

13. *boystrous*] Nashe uses the word in many not altogether clear senses; cf. index.

19. *in his Lambe of God*] Cf. i. 272. 28 and note.

22. *to make a Collation*] A particular kind of theological discourse amounting to little more than a collection of authorities.

26-36] Harvey, *P. S. D* iv, G. H. ii. 62-4, had quoted a foolish speech of a certain gentleman in praise of Nashe.

35. *arsedine*] a gold coloured alloy of copper and zinc rolled into very thin leaf. *N. E. D.*

P. 42, 3. *to the Bathe*] A 'bagnio' is meant.

10. *like a true Millanoys*] The story of Frederick Barbarossa and his punishment of the inhabitants of Milan is well known. See Douce's note in *Var. Sh.* on 2 *Hen. IV*, V. iii. 124-5.

20. *cut his cloake with the Wooll*] Cf. i. 307. 1-2.

30. *trinkets*] i. e. points.

34. *moaths pallet roome*] This example of pallet is given in *N. E. D.* under the signification 'head, pate'.

P. 43, 4. *Renowmed and amicable Readers*] Not, I think, in Harvey.

5. *Silence . . . chaine*] *P. S. S* 4^v, G. H. ii. 223. 28-224. 1.

5-6. *the Pen . . . musket*] *P. S. Ee* 3, G. H. ii. 329. 18.

9. *caitife Planet*] *P. S. Ee* 2, G. H. ii. 327. 13.

Punical war] *P.S.* O 2^v, G. H. ii. 175. 20.

10. *of the counter-tenor . . . Sirē]* *N.L.* C 1, G. H. i. 278. 25. ‘aboue Ela’ is used in the following page, 280. 2. For *ela* cf. note on ii. 268. 8. 13-18] *P.S.* Aa 2, G. H. ii. 283. 13-17, 24-7.

14. *a dog in a doublet]* I really have no idea what Harvey is talking about in the passage here quoted, but in this expression there is apparently some reference to the saying ‘as proud as a dog in a doublet’; cf. Dekker’s *Shoem. Holiday*, III. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 31. Also used for something particularly ridiculous, or out of keeping; cf. Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.* (bk. ii, cap. 7), *N.S.S.*, i. 168. 27, ‘except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England’. A dog in a rochet had been used to deride Stephen Gardiner, cf. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 105.

23-4. *incorruptible Areopage]* *P.S.* P 2^v, G. H. ii. 186. 5. Harvey does not say that he himself is one.

29. *pregnant cause]* *N.L.* A 2^v, G. H. i. 260. 14.

prestigiously besieged] *P.S.* Dd 1^v, G. H. ii. 315. 17-18.

30. *marked with an Asteriske]* *P.S.* Dd 3, G. H. ii. 318. 11-12.

30-1. *superficiall in Theory]* *P.S.* Dd 2^v, G. H. ii. 317. 8.

P. 44, 2. *energeticall lines]* *P.S.* Ee 1^v, G. H. ii. 325. 7.

3. *perfuctorie pamphlets]* *P.S.* Dd 3, G. H. ii. 318. 18.

3-4. *ambidexteritie and omnidexteritie]* *P.S.* Bb 4, G. H. ii. 299.

13. The first word also at O 1, 172. 1.

4. *matters adiophorall]* *P.S.* M 3^v, G. H. ii. 157. 8.

4-5. *disbalased my minde]* *N.L.* C 1^v, G. H. i. 279. 22-3.

5. *occasionalt of aduantage]* *P.S.* I 3^v, G. H. i. 122. 11.

6-7. *pregnant propositions and resolute Aphorismes]* *P.S.* L 3^v, G. H. ii. 145. 8, 20.

9-10. *he had no goods . . . in commoner use than it]* Greene certainly used the word several times—see Grosart’s index, to which a few instances could be added—but hardly perhaps more than other writers.

29-30. *like a Merchants booke]* In reference, I suppose, to the signs used to indicate that a customer had paid his account.

30. *Arsemetrique]* A variant of ‘arithmetic’ (from *ars metrika*) common earlier; cf. ‘Lady Arsmetrike’ in Hawes’ *Palace of Pleasure*. At this date, however, it seems generally to be used with humorous intention.

P. 45, 11. *cannot doo withall]* i. e. cannot help it.

15. *sicco pede]* i. e. cursorily. The phrase was common, though not, I believe, classical.

encomiasticall Orations] *P.S.* H 3, G. H. ii. 110. 10-11.

16-17. *mercuriall . . . vaine]* *P.S.* H 2^v, G. H. ii. 108. 24-5 and *P.S.* H 1, G. H. ii. 105. 14-15.

18. *Caualcads . . . Aualos]* *P.S.* V 3^v, G. H. ii. 243. 10-11.

19. *Seraphicall visions]* *P.S.* H 1^v, G. H. ii. 107. 4-5.

Queene Poetrie] I have not found this in Harvey,

queint theorickes] *N.L.* B 1^v, G. H. i. 268, 22.

20. *melancholy projects]* *P.S.* O 3, G. H. ii. 177. 6-7.

pragmaticall discourses] *P.S.* Z 3, G. H. ii. 274. 15-16.

21. *beau-desert]* *N.L.* D 1^v, G. H. i. 290. 25; *P.S.* Y 3, G. H. ii. 264. 10, also *Dd* 4, 321. 4.

P. 45, 21. *rich economie*] Cf. *N.L. C1v*, G.H.i. 280. 24-5, 'ritchest Oeconomy'.

inspiredest Heliconists] *P.S. Dd 4*, G.H. ii. 321. 11.

22. *Arch-patrons . . . Omniscians*] *P.S. Aa 3v*, G.H. ii. 287. 24-5.

23-4. *Quinquagenarians . . . Chilarkes*] *P.S. L 3*, G.H. ii. 143.

25-6.

24-5. *Idees of monstrous excellencie*] *P.S. Aa 3*, G.H. ii. 285. 20.

25. *smirking*] *P.S. *2v*, G.H. ii. 7. 17 and elsewhere. I do not find it in conjunction with the word to which it is here joined.

Singularists] *P.S. N 4*, G.H. ii. 169. 23.

25-6. *brag Reformists*] *P.S. Ff1v* (addition at M 1), G.H. ii. 150. 4.

26. *glicking Remembrancers*] *N.L. A 2*, G.H. i. 260. 10.

26-7. *not with the multiplying spirite . . . villanist*] *P.S. D 2*, G.H. ii. 64. 10-12.

28. *masons of infinite contradiction*] *P.S. K 3v*, G.H. ii. 133. 19.

29. *frumping Contras*] *P.S. K 3*, G.H. ii. 133. 7.

tickling interiections] *P.S. Ee 2*, G.H. ii. 326. 24.

30. *incensives and alliectives*] *P.S. O 2v*, G.H. ii. 176. 10.

31-3. *great A's . . . valure*] Cf. *P.S. I 3*, G.H. ii. 121. 1-5.

34. *Monomachies*] *P.S. G 3v*, G.H. ii. 101. 3: 'redoubtable' is perhaps from 'redoubted' in the next line.

34-5. *the dead honnie-bee my brother*] Cf. *P.S. H 4*, G.H. ii. 113.

18-21. He does not call John a honey-bee, but says 'Now you haue a patterne, I doubt not but you can with a dexteritie, chopp-of the head of a dead hoony bee, and boast you haue stricken John, as dead as a doore-nayle'.

36. *A per se . . . Amen!*] Cf. notes on i. 312. 37 and i. 366. 28.

P. 46, 3. *Hibble de beane*] I can learn nothing of this expression.

6. *a Civilian*] Harvey was studying the civil law at the time of his election to a fellowship at Trinity Hall in December, 1578. Whether he ever practised or not seems to be unknown.

11. *the Playes at Powles*] The performances of the 'Children of Paul's' were inhibited in 1591 (Lylly, ed. Bond, iii. 167) or 1590 (Ward, Eng. Dr. Lit. i. 467). The inhibition lasted until 1600.

14-15. *Mother Bomby*] Lylly's comedy of that name. Mr. Bond places the writing of it in 1590, Mr. Fleay somewhat earlier (Lylly, ed. Bond, iii. 167-8). It was entered in the Stationers' Register in June, 1594, and printed in the same year. It is stated on the title-page that it was 'sundrie times plaied by the Children of Powles'.

18-29] Slightly altered from the preceding page.

35. *Brachmannicall fuldde-fubs*] There is nothing to justify this reference to the Brahmins in the account of them in Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, v. 475-80. By 'fuldde-fubs' Nashe apparently means incomprehensible language, but no such expression seems to be known. The only word which it at all suggests, 'mubble-fubbles' (Lylly, ed. Bond, iii. 410. 19), means melancholy.

P. 47, 4. *Mercury . . . fellow*] *P.S. L 4*, G.H. ii. 147. 2-3. The sentences of this oration make, and are probably intended to make, very little sense. It has therefore seemed best to follow as closely as possible the original punctuation, even when apparently incorrect.

7. *spite . . . scummer*] *P.S. N 3v*, G.H. ii. 167. 27-8.

11. *Resolution . . . man]* P. S. G¹v, G. H. ii. 95. 13-14. Harvey has 'fellow' for 'mate'.

15. *Impudencie . . . vagabonds]* P. S. A 2, G. H. ii. 32. 11-12.

19-20. *The world . . . now]* P. S. A 2^v, G. H. ii. 32. 25-7.

24. *S. Georges robes]* I have not met with the expression elsewhere.

27-32] P. S. O 2^v, G. H. ii. 176. 4-9; the last line does not stand thus in Harvey, who, however, has, a few lines later, 'a most-hideous nullity . . . a most pittifull nullitie'.

27. *Dauid Gorge]* Otherwise called David George, Joris, or Joriszoon. He was born at Delft in 1501, and about the year 1535, separating from the Anabaptists, to which sect he had formerly belonged, formed a congregation of his own, generally called, after his name, the Davists or Davidians. He professed to be guided by visions and revelations, some of which he printed in his *Wonder Buke* of 1542. Soon after this date he gave up his propaganda and settled down at Basle under the assumed name of John Von Brügge, where he lived quietly until his death in 1556.

28. *H. N.]* i.e. Henry Nichols, or more properly Hendrik Niclas, an Anabaptist of Amsterdam, who, becoming acquainted with Joris, fell under his influence and took over the leadership of the sect after Joris's abandonment of it. About the end of the reign of Edward VI he came over to England, where he obtained a considerable following, his sectaries being called the 'Family of Love' or the 'Familists'. Several of his books were translated into English, and a *Confutation* of his heresies was published in 1579 by J. Knewstub. The 'deification' refers to a tenet of the sect as to a change in their nature after reception into the Church.

29. *Ket]* Francis Kett, clergyman, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1573. In 1588 he was tried before the Bishop of Norwich for heresy, and, being condemned, was burnt alive in 1589. The charges against him are given in Grosart's ed. of Greene, i. 259-60. In the article on him in *D. N. B.* the Rev. Alex. Gordon says 'he has been identified with the "Francis Kett, doctor of phisick," who published *The Glorious and Beautiful Garland of Man's Glorification* in 1585, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth'. It seems clear from the use of the word 'glorification' here that he was so identified by Harvey.

30. *Browne]* Robert Browne (1550?-1633?) was educated at Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, and about 1579 began to preach his peculiar tenets, the fundamental one being the denial of all human authority in matters of religion. He thus objected to the whole system of Church government, to ordination of priests, and to the licensing of preachers, holding that a minister was responsible to God alone. He founded at Norwich the sect who were called by themselves 'the Church', and by others 'Brownists'. Not being able to enjoy religious liberty there, he migrated in 1581 to Middleburgh in Holland. Thence he went to Scotland, afterwards returning to England. There, in 1586, he was excommunicated, which seems to have decided him to renounce any further attempt to propagate his views. The rest of his life was passed in quiet, first as a schoolmaster at Stamford and later as rector of a church in Northamptonshire (*D.N.B.*).

P. 47, 30. *Barrow*] Henry Barrow, of Clare Hall, Cambridge, B. A. 1569-70, became a member of Gray's Inn in 1576. After a dissipated youth he gave himself to the study of theology, being greatly influenced by the views of Browne. He was arrested in 1586 on a charge of heresy, kept in the Clink and afterwards at the Fleet until 1593, when, with John Greenwood, he was hanged at Tyburn. See the account of his third examination in Arber's *Intro. Sketch to Marpr. Controversy*, p. 40, &c., from which it appears that his objection to the popish character of the worship on Saints' days, Feasts, &c., was the chief charge against him.

P. 48, 1. *like a spirit in a wal*] In 1554 there was a 'spirit in a wall', in a house without Aldersgate, which attracted much attention. One Elizabeth Croft whistled in 'a strange whistle made for that purpose'—apparently a sort of speaking tube—and uttered sedition against the queen, the prince of Spain, and the mass. 'Some said it was an angell, some a voice from heauen, some the Holie-ghost, &c.' However, she was found out and made to stand on a scaffold at Paul's Cross all sermon time, and confess. See Holinshed, *Chron.* ed. 1807-8, iv. 56.

6. *be you Load-stones to exhale what I say*] Not found.

7-9. *Martin . . . o. k.*] P. S. Bb 2, G. H. ii. 294. 16-18.

8. *a Guerra*] Harvey has 'a Martin Guerra'. Martin Guerre, a Frenchman born on the Pyrenean border at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the hero of one of the most remarkable stories of impersonation. Married in 1539, Martin lived with his wife for ten years and then left her to join the army in Spain. Nothing was heard of him for a considerable time, when a person turned up who professed to be Martin, and who was recognized without question by every one, including Martin's wife, by whom he afterwards had a daughter. Later, however, suspicion seems to have been aroused, and on his taking some steps to secure the property of Martin's wife, certain members of the family asserted that he was not Martin, though marvellously like him, but one Arnaud de Tilh, a companion of his. A trial took place, at which, of 150 witnesses, forty recognized him for Martin, fifty declared that he was Arnaud, while sixty were doubtful. The judges were in the utmost perplexity, when the real Martin suddenly returned, and of course had no difficulty in proving the other to be an impostor. Arnaud was hanged before Martin's house in 1560. See *Nouv. Biog. Générale*.

9. *an o. k.*] I cannot interpret this.

9-11. *the Wheele . . . Prophets*] P. S. C 3^v, G. H. ii. 57. 10-12, 6-7.

19-20. *Iudas the Gaulonite . . . toast*] P. S. O 1^v, G. H. ii. 173.

20-2.

23. *present examples . . . fresh*] Cf. P. S. P 4, G. H. ii. 191. 11-12.

23-4. *he that hath . . . life*] P. S. S 4^v, G. H. ii. 225. 4-5.

29. *Duke Allocer . . . familiar*] P. S. F 4^v, G. H. ii. 92. 8-9. Allocer is one of the devils and spirits described by Scot in his *Disc. of Witchcraft*, bk. xv, ch. 2, ed. 1584, 391-2; he is 'a strong duke and a great, he commeth foorth like a soldier, riding on a great horsse . . .'

34. *no such Arte . . . crab-tree deske*] P. S. V 1, G. H. ii. 237. 3.

P. 49, 1. *husbanded*] An obvious joke which I have not, however, met with elsewhere. Cf. note on 75. 34.

4. *under correction of the arte notorie*] For 'Art Notory' see *P. S.* D 2, G. H. ii. 64. 7, 25. The term is there applied to *Pierce Penilesse*. *Ars notoria* was magical divination performed in virtue of a direct pact with the devil; see *Delrio, Disq. Mag.*, 1599-1600, ii. 101.

4-5. *envie . . . register*] *P. S.* V 1, G. H. ii. 236. 19.

5-6. *mortall fewde . . . adamant*] *P. S.* V 1, G. H. ii. 236. 26, but *P. S.* reads 'the memoriall of Fende.'

12-13. *Gentleman . . . industrie*] *P. S.* G 3^v, G. H. ii. 101. 26-7.

29-30. *the gentleman or floure of curtesie*] I have not met with other examples of this 'common scoffe'.

34. *Quirk*] Possibly a nonce-word derived from 'quirk', a trick or peculiarity of behaviour, a fad. It seems not to be recognized in *N.E.D.*

P. 50, 3-4] So far as I can discover, these verses are the invention of Nashe.

8. *His Entelechy was fine Greece*] 'Entelechy' is frequently used by Harvey. For 'fine Greece' see *P. S.* C 1, G. H. ii. 50. 5-6.

8-9. *the finest Tuscanisme in graine*] *P. S.* C 1^v, G. H. ii. 51. 24-5.

10-11. *casts Tuscanisme . . . in a Noble-mans teeth*] Alluding, of course, to the 'Speculum Tuscanismi' in *Three Proper Letters*, E 2^v, G. H. i. 84, which was supposed to be directed against the Earl of Oxford; cf. note on i. 295. 27-8.

15-16. *Heere within this place*] Cf. Jonson's *Ev. Man in his Humour*, 1601, l. 332, 'Here within this place is to be seene, the most admirabile rare & accomplitsh worke of nature.' Apparently a usual formula in signs.

29-30. *had rather be . . . fauour*] *P. S.* E 1^v, G. H. ii. 73. 19-21. The reading 'fauour' is correct (cf. *P. S.* and Nashe's comparison with 'a Princes stile *Dei gratia*' on the following page).

P. 51, 1-2. *Cat a mountaine*] i.e. wild cat.

2. *old*] In its frequent intensive use, as in *Merch. of Ven.* IV. ii. 15; see *N.E.D.* s.v. old *a*. 6.

6. *Tibault*] A traditional name for a cat; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 19. Also Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 259, 'a Scratching of mens faces, as tho you were Tyber the long-tail'd Prince of Rattes.'

Isegrim] The name of the wolf in *Reynard the Fox*. Cf. Fletcher and Massinger's *Beggars' Bush*, III. iv. 91, where it is spelt 'Isgrin'.

11. *To vtter . . . sillables*] Not found; but cf. *N. L.* D 2, G. H. i. 292. 12-14, 'to disbowell the intrails of their owne impious mindes.'

12-13. *Muske . . . hipocrytes*] *N. L.* A 2^v, G. H. i. 261. 17-19.

19-20. *you were neuer otherwise like*] I am not certain what is meant. Professor Moore Smith compares *Club Law*, l. 291, 'Hee was never otherwisedlike,' where the sense in which the word is used is by no means clear.

28. *Isenborough good*] I have not met with the saying elsewhere. For Isenborough cf. iii. 179. 11. Possibly 'of good metal' is meant, as in 'right Sheffield' at iii. 178. 16.

34. *O Humanitie . . . Paracelsus*] *P. S.* Bb 2, G. H. ii. 293. 14-15.

P. 52, 3. *Kelly*] Edward Kelley (1555-95), alchemist, associated

with the celebrated Doctor Dee, whom he accompanied in his visit to the court of Rudolph II.

14. *cooling card*] ‘Apparently a term of some unknown game’, *N.E.D.* This frequently occurring expression, always used figuratively in the sense of something which will ‘cool’ one’s ardour, seems never to have been satisfactorily explained. Cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, III. ii. 23–4; ‘Heavy newes for yow, I can tell yow of a cowlinge carde. It will make yow plucke in your hornes.’ Also Lyly, ed. Bond, i. 246. 13. Frequent in Greene; see Grosart’s index. See also i *Hen. VI.* V. iii. 83, and Harvey, 4 *Let. F 3, Wks.*, i. 214. 18–20, ‘that will not be cooled with a carde, or daunted with bugs-words’.

16. *Cordially I could wish*] Cf. *P.S.* 2* 4, *G.H.* ii. 16. 14.

the pelting horne . . . sturres] Cf. *N.L.* C 3, *G.H.* i. 284. 8–9, ‘The rest of her speaches, and writings, are to be recorded, or suppressed, as it pleaseth the Horne of these pelting sturres.’

17. *fæciall law*] Mentioned in *P.S.* R 1, *G.H.* ii. 205. 17. The Fetiales were the Roman college of priests who had charge—among other things—of the ratification of treaties of peace.

17–18. *our populars*] *P.S.* P 3, *G.H.* ii. 188. 12.

18–19. *Panegericall Orations*] *P.S.* Ee 2, *G.H.* ii. 326. 15.

19. *fine Theurgie*] *P.S.* F 3^v, *G.H.* ii. 90. 9–10.

19–20. *Godfull arguments*] *N.L.*, B 3, *G.H.* i. 273. 28.

23–4. *upon the Retourne from Guiana*] Referring to Sir W. Raleigh’s expedition for the discovery of Guiana, which left England on February 6, 1595, and returned towards the end of the same year.

30. *the arte of figges . . . wit*] *P.S.* C 4, *G.H.* ii. 59. 5–6.

31–2. *Saint Fame . . . chalke*] *P.S.* E 4, *G.H.* ii. 81. 1–2.

Grosart incorrectly omits ‘cole’ after ‘blacke’.

33–4. *Saint Fame . . . thee*] Harvey gives this name to Nashe in allusion to the closing sentence of the Epistle before *Strange News*, i. 263. 24–5, ‘Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne vpon him’.

34–6. *under the arte of figges . . . Master Lilly*] On this name for Lyly Mr. Bond notes (*Wks.* i. 59, note 3), ‘Harvey was of course alluding to Lyly’s tale-bearing about himself to Lord Oxford in 1580’ (see note on i. 295. 27–8).

P. 53, i. *Crimme*] Perhaps merely the race of Tartars referred to at iii. 186. 28, or their great Khan; see Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903–5, iii. 390–1.

Maniquenbecke] I do not know what is meant by this.

3. *Michaell Angelo and Raphaell Vrbin*] The two artists were not indeed on very friendly terms, but I cannot learn that they ever ‘went to buffets’. Is it possible that Nashe was thinking of the quarrel between Michaelangelo and Torrigiano, when, as lads, they studied in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence? See Vasari, *Vite degli Architetti, Pittori, &c.*, 1550, Pt. iii, p. 952. Benvenuto Cellini’s *Autobiography*, which is generally cited as the authority for the story (see bk. i. cap. 13), was not published until the eighteenth century.

5. *collimol*] The only word which I have been able to discover at all resembling this is ‘colli-mollie’, used once—in 1603—and possibly a humorous perversion of ‘melancholy’; see *N.E.D.*

6. *Cole-brooke*] i. e. Colnbrook, between Staines and Uxbridge.

8. *beare no coales*] i. e. put up with no affront. Frequent; cf. *Rom. & Jul.* I. i. 1-2, and *Hen. V.*, III. ii. 50.

9. *against the haire*] Cf. note on i. 307. 1-2.

16. *Paliard*] i. e. beggar, or lewd person.

Senior Penaquila] He is unknown to me.

17. *since the raigne of S. Tor*] The only Tor of whom I can learn is the Arthurian knight of that name; see Malory, iii. 3-11. S. could stand equally well for 'Sir', or 'Saint' (cf. iii. 187. 9). Compare 'since the raigne of Queen Gueniuier' at 102. 7.

18. *Queenes Takers*] See note on i. 257. 4.

20. *twittle-cum-twattles*] i. e. gabble.

20-1. *with a wenzion*] i. e. 'with a vengeance'; generally 'wanion'. Cf. Peele, *Old Wives' Tale*, I. 587, and *Jacob and Esau* in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 190, 'Up, with a wild wanion'.

23. *Embellishtly*] Qy. not in Harvey?

24. *chalke for cheese*] Cf. *P.S.* Dd 3, G. H. ii. 318. 22-3.

24-6. *oyle of prickes . . . srrupe of Roses*] Cf. *P.S.* E 3^v, G. H. ii.

79. 25-7.

26-7. *not euerie . . . calves head*] *P.S.* T 2, G. H. ii. 228. 24-5.

Cf. *Speeches to the Queen at Sudeley*, 1592, in Nichols's *Progresses*, iii. 142, 'amorous he is, and wise; carying a sheepe's eie in a calfs heade.'

28-31. *the Wheel-wright . . . the Printer*] Cf. *P.S.* C 3^v, G. H. ii.

57. 3-5. Nashe adds 'pregnant mœchanician' from *P.S.* A a 4^v, G. H. ii. 290. 5.

33. *Your mindfull debtor*] *P.S.* Ee 3^v, G. H. ii. 331.

P. 54, I. *Biscanisme*] i. e. Basque, *N.E.D.*

4. *Rose Flowers*] I know nothing of her.

17. *like Homers Iliads . . . in . . . a nut-shell*] See Pliny *H.N.* viii. 21.

19. *gabrill*] '? punning alteration of gabble sb.', *N.E.D.*, the only instance given.

20. *Littletons, with his Iohn a Nokes and Iohn a Stiles*] See notes on i. 343. 26; 189. 5.

23-4. *Himpenhempen*] Perhaps suggested—with doubtless a side-allusion to rope-making—by an expression attributed to Robin Goodfellow. Cf. *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, 1608, A 4^v, 'What, Himp and Hamp? here will I neuer more grinde nor stamp': also Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 85, 'Hemton hamten . . . stampen', and Halliwell's *Fairy Myth*, p. 132.

Slampamp] The word seems to mean a beating. It is used by Harvey in *N.L.* C 2^v, G. H. i. 282. 9 and *P.S.* Z 4, G. H. ii. 277. 20; also by Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, i. 90 (slampan).

23-4. *Cockledemoy*] The only example of this word in *N.E.D.* dates from 1613, in Chapman's *Mask of the Inns of Court*, p. 2, where a mock-masque of baboons scatters cockledemois by way of largesse. It has been suggested that some sort of shells are meant.

24-5. *Italionate carnation painted horse tayles*] In Sidney's *Arcadia*, ed. 1621, p. 268, Phalantus has a horse with 'his mane and tayle . . . dyed in carnation' (Nares, *Gloss.*, s. v. beards).

27. *scutchaneled*] *N.E.D.* gives 'scutchenel' as a seventeenth-century variant of 'cochineal', but the form does not appear in any

of the instances given—nor have I met with it elsewhere. But for this one might be tempted to suggest an error here for 'so cutchaneled'.

28. *trauerlike*] Collier's emendation is ingenious, and, I think, probably correct. At any rate it seems impossible to assign any meaning to 'trauerlike'.

29. *iauels*] 'javel' is a rogue or worthless fellow.

drumbling] Cf. i. 368. 29.

30-I. *asses buskind eares*] There seems to be no meaning of 'buskind' which gives a possible sense here.

32. *Bel-shangles*] Cf. Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 3, where Kemp describes himself as 'onely tricker of your Trill-lilles and best bel-shangles betweene Sion and mount Surrey'—using the word for a morris-dancer.

34-5. *Ale and Shorditch*] Perhaps this merely means 'as disreputable topers'.

36. *and more, (to)*] Read perhaps 'and(more to . . .)'

P. 55, 2. *as there was of Cutting Ball*] Nothing seems to be known of this ballad. According to G. Harvey, *Wks.* i. 169, 'Ball (surnamed cuttinge Ball)' was hanged at Tiborne, and it was by his sister, 'a sorry ragged queane', that Greene had his son Fortunatus. As Prof. Collins points out (Greene, i. 9), he is also alluded to in Greene's *Groat's-worth of Wit*, in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 25. 25-6, 'one, brother to a Brothell he [i.e. Roberto] kept, was trust vnder a tree as round [as] a Ball.'

3. *Ho, Ball, ho!*] See note on i. 124. 15.

12. *In Speach with his eight Parts*] See note on i. 305. 18.

14. *enable*] i. e. exalt.

29. *of the age of fortie eight or vpwards*] This would give 1547 or a little earlier as the date of his birth. Professor Moore Smith has shown good reason for preferring 1550 or 1551; see his letter in the *Athenaeum*, Dec. 5, 1903.

30. *Turpe senex miles*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 4.

34. *Parentem habuit . . . lanium*] See Pol. Verg. *Angl. Hist.*, ed. Basle, 1570, p. 633, l. 33. The quotation is correct, as also those on the next page, save that, for l. 5, Polydore has 'vt rem non vtique persona ipsius dignam'.

P. 56, 2. *scot and lot*] i. e. parish or borough rates or taxes. On the expression see *Cent. Dict.*

23-4. *Nam genus & proauos . . . voco*] Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 140-1. Nashe quotes 'genus & proauos' at i. 160. 22.

26. *Demosthenes*] The son of a maker of sword-blades, Plut. *Demos.* 4. 1.

27. *Socrates*] Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 1. 18.

P. 57, 8-9. *in one place of his first booke*] The quotation below is from 4 *Let.*, F 1, G. H. i. 208. 24-5. Harvey is speaking of Greene, not of himself.

10. *as heretofore I haue set downe*] See i. 257. 24.

17. *casts . . . in my dish*] Cf. note on i. 307. 14.

21. *beechen coles*] It was pointed out to me by the late W. J. Craig that beech charcoal was especially associated with the operations of alchemists. He referred me to Chaucer, *Canon Yeoman's Tale*, l. 1160, Lyly's *Gallathea*, II. iii. 78, and Jonson's *Alchemist*, I. i. 476, II. i. 126-7.

23-7] Enlarged from i. 270. 10-12.

24. *like the Peacocke . . . foule feete*] Cf. ii. 112. 11-12 and note.

27-32] Cf. i. 273. 30-5; 274. 20-1.

33-5] See i. 304. 1-3.

P. 58, i. *lapwing-like*] This habit of the lapwing is constantly referred to; cf. *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 4. 17-20, and *Mother Bomby*, III. iii. 27. Cf. also Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, v. 192-3, ix. 102. 5-6, x. 77. 12-13, *Comedy of Errors*, IV. ii. 27, *Meas. for Meas.*, I. iv. 32. Cf. iii. 270. 1170-1.

3. *twittle twattle*] Cf. 53. 20, 'twittle-cum-twattles'.

4-5. *his kinsman, Sir Thomas Smith*] Harvey in 4 *Let. C* 4, G. H. i. 184, speaks of M. Thomas Smith, the son of Sir Thomas, as his cousin, but it is not clear how he was related to him. In the letters to Sir Thomas Smith in his *Letter-book*, he always writes in a most reverential tone, as to a patron, and there is, so far as I can discover, no suggestion of kinship. The reference to Sir T. Smith's funeral here mentioned is to be found in *P. S. Dd* i, G. H. ii. 313; Harvey calls him 'the honorable Sir Thomas Smith' and says nothing about his being a kinsman, nor does he say that he was a chief mourner.

19. *Another brother*] Cf. i. 274. 20.

24. *hangum tuums*] Cf. Latimer, *Fifth Sermon before Ed. VI* ('Ev. Man's Lib.', p. 155), 'There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which . . . should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet to take with him.' Also *Last Sermon before Ed. VI*, u. s. p. 215, 'They [i. e. plowmen] shall have *hangum tuum*, if they get any venison'.

26-9. *Agathocles . . . plate*] Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apoph.* Agath. 1, and *De se ipsum citra inv. laud.* 13.

P. 59, 6-7. *as Massarius de ponderibus writes*] See *Dominici Massarii Vincentini de Ponderibus & Mensuris medicinalibus libri tres*, 1584, p. 89 'Funiculus, schenos, Aegyptia mensura sexaginta stadiorum, ita dicta D. Hieronymo auctore, quod Aegyptij in Nilo flumine, siue in eius riuis solerent naues funibus trahere certa habentes spacia, que appellant funiculos, vt labori defessorum recentia trahentium colla succedant.'

23-4. *causa sine qua non . . . potentia non actu*] Ordinary logical terms. Cf. Wilson, *Rule of Reason*, 1551, L 1^v, B 8.

P. 60, 11-12. *Didimus or Diomedes . . . Grammer*] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 3, trs. 1569, fol. 7^v, 'Didimus wrote thereof [i. e. of the art of grammar] fowre thousande books, or as some saie, sixe thousande', a passage which is quoted almost verbally in *Summer's Last Will*, iii. 234. 50-2. See Athenaeus iv. 17, who says 3,500, and Seneca, *Epist.* 88. 32, who has 4,000. Agrippa mentions Diomedes in the same chapter, but says nothing about his having written any large number of books, nor does there seem any good authority for the statement. Nashe probably took it from Bodin, *Methodus ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, p. 12 'Diomedes verò de re grammatica sex millia librorum effudit.' As Mr. Crawford points out, Montaigne says the same thing, *Essais*, iii. cap. 9, first paragraph.

13. *boone-grace*] A 'bongrace' was a shield on the front of a hat to protect the wearer from the sun; see *N.E.D.* I can only suggest that it is here used for the placard in which it was customary to set

forth the name of a person undergoing punishment and the offence for which he suffered.

19. *flantitanting*] i.e. flaunting, the only instance in *N.E.D.*

Omega fist] Nashe perhaps means with great rounded curves, either as Ω or ω .

21-2. *Puer es, cupis atque doceri*] See note on 13. 24.

23-4. *the Statute against . . . beggars*] There was much legislation against vagabonds; cf. Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 431, &c. See especially the statute of 1593, p. 442-3.

28-9. *A desperate stabber with pen-knives*] Is it possible that the same incident, whatever precisely it may have been, is referred to by Lyly in *Pappe, Wks.*, ed. Bond, iii. 399. 15-19, 'One hath been an old stabber at passage: the One that I meane, thrust a knife into ones thigh at Cambridge, the quarrel was about cater-tray, and euer since hee hath quarrelled about cater-caps'? Lyly refers to Harvey on the following page, but this passage seems to point at 'Martin'. As in most of the tracts, however, the precise meaning is far from clear.

P. 61, 3-5. *slept in a sheepe skinne . . . vnder a lawrell tree . . . on the bare ground . . . on a dead mans tomb*] I can give no contemporary references to these superstitions.

7. *no barrel better herring*] A proverb of frequent occurrence, meaning 'one is as good as another', 'it makes no difference'. Cf. Bernard's Terence, 'Formulae loquendi' to *Andria*, iv. 4 (ed. 1607, p. 84), 'Paulum interesse censeo. I thinke theres no great choise: little difference: scarce either barrel better herring,' and Harvey, *P.S. S 2*, G. H. ii. 217. 10-12, 'neuer a laye in the barrell, better herring: the beginning, the midst, and the end, all in one pickle.' Cf. iii. 222. 9.

10. *Salomons brazen Bowle*] Scot tells the story twice in his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, 383, 455, in the latter place giving his authorities. He does not say that the Babylonians were digging for treasure, but that they found the bowl—in a deep hole or lake—and 'supposing there had beene gold or siluer therein, brake it, and out flew all the devils'. See the life of St. Margaret in the *Golden Legend* (Temple ed., iv. 69).

19. *Empedocles deuils*] I cannot explain the allusion.

22-3. *more disquiet than the Irish seas*] Proverbial for storms; cf. *Strange things out of Seb. Munster*, 1574, A 6, 'The sea betwixe Ireland and Englande, do rage almoste continuallye, soe that there is no safe passage but at certaine times.'

33-4. *he would needs crosse the seas . . . Tuscanisme*] It is clear that in 1578 and 1579 Harvey was expecting to go abroad on the service of Lord Leicester; see Prof. Moore Smith's Introduction to *Pedantius*, pp. xxxvi-yii, but there appears to be no evidence that he actually did so. 'Tuscanisme' refers to his poem; see note on i. 295. 27-8.

36. *Commenter vpon earth-quakes*] referring of course to the *Three Proper Letters*, of 1580, in which the earthquake of April 6 is described.

P. 62, i. *Vltima linea rerum*] Horace, *Epist. i. 16. 79* 'mors ultima linea rerum est'.

2. *key-colde*] Cf. Lyly, *Mother Bomby*, IV. i. 42, 'the loue of our children waxeth key colde'. The expression was common.

3. *Tractate of Pap-hatchet*] The attack upon Lylly in *Pierce's Supererogation*, Wks., ii. 124-221. Nashe's comparison is hardly just, for it occupies more than a quarter of the whole book.

27-8. as *Herodotus held that the Aethiopians . . . inke*] See Herodotus iii. 101. Denied by Aristotle in *Hist. Anim.* iii. 17. Probably taken by Nashe from Bodin's *Methodus ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, p. 82.

34-5. as *hee taxt Liuy*] See Bodin's *Methodus ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. of 1595, p. 57 'sed in eo genere Liuius nimis religiose dicam, an superstitione omnes superauit. nihil enim frequentius, quam boves loquutos, scipiones arsisse, statuas sudasse . . . Deum Annibali apparuisse, infantem semestrem triumphum clamasse.' By 'scipiones' Bodin does not of course mean 'the Scipios', but 'staves'; see Livy xxii. 1. Nashe apparently had some independent knowledge of Hannibal's dream (Livy xxi. 22).

P. 63, 11. *Hoppenny Hoe*] Properly a game; it is mentioned in Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, L 2, 'Thy Argumentes are drawne from the dispot called *Ho penni ho*, wherin all must say as one saith, & do as he doth, for all thy confirmation is but an an [sic] exhortation to frame an imitation to other mens liking'. I have seen no other allusion to it.

12. *Hankin Booby*] See Chappell, *Pop. Mus.*, 73, on the tune called 'Hanskin, or Half Hannikin'. 'Hankin' seems to have been a name for a clown; 'Hankin bovy' occurs in Skelton, ed. Dyce, i. 159, and 'Hankin boby' as a tune in *Thersytes*.

21. like certaine people of the Tartars] Perhaps a careless reminiscence of John de Plano Carpini's people with no joints in their legs, who when pursued by the Tartars 'flye strongly before them'. Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, i. 143-4.

30. as about Dions ship] See Plutarch, *Dio*, 24. 1. It was a swarm of bees, not wasps, that settled on the prow of his ship.

31. *cradle*] Engl. 'cradle' was never a plural word, and I have therefore concluded the reading of Q to be a misprint; but cf. *Lat. cunabula*.

P. 64, 1. at *Queene Maries coronation*] There is apparently some confusion here. Holinshed records that at Mary's coronation one Peter, a Dutchman, did antics on the weathercock of St. Paul's, but he was certainly not killed, for he afterwards received £16 13s. 4d. from the City 'for his costs and paines'. At the entry of Philip into London, however, in 1554 there was one 'that came downe vpon a rope tied to the batlements [of St. Paul's] with his head before, neither staieng himselfe with hand or foot: which shortlie after cost him his life'. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 63.

5-6. manie of which are yet extant in Primers and Almanackes] If so, they are not to be identified. There are hexameters in John Harvey's almanac for 1584.

9-10. *O acumen Carneadum! O decus addite diuis*] Not traced—if a quotation. For the second phrase cf. *Aen.* viii. 301.

10-11. *Susenbrotus and Taleus*] They were grammarians of some note. Joannes Susenbrotus (d. 1543) wrote numerous works, among which may be mentioned his *Rudimenta Grammaticae Graecae et Latinae*. There is an entry of his 'figures' to Thomas Orwin on May 7,

1593. Audomarus Taleus, or Talon (d. 1562), a native of Picardy, was a friend of Ramus and wrote a number of commentaries on various works of Cicero. His *Rhetorica* was entered to 'Master' Harrison on Dec. 6, 1588.

11-13. *Philo Iudeus . . . preferd aboue Plato*] Possibly also from Bodin's *Method. ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, p. 76 foot 'Philo Iudæus, quem inter et Platonem opinor, veteres non modo præiudicium, sed plane iudicium tulerunt.'

14-16. *Gaza . . . Aegipt*] See P. Mela, i. 11.

18. *carries the poake*] 'Poke' is a wallet of any kind; the exact sense of the present passage is not altogether clear, but there is evident allusion to some part of the service exacted from scholars and szars.

34. *as Paulus Iouius did*] Cf. Bodin's *Method. ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, 59. The sense of the Latin is more correctly given in Cognet's *Politique Discourses*, trans. 1586, E 5^v, 'Paulus Iouius, was wont to say, that to doe fauour to such great personages as gaue him pensions, he set thinges downe, in such sort as they that liued in that time, were well inough able to discouer them, mary the posterity should hold them for true.'

36. *Dialogue twixt Charles the fifth and him*] Bodin, u. s., p. 60 'Omitto ineptam Caroli Imperatoris ad Iouium cohortationem, Expedire te, inquit, Ioui, calamos oportet, &c., tum eius querelas & colloquia cum Iouio . . .'

P. 85, 2. *Inuective against Selimus*] Cf. Bodin, *Method. ad Hist. Cognit.*, u. s., 54 'Iouius, qui oratione longa Selimi Turcarum principis crudelitatis omnes cum summa contumelia verborum amplificauit.' The colon in l. 1 should perhaps have been replaced by a comma.

10. *battles*] i.e. thrives, with an allusion to another meaning, to obtain provisions from the college buttery—now only in use at Oxford.

14-16. *Corax or Lacedemonian Ctesiphon . . . anie thing*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 6, trs. 1569, fol. 19^v, 'The Lacedemonians bannished Ctesiphon, because he auanted that he couldle talke a whole daie of any thinge.' See Plut. *Inst. Lacon.* 39. Corax is frequently mentioned in the same chapter.

17. *Gurmo Hidruntum*] The only 'Gurmo' known to me was the father of Canute (Holins. *Cron.*, ed. 1807-8, vi. 92). 'Hydruntum' (Otranto) was well known as a port in Calabria, but whether Nashe took the name from this place or not I cannot of course say.

23. *Cornelius Musa*] Cornelio Musso (1511-74), preacher and theologian, Bishop of Bertinoro and later of Bitonto, took an important part in the Council of Trent. He was famous for his eloquence and a remarkable memory, and was called the Chrysostom of Italy. See Bayle, *Dict.* 1737, iv. 290-2, and for testimonies to his eloquence Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lit. Ital.*, Milan, 1824, xiii. 2347-8.

24. *Pancarola*] I suppose that Francesco Panigarola (1548-94), a celebrated Italian preacher, is meant, who became Bishop of Asti in 1587. He wrote against the Calvinists. See Tiraboschi, u. s. 2349-60.

26-7. *Archibald Rupenrope*] Apparently a mere nonce-name. Professor Moore Smith points out, however, that in 'Rupenrope' and 'rope-rethorique' at 15. 35 there may be more point than a mere allusion to the Harvey's 'rope-making business'. He compares

R. W.'s *Three Ladies of London*, 1584, B 1 (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt vi. 267), 'Thou art very pleasant & ful of thy roperipe (I would say Retorick)', and *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 154, where Q has 'roperipe', Q 2 and F 1 'ropery'. Cf. also *Tam. of Shrew*, I. ii. 112, and *The Prodigal Son*, I. 61, in *Malone Soc. Collections*, I.

29. *sourding*] i. e. springing.

32. &c. *incendarie . . . abiect*] The four expressions here quoted do not seem to be used in Harvey's printed works.

P. 68, 2-3. *to cry, Sancte Socrates*] Not traced.

3. *Ens entium miserere mei*] Cf. Lyly's *Campaspe*, I. iii. 31-2, and *Euphues*, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 293, 10-12, also Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, iii. 388 top. The origin of the attribution to Aristotle of these words seems to be unknown. Comparetti in his *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Engl. trans. 1895, p. 99) says that when he was a boy at school the phrase 'causa causarum miscrere mei' was taught to him as the traditional dying words of *Cicero*.

12-13. *the Vniuersitie Orator*] See note on I. 268. 10-11.

18-19. *esse posse videatur*] Cf. notes on II. 246. 21, 32.

30. *Faburden*] Cf. note on II. 274. 19.

P. 67, 13. *artire*] A common form of 'artery'.

15. *Apothecaries Crocodile*] Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, V. i. 43, where 'An alligator stuff'd' is mentioned as one of the furnishings of the apothecary's shop. Steevens states that he had seen one 'hanging up in the shop of an ancient apothecary at Limehouse'.

17. *Countes Mountes*] I do not know who is meant by this.

18-22] Enough on the subject of poems in odd forms has been said by Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, ii. 11.

24. *Hauw with ye to Florida*] This ballad was in existence at least as early as 1567; see *Horestes* in Brandl's *Quellen*, stage-direction to I. 306, where a song is to be sung to the tune of 'hauw ouer y^e water to floride or selengers round'. The words have been preserved (at least in part) and are to be found in T. Wright's *Songs and Ballads*, Rox. Club, 1860, no. lxxvi, p. 213. Certain of the stanzas there printed appear to belong to another song.

24-5. *Axeres and the worthie Iphijs*] Anaxarete and Iphis (Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 698, &c.) are evidently meant, but the names must be mistakes or intentional corruptions rather than misprints.

25. *As I went to Walsingham*] See Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 121. It is also called 'Have with you to Walsingham'. See also *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, 246.

26. *In Creete when Dedalus*] Two verses of this ballad, with the tune, found by Mr. F. Sidgwick in Harley MS. 7578, fol. 103, were published in the *Gentleman's Mag.* for August, 1906, p. 180. It is several times alluded to; cf. Simon Smelknave's *Fearfull . . . effects of two Comets*, 1591, B IV, 'But oh you Ale-knights . . . that sing *In Creete when Dedalus*, ouer a cup, and tell Spanish newes ouer an Ale-pot.' Dyer's 'My mind to me a kingdom is' was sung to the tune of 'In Creete'; cf. *Shirburn Ballads*, II. s., p. 113.

28. *Cato*] i. e. Cato Uticensis; see Plutarch, *Cato*, 68.

32. *like Homers works*] As Alexander did; see Plut., *Alex.* 8. 2.

36. *like a Church and an ale-house*] Proverbial, I believe; cf. Overbury's *Characters* (*Works*, p. 145), 'A Sexton': 'for at every

church stile commonly ther's an ale-house' (quoted by Prof. Gummere in a note to Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, 1 491-2, 'weele to the church stile, and have a pot'—Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Com.*, p. 384).

P. 68, 4-5. *a little epitomized Bradfords Meditations*] John Bradford's *Godly Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and Ten Commandments*, first printed in 1562, went through several editions, but I know no epitome of them.

7. *The Fall of man*] Possibly Nashe's invention—no work of so early a date with this title seems to be known, though of course there may well have been one.

10-11. *Nox & amor*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 6. 59.

12. *Non sunt sine viribus artus*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 10. 23.

13-14. *Leue fit . . .*] Ovid, *Amores*, i. 2. 10.

15. *Fælices quibus . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* 17. 145.

16. *forbod*] i.e. prohibition. Such phrases as 'passing God's forbode' are fairly frequent in the sense of 'extravagant'; see *N.E.D.*

22. *pumpes and pantoffles*] Cf. i. 278. 31.

25. *amor and amicitia*] There is, I believe, nothing in the *De Officiis* which can here be referred to; cf., however, *Part. Or.* 25. 88, *De Amic.* 8. 26. Or was Nashe thinking of Seneca, *Epist.* 35?

32. *Jacke of the Falcon*] Cf. i. 283. 1.

33. *mustard to his red herrings*] See note on iii. 200. 22.

37. *stewd prunes*] See note on ii. 185. 12.

P. 69, 1. *under pretence of swearing by it*] With some such declaration as 'may this bread choke me if I do not speak the truth'. Allusions to the practice are fairly numerous. See the account of Earl Goodwin's death in Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 748. Cf. iii. 199. 14.

15. *and so foorth*] The signification of this very common phrase is somewhat puzzling. It is, I think, clear that it had other senses besides that of 'et cetera', which it has at present. It seems often to be equivalent, as here, to 'and so, to proceed', while sometimes it seems rather to mean 'and there you are', or 'and that's all there is to do—or say'. Cf. Lyly's *Mother Bomby*, I. i. 14, and *Two Ang. Wom.*, ed. Gayley, in *Repr. Eng. Com.* viii. 314.

24-5. *the setting vp of the Bull by Felton*] This was the bull of Pius V, absolving Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance to her on the ground of her hostility to the Roman faith. It was set up on the palace gate of the Bishop of London, in Paul's Churchyard, on May 25, 1570, by John Felton, who was afterwards arrested and hanged. See Holinshed, *Chron.* 12 Eliz., ed. 1807-8, iv. 252.

27. *capitulated*] A somewhat rare use for 'wrote'. So far as is now known there is no truth in all this about Harvey's ballad-writing and pamphleteering.

29. *the earth-quake*] That of April 6, 1580.

31. *fourre notable famous Letters*] This must be a slip of the pen for 'three notable . . .', for Nashe is evidently referring to the *Three Proper Letters* of 1580, and that the *Two Other Letters* was published with it does not make him any more correct. Of the five letters in these two works three are Harvey's and two Spenser's.

34. *English Hexameters*] the 'Speculum Tuscanismi' to which Nashe so often refers; see note on i. 295. 27-8.

P. 70, 3-4. *a common writer of Almanackes*] Nothing is known of

them, if he ever wrote any. His brother John wrote at least two; see Appendix A.

6. *Gabriel Frend*] This person, of whom nothing seems to be known, published almanacs for 1589, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1615, 1616 (see Hazlitt, *Coll. and Notes*, II. 236-7), and probably for other years also ('Gabr. Frende writeth yearly Almanackes'—Maunsell, *Cat.* ii. 9^b). Six of these are in the British Museum. Nashe's identification of him with Harvey is, I suppose, no more than a jest.

21-3. *the seeing, . . . Nounē Substantiue*] See note on ii. 119. 24-5.

27. *corām quem queritis adsum*] Vergil, *Aen.* i. 595.

32. *Quarter-master*] Cf. note on i. 213. 3.

33. *redde letters*] Alluding, of course, to the generally lavish use of red in the printing of almanacs. Cf. i. 256. 10.

P. 71, 1-2. *vnusquisque proximus ipse sibi*] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 3. 92; among a number of similar sayings he does not, however, give the exact form found here. It is evidently based on Terence, *Andria* iv. 1. 12 'Proximus sum egomet mihi'. Bernard in his translation gives it among the 'sententiae' at the end of the scene as 'Proximus quisque est ipsimet sibi'.

6. *a blank maintenance*] Doubtless some joke—but I cannot explain it.

8-9. *By the ciuil law*] Cf. 46. 6-7.

14. *Diz faciant . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* ii. 66 'Di faciant, laudis summa sit ista tuae.' By 'suae' Nashe evidently intends to signify Harvey's.

19. *Si nihil attuleris . . .*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 280.

21. *Legend of lyes*] See note on i. 11. 5.

32. *cue*] See note on ii. 225. 18.

P. 72, 8. *John Doleta*] See note on i. 23. 24-5.

9. *Doctor Deuse-ace*] Also in *The Woman's Prize*, III. iv. (Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, vii. 168). Dyce quotes an instance of the use of the name from his edition of Skelton's *Works*, i. 17, and says 'A term of contempt, very old, and not unfrequently met with'. He also quotes the present passage. Cf. 31. 16.

Doctor Mery-man] The earliest instance of the name known to me is in L. Wright's *Display of Duty*, 1589, D 4^v, 'Certain necessarie rules . . . of health prescribed by D. Dyet, D. Quiet, and D. Merryman.' Cf. also the title of Rowlands' tract of 1609 (or 1607); *N.E.D.*, s. v. Merryman 3, and *Schola Salernitana*, ed. 1649, p. 8.

17-18. *the Discourse of Debitor & Creditor*] One of two books by James Peele may be meant, *The maner and fourme how to kepe a perfecte reconyng, after the order of the moste worthie and notable accompte of Debitour and Creditour*, 1553, or *The Pathē way to perfectnes, in th' accomptes of debitour, and Creditour: in manner of a dialogue*, 1569. Both these would, however, be somewhat antiquated, and I can learn of no later editions of them.

18. *ordinary*] Collier's correction to 'ordinar[il]y' is unnecessary; cf. *N.E.D.*, s. v. ordinary, a 7 B.

19-21. *They are . . . Dialls of dayes . . . months-mind*] I do not understand the meaning of these lines.

20. *ghesses*] A not uncommon Italianate spelling; so also 'ghest'.

21. *months-mind*] See note on ii. 252. 16.

23. *halpering*] i.e. stumbling, going backward and forward; see *N.E.D.* The word seems peculiar to Nashe; cf. iii. 207. 6.

P. 73, 10. *at Audley-end*] The Queen visited Audley End on Sept. 2, 1571 (Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* i. 280), and again on July 26, 1578 (*Progresses*, ii. 111-15). It is the later visit that is here referred to. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and the Heads of Colleges waited on her there on July 27, and offered presents. There was a disputation, in which Harvey took part.

12. *huffy tuffy*] i.e. swaggering, *N.E.D.*; the earliest example.

15-16. *take not my markes amisse*] i.e. am not mistaken.

16. *Rauen*] I know of no other reference to this person.

21. *of the mending hand*] i.e., properly, on the road to recovery; see *N.E.D.*, s.v. hand *sb.* 4 b.

26. *as sure as a club*] Cf. Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 84, 'And by the masse (quoth the priest) bir prophesie fell out as sure as a club'. *N.E.D.*

29-30. *to passe the stampe*] The expression 'put to stampe', for 'printed', occurs in Hall's *Chron.*, 25 Hen. VIII, ed. 1809, 811. 18 (*Cent. Dict.*). Cf. Ital. *stampa*.

31. *a wrangling with his sister in law*] See 81. 33, &c.

P. 74, 1. *meate in the mouth*] Cf. note on i. 322. 32.

8-9. *the Iewes rising vp in armes*] There is perhaps allusion to some rumour of the day. I can find no mention of it elsewhere.

9-10. *raining of corne this Summer at Wakefield*] Apparently unrecorded elsewhere.

16. *Sadolet*] An Italian cardinal and famous scholar (1477-1547). His name seems here to be introduced merely for the sake of the pun on 'saddle', though there may possibly be allusion to his well-known work *De liberis recte instituendis*, 1531.

17. *ostry*] A form of 'hostry' or 'hostelry'.

18. *pelts*] i.e. skins, strips.

19-20. *under benedicite . . . be it spoken*] i.e. as at confession. Cf. Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, ed. Camd. Soc., 1840, p. 17. The phrase is fairly common.

24. *metamorphized*] Apparently a recognized form of the word; cf. *Two Gent. of Ver.*, II. i. 27 (Fol.); *Merry Wives*, repr. of Q 1 in Camb. ed., xvii. 58; *Jew of Malta*, ed. Wagner, l. 601; and Fletcher and Massinger's *Spanish Curate*, IV. vii. 14 ('-iz'd' in both Ff.); also examples in *N.E.D.* So 'Metamorphisis' at iii. 183. 16.

26. *Nil habeo præter auditum*] Cic. *De Off.* i. 10. 33.

P. 75, 1. *par-anters*] The form 'paraunter' for 'peradventure' was antiquated at this date (see *N.E.D.*), but may well have survived longer in this phrase 'without all par-aunter', i.e. without doubt, than when standing alone.

7. *Crosses*] The usual joke on this name for coins; cf. Nares, *Gloss.*

12-13. *the Queenes coine in the Mynt*] The Mint was within the tower. Full description in Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. i. 96-104.

13. *alwaies abroad and neuer within*] A kind of proverbial saying; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 91, "It is true," quoth she, "for they are alwaies without that are never within."

18. *Talatamtana, or Doctour Hum*] I know nothing of these two

names. Hum, or Hun, seems to be a variant of the name Hume; cf. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 203 foot, and 2 *Hen. VI*, I. ii. 88.

27-8. *as heretofore I . . . set down*] Cf. i. 276. 34-5.

29-30. *Nux, mulier, asinus . . . desunt*] Given, with 'ligati' for 'ligata' and 'cessent' for 'desunt', in the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus (Erasm. *Adag.* 1572, ii. 482) as 'toto terrarum orbe cantatissimum'. Cf. 'Nux, asinus, mulier, verbere opus habent' among the miscellaneous proverbs at the end of the volume, p. 647. Very commonly quoted or referred to.

34. *thriftely*] Evidently connected in some way with the phrase to 'husband' a cudgel about any one's shoulders; cf. 49. 1. Mr. Crawford compares Jonson's *Epicæne*, last speech, 'this Amazon . . . should beat you now thriftily', and *Discoveries*, 'Imo serviles' (ed. Gifford, 1873, 755^b, l. 13.)

P. 76, 19-20. *as in my former Booke I have cyted*] See i. 277. 5-6.

23. *take it upon him*] i. e. swagger.

25. *Monarcha, the Italian*] Probably a mistake or misprint for 'Monarcho', i. e. Monarch, the nickname by which this person seems to have been known. The fact of his being mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i. 101, has caused references to him to be collected, but though these are fairly numerous they tell us little. It seems most probable that he was a hanger-on of the Court, who lived on his reputation for fantasticality. If we are to believe Scot, he was not altogether sane; see the *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 54, where having mentioned the 'melancholike humor' of Thrasibus, who imagined 'that all the ships, which arrived at port *Pyraeus*, were his', he continues, 'The *Italian*, whom we called here in *England*, the Monarch, was possessed with the like spirit or conceit'. For a reference to him by Meres see note on Shakerley at i. 257. 4. In *Churchyara's Chance*, 1580, there is a poem on him called 'The Phantastical Monarches Epitaphe', from which it would appear that he was then dead. We also learn that 'On gallant robes his greatest glorie stood'. Scot's statement as to his madness is supported by an anecdote quoted by Reed from *A brief discourse of the Spanish State*, 1590, from which it appears that he claimed to be sovereign of the whole world. See the *Var. Sh.* of 1821 and *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. Furness, for this and other allusions.

35. *another honourable Knight*] Perhaps Sir Fulke Greville.

P. 77, 15. *Dagoerd Copenhagen*] Apparently a mere nonce-name.

19-20. *Master Bradburies*] According to the account printed by Nichols, *Progresses*, ii. 114, the Cambridge scholars who had taken part in the disputation at Audley End returned to Cambridge the same night.

20. *Countesse of Darbie*] This must refer to Margaret, wife of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, from whom she was afterwards separated. She died towards the end of September, 1596; see *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.* 1595-7, p. 289.

27-8. *the woman with the horne in her head*] On Oct. 28, 1588, there was entered in the Stationers' Register to R. Jones, E. White, T. Orwin, and H. Cary 'A miraculous and monstrouse but moste true and certen discourse of a woman (nowe to be seene in London) of thage of lx. yeres in the middest of whose forehead by the wonderfull woorke of God, there groweth out a Crooked horne of 4 ynches longe'

(*S.R.*, ed. Arber, ii. 504). For other allusions to this woman see Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, V. ii, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 163, 3-4 ('Cyprus' is of course put for London), and Marston's *Malcontent*, III. i, ed. Dyce, in *Wks. of Webster*, 1857, p. 336. For the last reference I am indebted to Professor Bang.

P. 78, 3. *Aedes Valdinenses*] i.e. *Gabrielis Harveii Gratulationum Valdinensium Libri Quatuor*. See Appendix A.

7. *Imo, vidi . . .* [‘Vidi, vidi ipse loquentem Cum Snaggo’, *Grat. Vald.* B 4^v.

8. *Master Snagge*] The only well-known person of the name seems to be Thomas Snagge (1536-92), Attorney-General for Ireland 1577-80, and later Speaker of the House of Commons. He is said to have been in Ireland from 1577-80, but may possibly have been at this time in England on a visit.

11-12. *Wodde, meusque tuusque . . .*] Harvey's *Smithus*, B 1:

‘O Deus, an perijt Musarum gloria Smithus;
Smithus, Vudde, meusq; tuusq; Britannorumq; suorum;
Victurus nobis, si non sibi viuere posset?’

14. *As in presenti*] See note on i. 282. 23.

17. *two great Pieres beeing at iarre*] There was, of course, much rivalry between the nobles of Elizabeth's court, and it is difficult to be certain which are the two peers referred to. The Earl of Oxford was probably one; it was the time of his famous quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney.

21-2. *hewe and slash with his Hexameters*] The 'Speculum Tuscanismi' again. See note on i. 295. 27-8.

23. *ducke Fryer*] Cf. '1530 Palsgr. 526/1 I dowke, I stowpe lowe as a frere doth.' *N.E.D.*

24. *that Noblemans house*] Probably the Earl of Leicester is meant.

25-6. *Syr James a Croft*] Sir James Croft (d. 1591), controller of Queen Elizabeth's household and privy councillor, 1570, commissioner for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, 1586.

26-7. *had him under hold in the Fleet*] Cf. i. 297. 9.

28-9. *his olde Controwler*] See 3 *Let. D* 3, G. H. i. 72. 20, and compare 4 *Let. C* 3^v, G. H. i. 183. 12, where Harvey makes it clear that he was referring to Dr. Perne. A few lines earlier he states that Sir James Croft, supposing himself attacked, was incensed against him, but was pacified by Thomas Wilson and Sir W. Mildmay.

P. 79, 12. *Sturbridge Fayre*] For a collection of all that is known about this celebrated fair see *Life of Ambrose Bonwicke*, ed. Mayor, pp. 153-65 (Mullinger, Cambridge, i. 540 note). Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.* in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 174, calls it 'the most famous mart in England'.

13. *foot-cloth*] See note on i. 201. 6.

24-5. *Vnde haec insania*] As Nashe has so many jesting references to Harvey's Latin poems, it may be noted that 'quorsum haec insania' occurs in the 'Charitum Hymnus' in *Smithus*.

27. *Semel insanivimus omnes*] This oft-quoted phrase is from Mantuan's *Ecllogues*, i. (Faustus) l. 118 'Id commune malum: semel insanivimus omnes'. Again at iii. 235. 56-7.

29. *Nodgscombe*] See note on i. 281. 25.

29-30. *He that most patronized him*] I suppose that the Earl of Leicester is meant. Cf. note on l. 33-4.

P. 80, 7. *Pedantius*] See note on i. 303. 25-6.

14. *Buffianisme*] i.e. buffoonery, from 'buffian', a variant of 'buffoon'; see *N. E. D.*, where the present example is the only one.

17. *Raptim scripta*] Cf. 3 *Let. E* 4, G. H. i. 91. 9 'Raptim, vti vides'; *Pedantius*, V. iii, after l. 2567, in Caius MS. 'scripta enim sunt vti vides raptim et negligenter' (ed. Moore Smith, p. 99; not in the printed text of 1631).

Nosti manum & stylum] 3 *Let. G* 1, G. H. i. 107. 23; *Pedantius*, V. iii., l. 2567.

18-19. *Musarum Lachrymæ*] i.e. Harvey's *Smithus, vel Musarum Lachrymae*. Pedantius declares that he will build a marble tomb for Lydia his love: 'Decrevi . . . tum etiam tragediam conficere *De vita & obitu utriusque nostrum* . . . nuncupabo autem, LACHRYMAS MVSARVM', *Ped.* V. vi, ll. 2857-61.

29. *Shewe made at Clare-hall*] Nothing seems to be known of it.

31-2, 35] In the quarto these lines are printed in a larger type.

36-81, 1. *broke the Colledge glasse windowes*] For this method of expressing disapproval cf. *Pedantius*, u. s., xxii, where Professor Moore Smith quotes from the Junior Bursar's Book of Trinity College for the year 1578-9 the entries: 'It. for thyrtye foote of new glasse after the playes in the hall windowes . . . xv^s.—It. for new leading of thirtye foote in the great hall windowes . . . v^s'.

P. 81, 1-2. *either for himselfe or Deputie Vice-chancellor*] Perne was several times Vice-Chancellor of the University, the last time being in 1580, which was about the date when this show at Peterhouse may be supposed to have been performed.

6. *Kate Cotton*] Nothing seems to be known of her.

16. *Doctor Fulke*] William Fulke (1538-89) of St. John's Coll., Cambridge, a Puritan divine and friend of Thomas Cartwright, Master of Pembroke Hall, 1578.

22. *reakes*] i.e. pranks; the word is of obscure origin.

23. *M. Wathel*] I can learn nothing of this person.

32-3. *dedicated to him an Almanacke*] See Appendix A.

33, &c.] I am indebted to Mr. R. L. Steele for a reference to the Chancery Proceedings, Ser. II, Bdle. 241. 63, a Bill of Complaint of Martha Harvey dated 1593. See Introduction in vol. v.

P. 82, 16-17. *the water of Saint Iues*] See J. Bale's *Acts of the English Votaries*, pt. ii, ed. 1560, C 4^v: 'Saint Iues water was in those dayes, about the yeare of our Lord a .M. and xii, verye holesome for the feminine gender. For a certain woman complained her vnto the prior of Ramsey in cōfession, that a lecherous sprite had many nyghtes occupied with her in the likenesse of an Hare . . . And he gaue her counsel to drincke of that water, whiche was vnto her euer after (the story saith) as a water well against al his busy assaults. If ye searche Ihon Capgrave in *vita Iuonis episcopi*, ye shall find it a matter more vncomely, than may with honesty be expressed.' See the *Nova Legenda Angliae* collected by Capgrave and others, ed. Horstman, 1901, ii. 89. It is the St. Ives in Huntingdonshire which is referred to. The water issued from the saint's tomb. For the 'Monkes Cowle' in ll. 15-16 see a story told on the preceding page of Bale.

19. *Master Candishes Roote*] Perhaps brought back by Thomas Cavendish from the circumnavigation of the globe in 1586-8, this being the last voyage from which he returned. It does not, however, seem to be mentioned in *Hakluyt*.

27. *Saturne & Jupiter*] See note on i. 196. 17.

29. *Thebit Bencorat*] i. e. Tâbit ben Korra (826-901), an Arabian astronomer; see Dreyer, *Planetary Systems*, 276-7; 'orb' of course means 'sphere'.

34-5. *the Bishop of London that then was*] i. e. John Aylmer, who was consecrated bishop in 1577. The sermon does not seem to have been printed.

P. 83, 2. *Heath*] i. e. Thomas Heath, mathematician, M.A. of All Souls, Oxford, 1573. His work against Harvey appeared in 1583 under the title of *Manifest and Apparent Confutation of an Astrological Discourse lately published to the discomfort (without cause) of the weak and simple sort*. It was dedicated to Sir George Carey (Baron Hunsdon). Heath was a friend of John Dee, the famous astrologer (*D. N. B.*).

6. *Ribaden*] Nashe is probably referring to the Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira (1527-1611). His *Historia Ecclesiastica del scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra*, 1588, attracted attention in this country. It was naturally looked upon by Protestants as a budget of lies.

Chincklen Kraga] Unknown to me.

7-8. *Cashiers or Prouiditores*] This instance of 'cashier' is the earliest in *N.E.D.* I can learn nothing of the officers here mentioned. In Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 431, &c., will be found a full account of the legislation dealing with beggars, vagrants, and old soldiers, the latter being very numerous about London, but in the orders issued concerning them more is said of punishment than of relief.

9-11. *as the Athenians . . . erected to Berosus . . . with a golden tongue*] See Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 37.

13. *Sophisters Hills*] No hills of this name are known to me.

14. *ockamie*] The word is a corrupt form of 'alchemy'. This is the earliest example of it given in *N.E.D.*

neerely] Possibly we should read 'meerely' (as does *N.E.D.* in quoting the passage under 'occamy').

21-3. *as Cardan saith Cosmo de Medices . . . Burbon were*] See J. Bodin, *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*, ed. 1595, p. 137 'Eodem sidere [sc. Capricorno] Cardanus natum scripsit Carolum Burbonium, Cosmum Medicem, & Selimum principem Turcarum . . .' For Charles V see a few lines earlier.

27-8. *malevolent Starres of Medusa and Andromeda*] According to the *Kalender of Shepherdes*, ed. Sommer, iii. 135, those born under Andromeda 'shall be in daungeoure to dye in pryson'. Medusa is presumably an alternative name for the constellation Perseus, which included Medusa's head.

33. *Jacobs Staffe*] An instrument for measuring the height of the sun.

36. *September*] I have been unable to find any other allusion to this idea.

P. 84, 3. *born under Aries*] Cf. Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, Pt. ii, ed. N. S. S. 64, where it is stated that one born under Aries shall be rich, but the reason given is different.

7. *under Libra*] I can find no authority for this statement. Stubbes, n. s., p. 65, says that one born under Libra 'shall be fortunate in merchandize'.

9. *Heilding*] Apparently a form of 'hilding', a worthless beast, a sorry jade, applied also to a good-for-nothing person; see *N.E.D.* s.v.

11. *Thomas Deloney*] See note on i. 280. 15. His *Garland of Good Will* was entered to Thomas Pavier on March 1, 1601-2, on condition that it belonged to no other man (*S.R.*, ed. Arber, iii. 202), but no earlier edition than that of 1604 (Hazlitt, *Hbk.* 153^b) is now known. It must—as is clear from the present passage—have been originally issued in or before 1596. The form of the entry to Pavier suggests that it was an old work. It may be mentioned that it was in 1596 that Deloney got into trouble for writing a book about the dearth of corn, which 'brought in the Queen speaking to her People Dialoguewise in very fond and undecent sort' (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 442).

13. *more than the premisses*] I cannot interpret this.

14. *an Epistle of Momus and Zoylus*] There is no such epistle in the *Garland*, and I do not know what is referred to.

15-16. *an Ale-house wispe*] See note on ii. 210. 24.

16. *a penny a quart*] Harrison's beer cost him 20s. for 200 gallons, a month's consumption, i.e. a penny for 3½ quarts; see his *Descr. of Eng.*, N. S. S. i. 159 foot. In 1591 the price was 6s. 8d. per barrel of 32 (?) or 36) gallons, and 3s. 4d. for small ale. Stow, n. s., bk. v, p. 204.

17. *this deare yeare*] Both 1595 and 1596 were years of dearth; see Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 768, 769, where he seems to be referring to the summer and autumn of 1595, and p. 782, where he apparently means the summer of 1596; cf. 784^a, but the dates are somewhat confused. From the numerous allusions to the scarcity in the Acts of the Privy Council it would appear that it continued in some parts of the country until the spring of 1597.

19. *carded*] i.e. adulterated by mixing.

20. *Candlemas*] It is not clear whether this is meant as the title of a ballad or not; none of this name seems to be known.

John for the King] 'A new Ballet called John for the king' was entered to Edward White on Oct. 24, 1603. This may have been a revised version of the earlier one. No copy of either seems to be known. The words were perhaps a common refrain; cf. the Clown's song in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, II. v :

'John for the king has been in many ballads,
John for the king down dino,
John for the king has eaten many salads,
John for the king sings hey ho.'

The ballad is again referred to at iii. 201. 7.

21-2. *The Thunder-bolt against Swearers*] Nothing seems to be known of this.

22. *Repent, England, repent*] Perhaps either (1) the ballad entered to J. Danter on Aug. 2, 1594, as 'A call to Repentance to all true Englishe hartes', or (2) 'A ballad entituled a warninge to England with speede to Repente for the greate scarssetye and want that now is and like this yeare ensuinge to be', which was entered on Apr. 19, 1595.

See also Chappell's suggestions in *Pop. Mus.* 770; but is Collier's ballad of 'The great earthquake' (*Twenty-five Old Ballads*, 1869, p. 39) genuine? In the *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, 1907, p. 36, is one 'Awake! Awake! O England . . . Repent with speed thy wickednesse'. It may be noted that 'Repent, England, repent' was the cry of Coppinger and Artington; cf. note on i. 295. 24, and Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 760^b foot, 761^a mid.

22-3. *The strange iudgements of God*] On Feb. 21, 1594-5, there was entered to Cutbert Burby a 'booke shewinge the miraculous Judgement of God shonen in Herefordshire, where a mightie barne filled with Corne was consumed with fire begynninge last Christmas Eue, and Duringe ffystene Dayes after', together with a ballad on the same subject. Perhaps this is the one referred to. There was also a ballad of 'the iuste Iudgement of God vpon a . . . Fermour', entered March 18, 1586-7.

23-4] Verg. *Ecl.* 3. 104, 106 'Dic quibus in terris'.

24. *Pastor of Chiselhurst*] Hasted, *Kent*, i. 104, mentions one 'Harvie' as rector of Chiselhurst until 1623. *D.N.B.*

25. *such and such and one*] We should, of course, expect 'such and such a one', but I did not feel sufficiently certain that the reading of the quarto was a misprint, and not an alternative, though erroneous, form, to alter it.

26-7. *The miracles of the burning of Brustur*] i.e. William Brewster. See Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. of 1807, iv. 504; on Feb. 3, 1582/3, Brewster and a woman with whom he lived were found smothered to death—apparently by the fumes of a charcoal fire. Certain peculiar circumstances caused people to regard this as a divine judgement, and according to Holinshed pamphlets were published on the subject; these seem now to be lost. See also Stubbæs, *Anat. of Abuses*, N. S. S. i. 100-1, who disguises the name as 'Ratsurb'. In the edition of the *Anatomy* published in 1595 the whole of the passage about Brewster is omitted; so perhaps Nashe's statement that the affair had been shown to be an ordinary murder is correct.

P. 85, 5-6. *that Dick that set Aristotle . . . on the Schoole gates*] See i. 196. 1-2.

9-10. *Smiths . . . Questions*] I cannot identify this Smith.

11-15. *Aquila non capit muscas . . . Nec elephas mures*] See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. iii, cent. 2. 65 and chil. i, cent. 9. 70. In the latter place he refers to the use of such phrases by philosophasters and theologasters to excuse their ignorance of Latin and Greek.

18-19. *Dialoguizing Dicke*] See note on i. 196. 6.

19. *Io Pœan Dicke*] See note on i. 196. 4.

Synesian and Pierian Dick] See note on 7. 33.

19-20. *the true Brute*] Referring to R. Harvey's *Philadelphus*; or, *a Defence of Brutes and the Brutans History*, 1593.

22. *Dick against baldnes*] Apparently referring to the same *Defence of short haire against Synesius and Pierius*, which at 7. 34-5 is called 'a Dash ouer the head against baldnes'.

22-3. *Dick against Buchanan*] i.e. the attack on Buchanan with which his *Philadelphus* opens, A 3-C 1.

23-4. *Aquinas Dicke*] I do not know to what this refers.

24. *light a loue a Dick*] A charge of incontinence seems to have

been brought against R. Harvey by Greene in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*; see i. 273. 14-15.

28. *abi in malam crucem*] Frequent in Plautus and elsewhere.

31. *Garropius*] I know no Garropius, but suppose that Nashe meant Goropius. He may possibly have had in his mind a passage in Harrison's *Descr. of Brit.*, cap. 5, Holins. *Chron.* 1807-8, i. 20. 8-12: 'Casanion of Mutterell hath alredie sufficientlie discoursed vpon these examples [of giants] in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against *Goropius*, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *alterum carcasse Herculem*, as the said *Casanion* dooth merilie charge and vpbraid him.'

33-5 marg. *his lippes hang so in his light*] Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 107, and Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 237. 8-9. Fairly common.

34. *Lex loquens*] See Cicero, *De Legibus*, iii. 1. 2; also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 1, cent. 2. 18, under 'Muti magistri'. Nashe merely means that Harvey will never be able to practise in the courts.

P. 86, 2-3. *one of the Emperour Iustinians Courtiers*] See i. 262. 6.

16-17. *Nere can I . . . bonetto*] Apparently based on Harvey's line in 3 *Let.* E 2, G. H. i. 82. 7-8, 'Needes to thy bowes will I bow this knee, and vayle my bonetto'. Already quoted at i. 277. 21.

22-6] Nashe seems to have borrowed this from Harvey's 2 *Let.* H 4, G. H. i. 21. 5-7, where he complains that some of Spenser's verses are incorrect, 'especiallye the thirde, whych hath a foote more than a Lowce (a wonderous deformitie in a righte and pure Senarie)'. But was there not some current joke on the subject? Cf. J. Taylor, *Praise of Beggary*, in *Wks.*, 1630, I 6^v:

'A Lowse hath six feet, frō whose creeping sprawl'd
The first Hexameters, that euer crawl'd:
And euer since, in mem'ry of the same,
A Lowse amongst the Learned is no shame.'

27. *Dictionarie*] Nashe seems to be using the word in the odd sense of 'habitual', but perhaps 'so Dictionarie a custome' may be understood as 'such a common characteristic of his diction'.

33-4. *No may-pole . . . ewe tree*] Partly taken from Harvey's verse; cf. i. 277. 25, 20, the second having in the original 'laurel' for 'ewe tree'.

P. 87, 6-7. *when there dyde aboue 1600. a week*] The plague seems to have been at its height in June and July, 1593, but details of the number of deaths are now lost. Harvey went to London from Saffron Walden at the end of August, 1592 (see Bird's letter in 4 *Let.* A 3), and was still there on July 16, 1593, when he finished the prefatory matter of *Pierce's Supererogation*, but had evidently left some time before September 16, the date of the *New Letter*.

14. *from the fat manured earth with contagion*] For this inversion cf. i. 262. 25-6 and iii. 318. 2-3.

15. *being the buriall place of fife parishes*] In C. Creighton's *History of Epidemics in Britain*, i. 333, it is stated that 'for some years previous to 1582, as many as 23 of the city parishes were using St. Paul's churchyard for their dead, having parted with

their own burial-grounds. But in that year (Letter of April 3, 1582 : *Remembrancia*, p. 332) the number of parishes privileged to use St. Paul's churchyard was reduced to 13.

P. 88, 4. *the Voyce or Ghosts Hearse*] See *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, 1907, p. 337, where we find a ballad 'to the tune of *The geste's hearse alias The voice of the earth*'. So far as I am aware the original has perished.

17. *Mighell*] A usual spelling of 'Michael'.

18. *Dexters man*] Robert Dexter, bookseller at the sign of the Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard.

28. *Beniamin the Founders father*] i. e. the father of Benjamin. I can only conjecture that Benjamin Sympson, the type-founder, is meant; see T. B. Reed, *Old English Letter Foundries*, pp. 128-9, 164. All that is known about him is that in 1597 he entered into a bond of £40 not to cast any letters or characters, or to deliver them, without notice to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company.

P. 89, 6. *protests by no bugges*] This curious use of the negative is paralleled by the phrase 'to swear by no beggars'; cf. *George a Greene* (Greene, ed. Collins), l. 220, 'And by no beggers swore that we were traytours'; cf. note, and Dekker, *The Wonderful Year 1603*, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 87. 19-20, 'swore by no beggars that now was the hour come for him to bestirre his stumps.' *N.E.D.* s.v. bug sb.¹ quotes from Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 'Caligula . . . bid his horse to supper . . . and swore by no bugs that hee would make him a Consul.'

11. *Plague Bills*] Wolfe's plague bills seem to have perished, so we have no means of verifying Nashe's statement. Harvey refers to them at the beginning of his *New Letter*, 1593, G. H. i. 259. 14-16, 'You haue lately, (as appeareth by your Indices of the sicknesse, and so many other Nouels) very tidely playde the Bees part'. Wolfe had apparently sent them, with some books, to Harvey, then (September 16) absent from London. Plague-bills of the years 1593-5—whether written or printed is not clear—existed in 1665; see C. Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain*, i. 352-3. Weekly records had been kept from December 21, 1592.

14-15] For 'Sus Minervam' see Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 1, cent. i. 40, and Cicero, *Acad. Post.* i. 4. 18, *Epist. ad Diversos*, ix. 18. 3. The expression 'a pig of one's own sow' was common; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 134, and Day's *Humour out of Breath*, III. i.

17. *Wrinkle de crinkledum*] No such expression is known to me, nor can I suggest any reason for Harvey being called 'vermilion'.

29. *Tramontani*] Collier reads 'Tramontane', perhaps rightly, but cf. ii. 122. 24.

32-3. *Parthenophil and Parthenope*] By Barnabe Barnes. It was entered to John Wolfe on May 10, 1593, and published about August (after Harvey left London; see *N.L. A 2*, G. H. i. 259 foot). Only a single copy is known to exist, and the title-page of this is defective, lacking both date and printer's name.

P. 90, 3. *Chutes Shores Wife*] i. e. the poem entitled *Beawtie dishonoured, written under the title of Shores wife*, 1593, entered June 16.

3-4. *Procris and Cephalus*] A book of this name was entered to John Wolfe on October 22, 1593, but no copy of any edition published

in that year is known to exist. A work entitled *Cephalus & Procris* was, however, published by Wolfe in 1595, but the dedication of this is signed by Thomas Edwards, who distinctly claims to be the author. As it seems unlikely that two books of such similar names, but by different authors, should be issued from the same press within two years of each other, we must, I think, suppose Nashe to have been mistaken in assigning it to Chute.

4. *Pamphlagonian*] Apparently 'Paphlagonian' is meant; cf. Barnes, *Devil's Charter*, 1607, K 3^v, l. 2797, 'The slaues are buisie reading their paphlagonian papers'. The Paphlagonians were proverbially stupid; cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 9 and 17.

11. which God payd for] Mr. Crawford refers me to Ben Jonson's *Epigram*, xii, on Lieutenant Shift: 'To every cause he meets this voice he brays, His only answer is to all, "God pays"', and to the *Masque of Owls*, 'Hey, Owl Second.' 'Whom since they have shipt away, And left him "God to pay"'.

not to be spoken of] Cf. iii. 262. 911. I am doubtful of the precise meaning of the expression.

13. *saracently*] i. e. 'cruelly', or 'fiercely'.

17. mony? would he say] Grosart perhaps took this as equivalent to 'money quothe a', i. e., practically, 'money, forsooth', all being part of the quotation; a way of reading which is, I think, possible.

25. *in his pocket*] His pocket must have been in his sleeve; cf. i. 159. 25; iii. 32. 35.

30. *Quis nouus . . .*] Verg. *Aen.* iv. 10.

35. *commodities of Santa Cruz*] Merely the usual joke about crosses, i. e. coins.

P. 91, 13. *Hermogenes*] A Greek rhetorician, fl. A. D. 161–80. His Τέχνη ῥήτορική περὶ τῶν στάσεων is presumably referred to; it had already been four times printed.

21. *spleene*] i. e. humour.

28–30] Cf. *Aen.* i. 204 'Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum.'

P. 92, 7. *Bassia de umbra de umbra des los pedes*] Cf. Puttenham, *Art of E. Poesy*, iii. 24, 'With vs the wemen giue their mouth to be kissed, in other places their cheek, in many places their hand, or in stead of an offer to the hand, to say these words, *Bezo los manos*. And yet some others surmounting in all courtly ciuilite will say, *Los manos & los piedes*. And aboue that reach too, there be that will say to the Ladies, *Lombra de sus pisadas*, the shadow of your steps.'

11. *Cyparissus*] Ovid, *Metam.* x. 106, &c.

13–14] Printed in Harvey's *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, K 4, with 'Sidnēie' for Sydnee, as the metre demands. From what is said in l. 9 it seems that Nashe had seen the poem in MS. The pentameter is, of course, based on the old couplet:

Cor ardet, pulmo loquitur, fel commonet iras :
Splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur.

(Mizaldus, *Memorabilia, sive Arcana*, 1573, cent. vi. 90, introduced by the words 'ut trito fertur dimetro'). Prof. Moore Smith refers me to the *Carminum proverbialium loci communes* of S. A. I., London, 1579, under 'Homo', where the couplet appears in a slightly different and

inferior form, the first line being ‘Cor sapit, at pulmo loquitur, sed commovet iram’. Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* iii. 2. 1. 2 (last par.), has ‘cogit amare iecur, as the saying is’, and there are many other examples.

17. *Lincolnshyre*] There are no other allusions to Nashe’s visit to Lincolnshire.

20. *the same Inne*] i. e. the Dolphin, as appears by 95. 15.

32. *non vult fac*] Possibly ‘fac’ is for ‘facere’, and this is some technical form of refusal; but it is unknown to me.

34—93, 1. *trouchmen*] i. e., properly, interpreters; cf. Puttenham, *Art of E. P.*, ed. Haslewood, p. 227, ‘the Earle . . . would not speake one French word, but all English, . . . all was done by Truchemen.’ Not infrequently used, however, as here, for ‘go-betweens’; cf. Dekker, *Strange Horse-race, Wks.*, iii. 337. 23—5, ‘his two trunchmen (the Brokers)’. The intrusive *n* is also found in other instances of the word.

P. 93, 18. *mortring*] ‘Mortar’ is given in *Cent. Dict.*, with this passage as the sole example, for ‘to bray in a mortar’.

25—6. (*like the Turks*) *he obseru’d 4. Lents in a yere*] Apparently from Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903—5, ii. 237, but erroneously. It is the Russians who ‘have foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest’.

26—7. *the Gentleman’s man in the Courtier*] See *Il Cortegiano*, trans. Hoby, in ‘Tudor Trans.’, 1900, 179.

35—6. *characters on Christ’s Sepulcher*] See Hakluyt, ed. 1903—5, v. 211, ‘the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that every man scrapes his name and marke upon it’.

P. 94, 4. *Esse putet . . . opus*] Ovid, *Nux*, 102.

10. *Iacke a Lent*] ‘A figure of a man, set up to be pelted: an ancient form of the sport of “Aunt Sally”, practised during Lent,’ N.E.D. See *Merry Wives*, III. iii. 27, V. v. 134, and the notes in the *Variorum Sh.*, where many examples are given. Cf. iii. 389. 14, note.

13. *smudge*] The word seems here to be a variant of ‘smug’, neat, spruce.

16. *Knight of Windsor*] In Hentzner’s Description of Windsor Castle, printed in Nichols’s *Progresses of Q. Elizabeth*, i. 144, we read that these pensioners ‘must be Gentlemen of three descents, and such as, for their age and the straitness of their fortunes, are fitter for saying their prayers, than for the service of war; to each of them is assigned a pension of £18 per annum, and cloaths; the chief institution of so magnificent a foundation is, that they should say their daily prayers to God for the King’s safety, and the happy administration of the kingdom, to which purpose they attend the service, meeting twice every day at Chapel’. They formed a branch of the Society of the Garter.

18—19. *missing of the Vniuersitie Oratorship*] See note on i. 268.
10—11.

22—3. *a Camell . . . will liue foure dayes without water*] Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 26 ‘Sitim et quatriduo tolerant’. From Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* viii. 8 (10). Nothing is said about their food.

26. *porknells*] N.E.D., following the reading of Q, explains ‘sheepes porknells’ as ‘some part of the offal of a sheep’, but no other example of the use, or evidence in support of the interpretation, is given

28. *a new part of Tully*] See i. 290. 1, &c., and note.

29. *Nicholaus Copernicus*] His work *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* was published at Nuremberg in 1543, within a few days of the author's death. It may be remarked that the use of the word 'Paradoxe' by no means implies that Nashe disbelieved in the Copernican theory—though on other grounds it seems likely that he did. See examples in *N.E.D.*, s.v. *paradox*, *s.b.* 1.

P. 95, 4. *Paulin*] I have been unable to find the word elsewhere. The context suggests that it meant a kind of banshee.

15. *the Dolphin in Cambridge*] The Dolphin was situated on part of the ground now occupied by Corpus Christi College, and was entered from Trumpington Street. See map of the college in Willis and Clark's *Architectural Hist. of Camb.*

23-4. *John a Droynes his man*] A comma should have been inserted after 'Droynes'. 'John a Droynes' seems to have been a current name for a country bumpkin; see the notes of the commentators upon *Hamlet*, II. ii. 595, 'John-a-dreams', who allude to the character so called in Whetstone's *Promus and Cassandra*, 1578. See also J. Taylor's *Superbiae Flagellum*, 1621, in *Wks.*, 1630, D 4, col. a, where 'Iacke and Iill, and John a Drones his issue' means evidently 'tag, rag, and bobtail'. In *A C. Mery Talys*, there is a story of one John Adroyns who acted the devil in a play in Suffolk, and going home in his stage attire, terrified a poaching priest (Hazlitt, *Sh. Jest-Books*, i. 14-17). As the point of the present passage is the extraordinary dress of Harvey's servant, it is perhaps not impossible that there is some allusion to this story. The form in *Hamlet*, 'John-a-dreams', which may or may not be the same name, occurs also in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, ed. Collier for Sh. Soc., 49. 27.

27. *pinkt*] i.e. with holes cut so as to show the lining through.

33. *incensing my L. Mayor against me*] Nashe got into trouble with the civic authorities in the autumn of 1593, in consequence of an attack on London in *Christ's Tears*; see ii. 4 and note 2, but the present passage apparently refers to some earlier affair. I am indebted to the Town Clerk, Mr. James Bell, for the information that no reference to any such petition or complaint to the Lord Mayor as seems here to be indicated is to be found in the records of the Corporation belonging to the years 1592-6. Cf. i. 307. 34-5.

P. 96, 1. *that Christmas*] This must, I think, mean the Christmas of 1592, for we know that Harvey was then in London (see note on 87. 6-7). At the same time I do not see how we can definitely prove that it was not the following year that is referred to, for we have no direct evidence as to where either Nashe or Harvey were at that date.

3. *the Preacher at Poules Crosse*] I have been unable to identify the sermon, which may, of course, not have been printed.

10. *God night*] This spelling of 'good night' is quite common; see *N.E.D.*

19. *legem pone*] 'The first two words (forming the heading) of the fifth division of Psalm cxix, which begins the psalms at Matins on the 25th day of the month; they were consequently associated with March 25th (quarter day), and hence used as an allusive expression for: Payment of money; cash down,' *N.E.D.*, the earliest instance given being 1573, *Tusser*, *Husb.* x. (1878) 22, 'Use (*legem pone*) to

paie at thy daie, but vse not (*Oremus*) for often delaie'. Cf. Heywood, *Wise-Woman of Hogsdon*, IV. i, 'sed as in presenti, if your worship at this present, *Iste, ista, istud*, will do me any good, to give me *legem pone* in gold or in money ...'

22-3. *one of my Lord of Harfords liueries*] Edward Seymour. I am not aware that Wolfe had any special connexion with him. He, however, had printed the description of the Queen's reception at Elvetham by the Earl of Hertford in 1591.

24. *Saint Christopher*] As being the patron saint of travellers.

31. *Crocodyles skin (which no yron will pierce)*] Cf. Hakluyt, eds. 1903-5, x. 40, 'Crocodils . . . whose skinne is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it', rather than Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 37 'contra omnes ictus cute invicta'.

P. 97, 25. *to Shroue with*] When Lent was observed as a strict fast Shrovetide was naturally made much of as a festival. For the ways in which it was celebrated compare extract from *The Popish Kingdom* in Stubbes, *Anatomy*, ed. N.S.S. 329. Many of the customs there described seem to have been still observed in Protestant times.

27. *Scarlet*] Possibly T. Scarlet, the printer, but the 'one' is rather suspicious, for Scarlet had printed Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*, as well as several works of Greene, and must have been quite well known.

P. 98, 2-3. *his Sister in law*] Cf. 81. 33, &c.

5. *pawling*] i.e. becoming stale. Cf. Massinger, *New Way*, I. i. 3.

10. *objiecting*] Grammatically we require 'objeected'.

22. *bag-pudding*] Cf. 34. 15.

35. *Raw-head and bloody bones*] The expression occurs also in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 237, 'So, that raw-head and bloody-bones Sir Adam, has fe'd another brat (of those nine common wenches) to defend baldnes and to raile against haire: he'll haue a fling at thee, my noble Cock-Sparrow'. The sense in this passage does not seem to be very precise. Elsewhere Dekker seems to mean some kind of a 'bug'; cf. *O per se O*, 1612, M 2, 'These [Abram-Coues], walking vp and downe the Countrey, are more terribly to women and children, then the name of *Raw-head* and *Bloody-bones*, *Robbin Good-fellow*, or any other *Hobgoblin*'. In the latter sense it is fairly common; see *N.E.D.*, s.v. 'Raw-head'.

P. 99, 23. *Hackets counterfet madnesse*] See note on i. 295. 24. Stow mentions visions seen by Hacket on his way to execution, but says nothing of his feigning madness.

25. *willed to*] It looks as if a represented the corrected copy, for in this the space between 'weapon' (spelt 'wepom') and 'That' is less than is usually allowed at the end of a sentence. Still 'willed him to' can hardly be right. Collier and Grosart read 'willed to'.

26. *wprung him on the withers*] A frequent expression; cf. *Mother Bomby*, I. iii. 6, also *Hamlet*, III. ii. 253.

30. *rattled*] i.e. scolded, rated. See *N.E.D.*, s.v. rattle, v. 7 b., examples from 1547.

P. 100, 11-12. *swaps . . . too*] i.e. shuts hurriedly.

16. *Tapthartha Rath*] I do not know whence Nashe took this name.

17. *through manie briers*] i. e. difficulties, straits. Bernard in his translation of Terence, ed. 1607, p. 65, gives to be 'brought in the briars' as the equivalent of '*impeditum esse*'.

18. *bolts*] i. e. fetters, leg-irons.

19. *the Widdowes Almes*] See note on i. 322. 4.

30. *crawl*] i.e. properly, crop of a bird.

34. *pudding-house*] Again at iii. 194. 26.

P. 101, 6. *Pye-corner*] A street between Newgate and Smithfield; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 283, where it is stated to be 'noted chiefly for Cooks Shops, and Pigs drest there during Bartholomew Fair'.

13. *onely for the names sake*] The rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street, at the time of Gabriel Harvey's supposed incarceration, was one Robert Harvie, A.M. He held this living from 1588 to 1595, and was afterwards rector of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, until his death in 1597. See G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.

16. *Mangerie*] i.e. board. This is the only instance of the word in this sense given in *N.E.D.* It usually meant, in earlier times, banquet or feasting.

18. *to set vp his rest*] See note on i. 384. 35-6.

P. 102, 7. *Queen Guenieu*] Nashe probably does not mean to bring a charge of ill life and doctrine against Guinivere, but is merely using her name as that of Tor at 53. 17. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i. 125-6, 'when Queen Guinover of Britain was a little wench'.

9. *Basilisco*] Mr. Fleay notes that the braggart knight of this name in *Soliman and Perseda* is referred to. Cf. *King John*, I. i. 244.

10. *Captaine Crack-stone*] A character in the *Two Italian Gentlemen*; see Collier, *Hist. of E. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 242.

28. *John Thorius*] A scholar of whose life little is known, save that he was B.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, 1586. His works consist chiefly of translations from the Spanish.

Anthonie Chute] Beyond what may be gathered from Nashe's writings, practically nothing seems to be known of Chute. This amounts to little more than that he served in the English expedition to Portugal in 1589, and died in or about 1595 of the dropsy.

30-1. *the three orient wits*] Cf. P. S. *2^v, G. H. ii. 6. 24-5, 'you, and diuers other Orient wittes'.

P. 103, 1-3. *Tis more . . . remember*] Cf. P. S. 2*, G. H. ii. 6. 1-6.

3. *I'le, I'le, I'le*] P. S. *2^v, G. H. ii. 7. 12-16, 'He that thought to make himselfe famous with his ouerweening and brauing I'le, I'le, I'le, might perhaps nourish an aspiring imagination to imitate his [i. e. Cicero's] *Ego, Ego, Ego*, so gloriously reiterated in his gallant Orations.' See also P. S. S 2^v, G. H. ii. 219. 1.

7-8. *the greene Popiniay . . . idoll*] P. S. 2* 1, G. H. ii. 8. 4-5, 6-7.

15-16. *goe forward . . . pregnancie*] P. S. 2* 3^v, G. H. ii. 15. 1-2.

16-18. *Parthenophils . . . they are*] P. S. 2* 3^v, G. H. ii. 14. 26, &c.

21-4. *Barnabe . . . such a Generall*] P. S. 2* 3^v, G. H. ii. 15.

5-8. Harvey mentions the Earl of Essex as Barnes's general. Barnes had accompanied him in 1591 when he went to Normandy to join the French forces against the Prince of Parma.

22. *Baskeruile*] i.e. Sir Thomas Baskerville (d. 1597). He was sent with Lord Willoughby to France to assist Henry IV in 1589, and subsequently commanded the troops dispatched to Brittany (1594) and to Picardy (1596).

26-8. *as hee did with a Noble-mans Stewards chayne . . . Wind-sore*] I can discover nothing further about this incident. Barnes, however, seems not always to have had a very good character. See a letter in the *Athenaeum* of August 20, 1904, by the late Joseph Knight, on the charge brought against him in 1598 of trying to poison the recorder of Berwick.

29. *stink-a-pisse*] i.e. cinq-a-pace.

31-2. *the Wine his Mistres drinks*] See *Parthenophil*, sonnet 63:

'Or that sweet wine, which down her throat doth trickle,
To kiss her lips, and lie next at her heart,
Run through her veins, and pass by Pleasure's part.'

It is similarly ridiculed by Campion in an Epigram 'In Barnum' (*Wks.*, ed. Bullen, 1889, 268-9):

'In vinum solvi cupis Auflena quod haurit,
 Basia sic felix, dum bibit illa, dabis;
Forsitan attinges quoque cor; sed (Barne) matella
 Exceptus tandem, qualis amator eris?'

Mr. Bullen notes that Marston also attacks Barnes for the same conceit in his *Scourge of Villany*.

P. 104, 1-2. *A deuine Centurie of Sonets*] i.e. *A Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets*, 1595.

3. *Altera Musa venit . . . Appollo*] The source of this is unknown to me.

6. *Paris Garden Cuf*] i.e. a dwarf pony kept in Paris Garden for a monkey to ride; cf. *Downf. of Robert, E. of Hunt.*, II. i., *Hasl. Dods.* viii. 124, 'neither was it a horse Little John and I loaded, but a little curtail of some five handfuls high, sib to the ape's only beast at Paris Garden'. See also quotation in Collier's *Hist. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 279, or Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 406. 8 note, and J. Taylor's *Bull, Bear, and Horse*, 1638, E 3^v. For Paris Garden cf. i. 83. 5 note.

7. *Cammell*] Cf. note on i. 221. 26.

8. *Ballet of John Carelesse*] 'A ballad of John Careles, &c.' was entered to Edward White, Aug. 1, 1586. John Careless, a weaver of Coventry, was imprisoned for religion in November, 1553. He died in the King's Bench in 1556. There is much about him in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*; see ed. Townsend, index.

9. *Greene sleeves moralized*] For the history of the ballad or song of Green Sleeves see Chappell, *Popular Music*, 227-9, where a very large number of references to it are brought together. The earliest mention appears to be the entry in the Stationers' Register on Sept. 3, 1580, to R. Jones of 'A newe northe[r]n Ditty of y^e Ladie Greene Sleeves', but, as Chappell remarks, seeing that on the same day was entered a ballad entitled 'Y^e Ladie Greene Sleeves answere to Donkyn hir frende', the song must surely have been known previously. On Sept. 15 we have an entry of 'Greene Sleeves moralised to the Scripture, declaringe the manifold benefites and blessings of God

bestowed on sinfull manne', which is apparently the production referred to by Nashe.

P. 105, 2-3. in praise of Gabriell Harvey] Referring to Barnes's letter and sonnets in *P. S.* 3^{*} 1^v, &c., G. H. ii. 19, &c.

6-10] *P. S.* 2^{*} 3^v, G. H. ii. 15. 8-13.

7. Androwes] i. e. Lancelot Andrews (1555-1626), the famous preacher. He knew, according to Fuller, no less than fifteen languages. Again referred to at 107. 21, 28-35. At this date he was vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

8. Bodley] i. e. Sir Thomas Bodley, 1545-1613, founder of the Bodleian Library, diplomatist and scholar. His first diplomatic commission was in 1585, to Denmark. He was afterwards employed in a confidential mission to France, and from 1589 to 1596 he was the Queen's representative in the Netherlands. He returned to England in the summer of 1596.

16. tanguam Paulus in Cathedra] Presumably a quotation, but not found.

24. hyperborically] I am doubtful whether this is a misprint or mistake for 'hyperbolically', or whether Nashe meant barbarously.

28-9. Intelligencer] The word does not seem necessarily to have had a bad sense, but obviously might be so used; cf. ii. 220. 9-10.

31. before his going ouer] Bodley was in England for a short time in 1593, and again in the winter of 1594-5, and in June and July 1595 (*D. N. B.*).

37. wittall] i. e. a contented cuckold.

P. 106, 8. tumbler] i. e. the species of greyhound so called.

12-14. *sumner...the sinnes of the people]* See i. 216. 16-17 and note.

22-3. Doctor Coranus . . . of Oxford] i. e. Antonio de Corro (1527-91), a Spanish monk. In 1557 he adopted Protestantism, and after living for some time in France and Flanders came to London (1568). Was lecturer on divinity at Oxford, 1578-86. The word 'sonne' is, I suppose, used in an academic sense for 'pupil'.

27-9] *P. S.* 2^{*} 3^v, G. H. ii. 15. 13-16.

27. like Dove] I suppose that Thomas Dove (1555-1630), Dean of Norwich, and, from 1601, Bishop of Peterborough, is meant. He had been a scholar of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, but afterwards migrated to Oxford. He was chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, who greatly admired his eloquence. There was also a John Dove (1561-1618), a preacher of some note, but rather later, his first printed sermon being one at Paul's Cross in 1594. It is this latter Dove who, according to Corser, *Coll. A.-P.* i (pt. 4). 393, is here referred to.

28. Clarenceius] Apparently Robert Cook is meant. He studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, M.A. 1561, and was made Chester herald in 1561, and Clarenceux king-of-arms in 1567, an office which he held until the time of his death. The date of this is uncertain; Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, ii. 512 note, gives it as 1592, the *D. N. B.* as ? 1593. The passage of Harvey here referred to is dated July 16, 1593. When Nashe wrote Richard Lee was Clarenceux, having been appointed on May 8, 1594 (*Cal. of S. P. Dom.*). Nashe seems not to have known of Cook's death; see 108. 11-16.

29. Portugall Voyage] The unsuccessful expedition in 1589 under Norris and Drake to replace Antonio on the throne of Portugal.

36. *lycoras*] i. e. liquorice, a not unusual form.

posset curd] "posset" was a drink composed of hot milk curdled by some infusion, as wine or other liquor,' *Cent. Dict.*

P. 107, 3. *Knight of Tobacco*] I can learn nothing of the ceremonies accompanying this—doubtless one of the many burlesque initiations which seem to have been popular at the date.

5-7. *The transformation of the King of Trinidadoes two Daughters . . . Tobacco*] I know nothing of this 'Commedie'.

10. *as a French Varlet . . . is*] The meaning is, I suppose, that Chute was taken in the expedition merely as one might take one's personal servant with one, and not chosen for his valour or skill in any other respect. But the expression is far from clear.

13. *dead payes*] Cf. note on ii. 225. 30.

14. *Graphiel Hagielis*] Source of names not found.

Wily Beguily] It was supposed by Malone that there is in this passage a reference to the play of *Wily Beguiled*, first printed in 1606, but written earlier, the question being of importance because this play must have been composed later than the *Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet*, passages in which are parodied or imitated. The matter is discussed in Mr. Daniel's introduction to his edition of Brooke's *Romeus*, N.S.S., 1875, pp. xxxv-ix. It is perfectly clear that in the present passage there is no reference to the play, but that 'wily beguily' is merely equivalent to a wily trick, hankey-pankey.

17. *Whippets*] No other instance of such a use of the word is known to me. A reference to the dog so called would hardly be to the point.

Jack Strawes] Jack Straw was one of the leaders of the rising of 1381; this is the earliest instance in *N.E.D.* of the use of the expression for 'a man of straw', a person of no consideration; cf. iii. 221. 35.

18. *enable*] i. e. to give power to, regard as qualified or competent; cf. iii. 55. 14; hence sometimes, as here, to exalt. Not a mistake for 'ennoble'.

23. *sty*] i. e. mount.

36. &^o *India*] Sir Thomas Baskerville took part in the expedition of Drake and Hawkins to the West Indies in 1595, and after their death was in command. The expedition returned in May, 1596.

P. 108, 1-2. *in a young Knights Chamber*] We have no means of guessing who this may have been.

3. *Syr Roger Williams*] We know nothing beyond what is stated here of Nashe's connexion with him. He was lieutenant to Sir John Norris in the Low Countries, 1577-84, and under Leicester there in 1585; fought at Zutphen in 1586, in which year he was knighted; served in the cause of Henry of Navarre, 1590; succeeded Essex as commander of the English troops encamped before Rouen in 1592, and died in 1595.

7. *such as Plato would*] See *Leges*, xii. p. 958 e.

10. *chrisome*] i. e. infant, babe, *N.E.D.*

19. *Summ' tot'*] i. e. 'Summa totalis'; cf. iii. 239. 196.

24. *Alijsque (dolens) . . .*] Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 344-5—of the sparrow hawk.

26-7. *And as Plato had . . . Agatho*] Diog. Laert. iii. 23. 32.

30-3. *Fabritius . . . enemies*] See Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 21.

33. *like the Panther*] See note on iii. 314. 25-9.

P. 109, 1. *Peter Pingles*] 'Pingle' means a keen contest; see *N.E.D.*; and from this perhaps the name is derived. I can hear of no person so called. For another sense of 'pingle' cf. iii. 242. 272.

2. *Mounddragons*] A soldier of this name is frequently referred to, generally as a hero; cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, B 2^v, 'Charles the Emperour gaue [him] his cloake: his sword was *Mountrasons*, all that hee hath if you beleue him, are but gifts in reward of his vertue', and Dekker, *Lanthorn and Candle-light*, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 240, 'Vp the staires does braue *Mount Dragon* ascend: the *Knight* and he encounter, and with this staffe does he valiantly charge vpon him'. The name is here used ironically. See also Barnes's *Devil's Charter* (*Mat. zur Kunde des alt. engl. Dramas*, vi.), l. 1497. The allusions may be merely to the historical character, the commander of the Spanish forces at the siege of Guines in 1558 (see Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 97, 100), and defender of Middleburgh at the time of its capture by the Prince of Orange in 1574 (see Gascoigne, *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 172-80). Though, however, he was a soldier of distinction, it is difficult to account for such references to him as the present—unless perchance he had acquired popularity as a character in some well-known play.

6. *mushrumpes*] A usual Elizabethan form of 'mushroom'.

8. *Proh Dii immortales*] The phrase occurs (among other places) in Terence's *Adelphi*, iii. 4. 1, which was of course one of the first Latin classics with which the schoolboy became familiar.

10-11. *clap the dowe vpon a poast*] From Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, vi. 174; certain of the Ethiopians make of flour and water 'very thinne dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne'.

14. *who's will*] i. e. who so will.

22. *Bragganisme*] The form does not seem to occur elsewhere.

26. *Babilonian britches*] Allusions to the 'goodly Babylonish garment' which so attracted Achæn (see Joshua 7. 21) are not infrequent. Vaughan in the *Golden Grove*, 1608, Cc 2^v, says that our ancestors 'knewe not what meant our Italianated, Frenchified, nor Duch and Babilonian breeches', and at H 3^v speaks of gallants attired 'in Babylonian rayments'.

34. *Kenimnarwo compt*] The meaning of this is unknown to me.

35. *Edge*] Presumably the 'Orator' mentioned at i. 315. 34.

36. *he painted himself like a Curtizan*] I cannot say to what this refers.

P. 110, 4. *Latine Poem of Master Campions*] See Campion, ed. Bullen, 1889, p. 336, from the edition of 1619. It was also in that of 1595, and runs as follows :

In Barnum.

Mortales decem tela inter Gallica caesos,
Marte tuo perhibes, in numero vitium est:
Mortales nulos si dicere, Barne, volebas,
Servasset numerum versus, itemque fidem.

12. *Alloune*] i. e. 'allons', come on; a frequent perversion.

15-16. *the excellent Gentlewoman*] *N.L.* B 4, G. H. i. 276. 19; *P.S.* 2⁴ 4, G. H. ii. 16. 16, and *Y2v*, ii. 263. 10. Grosart insists that this was the Countess of Pembroke, 'that is, that Harvey wished to convey that idea'. He bases this on the fact that Harvey praises Mary Pembroke, both in the *New Letter* and in *Pierce's Supererogation*, in somewhat the same terms as the 'excellent gentlewoman', who, according to him, has undertaken his defence and is going entirely to demolish Nashe in her reply (G. H. iii. xxiii). The chief passage referring to the Countess of Pembroke (*N.L.* A 4^v-B 1, G. H. i. 266-7) runs: 'The sky-coloured Muse [i. e. 'Urania' in Spenser's *Colin Clout*] best commendeth her owne heauenly harmony: and who hath sufficiently praysed the hyacinthine & azure die, but it selfe? . . . What *Dia-margariton*, or *Diaambre*, so comfortatiue or cordiall, as *Her Electuary of Gemmes*, (for though the furious Tragedy *Antonius*, be a bloody chaire of estate, yet the diuine *Discourse of Life and Death*, is a restorative Electuary of Gemmes) whō I do not expresly name, not because I do not honour *Her* with my hart, but because I would not dishonour *Her* with my pen, whom I admire, and cannot blason enough.' The question must, I think, be left open, but I am by no means sure that Harvey would, or could with propriety, have referred to the countess as a 'gentlewoman'.

16-17. *patronesse . . . quarrell*] This should surely have been in roman type, as it is all quoted, with what follows, to 'blacke incke', from *P.S.* 2⁴ 4, G. H. ii. 16. 17-22.

20-1. *like a Tinker . . . his wench and his dogge*] Cf. Dekker, *Wonderful Year*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 142, 'hee was none of those base rascally Tinkers, that with a ban-dog and a drab at their tayles . . . will take a purse sooner then stop a kettle'. Mr. Crawford refers me to R. Armin's *Two Maides of More-clacke*, ll. 745-6, 'Humil. Indeede whata tinker without's wench, staffe, and dogge?'

22-3. *a Germane . . . his Tannakin and her Coccoe*] Cf. Dekker, *Lanthorn and Candlelight*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 260, 'As the swizer has his wench and his Coccoe with him whē he goes to the warres'.

23. *Tannakin*] i. e. girl or woman; 'apparently a particular use of *Tannikin*, a dim. of *Anne* (with prefixed *t-* as in *Ted* for *Ed*)', *Cent. Dict.*, but the word must surely come from a Dutch or German source, as it is, I believe, in almost every case used of a foreign woman; cf. Armin, *Nest of Ninnies*, S. S., p. 5, l. 12, 'like a Dutch tannikin sliding to market on the ise'. *Cent. Dict.* quotes Marston, *Dutch Courtezan*, I. i, 'A pretty nimble-eyd Dutch tanakin'. As a term of abuse in Dekker, *Shoem. Hol.* III. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 29, 'Eyre: . . . rippe you browne bread tannakin'.

26-7. *Tunc plena voluptas . . .*] See note on 32. 7-8.

34. *the one shee*] Cf. *P.S.* I 2^v, G. H. ii. 119. 20.

35. *the credible Gentlewoman*] *P.S.* I 2^v, G. H. ii. 120. 18.

35-111, i. *the heauenly plant*] *P.S.* Dd 3, G. H. ii. 319. 17.

P. 111, i. *and*] The reading of Collier and Grosart is probably right; but I retain that of the quarto as being possible.

a new starre in Cassiopeia] *P.S.* Ee 1, G. H. ii. 324. 15. The star appeared on November 18, 1572; see Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 673. It was his observations upon this star that first brought the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe into notice. In England it had been dealt

with at length by Thomas Digges in his *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae*, 1573 (Dreyer, *Planetary Systems*, p. 347).

2. *the heauenly creature*] *N. L.* B 4^v, G. H. i. 276. 25.

2-3. *a Lion in the field of Minerua*] *N. L.* B 4^v, G. H. i. 277. 17-18.

3-4. *a right Bird . . . chariot*] *N. L.* B 4^v, G. H. i. 277. 27.

4-7. *shee hath read Homer . . . Tyraquell*] *P. S.* Dd 3^v, G. H. ii.

320. 3-9.

18. *a Hare*] Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 81, states, on the authority of Archelaus, that hares have the characteristics of both sexes. It is the hyaena, not the hare, that was supposed to change its sex each year; cf. Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 44, xxviii. 27, and Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 25.

19-20. *as Pliny holds there is male and female of all things*] *H. N.* xiii. 7.

23-4. *a Simon Magus . . . Silenes; an Aristotle . . . Hermia*] Probably, if not certainly, from Bale's *Acts of English Votaries*, which Nashe had been reading (cf. note on 82. 16-17); see ed. 1560, pt. ii, A 7, 'baudye Aristotell, which . . . kept a moste filthye whore, called Hermia, but also after her deathe, did sacrifice vnto her as to a greate Goddes, and made himnes in her prayse. This sheweth Origene & Ihon Textor in his officines. Both Simon Magus and his whore Selenes . . . wer admitted of the Romains . . . to be worshipped for Goddes.' The name of Simon's companion is generally given as 'Helena', but 'Selene' is found in certain editions of Irenaeus, *Contra Haeres.* i. 23. 2; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec. 7, col. 671, note 4.

The story of Aristotle and 'Hermia' is thus told in Textor's *Officina*, 1532, fol. 115^v top: 'Hermia fuit meretrix, cui prae nimio amore sacra fecit Aristoteles, eiusque laudibus hymnos dicavit, Vnde ab Eurimedonte seu Demophilo accusatus relictis Athenis (ubi triginta annos docuerat) Chalciden se recepit. Auctor Origenes'. I have not found the passage in Origen. This mythical *meretrix* evidently owes her existence to an error curiously similar to that which, in the commentary of one 'Thomas Anglicus' on Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* iii, prosa 8, made of Alcibiades 'mulier pulcherrima' (see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 63 (Boet. 1), col. 551), and, as some hold, won him a place, under the name of Archipiada, in the finest of all French ballades. She is simply Hermeias or Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and Assos, a friend of Aristotle, at whose court the philosopher spent several years. While there he is said to have fallen in love with the tyrant's concubine, and with his consent to have married her, afterwards sacrificing to her as to the Eleusinian Ceres; see Diog. Laert. v. 1. 5. 3-4; also Euseb. *Praep. ad. Evangelium*, xv. 2, who has a different account of the matter, calling her Pythias, the sister of Hermias. The woman 'Hermia' is fairly often referred to; cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iv. 221; ix. 123; xi. 138; Heywood, *Γυναικεῖον*, 1624, 303 top (trans. from Textor). See also C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63 'Aristoteles . . . Hermiae pellici sicut Elusinae Cereri sacra fecit'; but Agrippa's 'Hermiae pellici' is ambiguous, and he may have meant 'the concubine of Hermias'. Sandford, whether intentionally or not, kept the ambiguity in his translation (fol. 92^v), 'Hermia his womā'.

25. *Silius Poeta*] Nashe can hardly be referring to Silius Italicus, whose work was by no means contemptuously regarded at the date,

and I am forced to suppose that he is merely attempting a very elementary pun on the sound of the name. Cf. iii. 13. 25 '*Discipulasses*'.

26. *Da, Venus, consilium*] Perhaps a common enough phrase, but only known to me in an epigram of Q. Catulus, quoted by Aulus Gellius, xix. 9.

28. *Pars minima . . . sui*] Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 344.

32-4. *as in the Turkes Alchoron . . . for the loue of Mahomet*] I do not know whence Nashe took this.

34-5. *Numa Pompilius . . . Egeria*] Cf. note on ii. 117. 28.

P. 112, 2. *Messier Gallan*] I can learn nothing of him.

4-5. *as the Italian Lady did*] i. e. Catharine Sforza; see Bayle, *Dict.*, 1734-8, v. 131-2.

7-8. *Semiramis was in loue with a Horse*] The immediate source is perhaps the *De Incert. et Van.*, trans. 1569, fol. 94. See Pliny, *H.N.* viii. 64.

11-12. *shee enuies . . . incorporate*] *P.S.* Dd 3^v, G. H. ii. 320. 15-16.

13-14. *a Sappho . . . well*] Cf. G. H. ii. 320. 18-21.

15. *stands vpon . . . termes*] *P.S.* Dd 4, G. H. ii. 321. 5-6.

16-17. *her hoatest fury . . . Pegasus*] G. H. ii. 322. 7-9.

18. *dispose of her recreations*] Cf. G. H. ii. 321. 11-12. By recreations Harvey means the works written by the 'gentlewoman' in odd moments.

21. *will strip . . . shirt*] *P.S.* Dd 4^v, G. H. ii. 323. 11-12.

22. *fayre body . . . in print*] *P.S.* Ee 1, G. H. ii. 324. 9-10.

23-4. *it will then . . . greene sicknes*] G. H. ii. 324. 21-2.

23. *as in a cleare Vrinall*] The image is not infrequent. Mr. Crawford compares *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. i. 40-1.

28. *with a witnes*] Cf. i. 321. 28 and note.

33-5. *Licophrons penne . . . her wooers*] Perhaps taken carelessly from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 4, trans. 1569, fol. 12^v, 'Licophrone writeth, that Penelope, made famous by Homer for her singular chastitie, did bedde with certaine of her louers'.

P. 113, 1. *Vendibilis . . .*] Ovid, *Am.* iii. 12. 10 ' . . . puella meast'.

7. *Menanders Fable . . . cald Thessala*] See Pliny, *H.N.* xxx. 2.

8-10. *Ennius inuention of Dido . . . that Legend*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 4, trans. 1569, fol. 12^v, 'The Poete Ennius settinge out the deedes of Scipio, was the first that fained Dido, the first buildresse of Carthage, a verie chaste widowe, to haue ben enamoured of Eneas: the whiche yet according to the reckening of times, could neuer haue seene him: whiche lie, Virgil did afterwarde so beautifie, that it was beleued for a true historie.'

12-13. *the Ballet of Anne Askew*] Printed in *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 31-4. Anne Askew was a Protestant martyr, burnt in 1546.

16. *O Muses . . .*] The sonnets referred to are among those at the end of the preliminary matter of *P.S.* 2^{*} 4^v, G. H. ii. 17.

26. *Vltrix accinta flagello*] Verg. *Aen.* vi. 570.

28. *Hey ding a ding*] For the use of the phrase here cf. *Faustus* xi. 31-3 (Breymann, 1604, ll. 1167-70): 'if he [a horse] had but the quality of hey-ding-ding, hey-ding-ding, I'd make a brave living on him: he has a buttock as slick as an eel'. A ballad of the name is mentioned in Laneham's *Letter*; see Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 263.

29. *have at your plum-tree*] The phrase also occurs in *The Widow*, I. ii. (Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, iv. 318). For this use of 'plum-tree' see Farmer and Henley, *Slang Dict.*, where examples are given from c. 1547; also Middleton's *No Wit, no Help*, II. i. 89-90. Cf. Italian 'susino' in Pietro Aretino's *Ragionamenti*, 1584 (Brunet's 2nd ed.), pt. i, p. 115, third line from foot.

30. *Megara*] i. e., I suppose, Megaera; cf. iii. 217. 7.

32. *as right as a fiddle*] I can give no other early instance of the phrase. Examples of the similar expression 'as fit as a fiddle' are given in *N.E.D.* from 1882 only. Cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 182. 4-5, 'as fine as a farthing fiddle'.

P. 114, 2-3. *her prose . . . hide*] P. S. 3⁴ 1, G. H. ii. 18.

4. *Getulian*] I can find no authority for the depreciatory sense in which the word is used. Can Nashe possibly have meant 'Getan'—referring to the 'barbara verba' of *Ex Ponto* iv. 13. 23?

slabberies] Presumably equivalent to 'drivel'.

7. *trumpe and poope*] Both words mean to cheat, to get the better of.

7-8. *if the winde come in that doore*] i.e. if that is how the matter stands. The expression is very common; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, 118. Several examples in Prof. Collins's note to Lodge and Greene's *Looking Glass*, I. 289. Also in *Tarlton's Jests*, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 241, and in *Merry Tales of Skelton*, u.s. ii. 11.

11. *dumpe*] i.e. a mournful tune, or a slow dance.

12. *Whipsidoxy*] Apparently a mere nonce-name. We may compare 'Syr Iohn whypdok' in *Jyl of Breyntfords Testament*, ed. Furnivall, 1871, l. 329. Harvey, P. S. Ee 2^v, G. H. ii. 328. 2, seems to use the word for a 'whipping'.

13. *Wee three*] Alluding to the humorous picture of two boobies, with the inscription 'We three, Loggerheads be', the spectator being of course the third—or to games or jests of a similar nature. Cf. Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 249. 8.

14. *Stoope Gallant*] A ballad of the name was entered to R. Jones, July 9, 1580. I believe that nothing further is known about it.

16. *No foole to the old Foole*] Proverbial; cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 96, and Lyly's *Mother Bomby*, IV. ii. 97, 'In faith I perceiue an olde sawe and a rustie, no foole to the old foole'.

18. *Kate Cotton*] Cf. 81. 6.

25. *In pudding time*] i.e. just at the right moment. Cf. Bernard's Terence, ed. 1607, p. 106 (*Andria* v. 5.), 'In tempore ipso mihi advenis, You come in season: in the very nicke: in pudding time', and p. 83 (*And.* iv. 4.), 'Per tempus advenis, You come in pudding time, you come as well as may be'. The expression is frequent. Cf. Wilson, *Disc. of Usury*, 1572, C8^v, and Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 165.

32-3. *My Printers Wife too hee hath had a twitch at*] See P. S. T 2^v, G. H. ii. 229-30. The passage is more than usually incomprehensible, even for Harvey, but it is 'Nashe's S. Fame' that he is talking about, not Mrs. Danter. He calls her 'Danters Maulkin, and the only hagge of the Presse'.

34. *maulkin*] P. S. T 2^v, G. H. ii. 229. 17; 230. 15. There is, of course, a play on the two senses of 'malkin', (1) a diminutive of 'Moll', used as a generic term for a girl, especially for a slattern, and (2) a

mop, and in particular one used to clean out a baker's oven, as at iii. 177. 23-4.

35-6. *moody tung...scolde English*] P.S. T 2^v, G.H. ii. 230. 16-17.

P. 115, 11-13. *An Epistle...the Law*] P.S. 3^{*} 1^v, G.H. ii. 19-21.

23. *scrimpum scrampum*] The exact meaning of this—if any—is unknown to me.

25-6. *viperous crittall monsters*] P.S. 3^{*} 2, G.H. ii. 20. 10-11. The expressions which follow will be found without difficulty in the epistle in question. Nashe's summary is fair.

P. 116, 6. *Patter-wallet*] Possibly some sort of beggar may be meant. The word is otherwise unknown to me.

Megiddo] I cannot explain this.

22. *M. Bodines commendation of him*] Bodin had written a letter in commendation of Harvey; see P.S. 3^{*} 3^v, F 1, G.H. ii. 23, 24, 83, this being apparently a testimonial of some sort, perhaps in support of Harvey's candidature for some office. I can discover no reference to Harvey in Bodin's printed works. From 4 *Let. K* 1, G.H. i. 252, we learn that Spenser had often called Harvey 'Homer', 'And Monsieur Bodine vow'd as much as he'.

27. *Barnabe the bright*] i.e. St. Barnabas's day, June 11—called 'the bright' because it was the day of the summer solstice. The use of the name in Spenser's *Epithalamion*, l. 266, will be remembered.

33. *Hatcher*] I suppose Thomas Hatcher, the antiquary, who died in 1583, is referred to. He edited Haddon's *Lucubrations*, 1567, and Carr's *De Scriptorum Britannicorum Paucitate*, 1576.

Lewen] This must be William Lewin (d. 1598), a civilian, who prefixed a Latin epistle to Harvey's *Ciceronianus*. He is termed by Barnes 'Rhetoriques richest noblesse' (P.S. 3^{*} 3^v, G.H. ii. 24), perhaps because he was Public Orator at Cambridge, 1570-1. He became later M.P. for Rochester, and a Master of Chancery.

Wilson] Described by Barnes as '*Wilson*, whose discretion did redresse Our English Barbarisme'. Thomas Wilson (1525?–1581), the author of the *Art of Rhetoric*, is evidently meant.

36. *Miserum est fuisse fælicem*] The idea is found expressed in a great variety of ways; see W.F.H. King's *Class. Quot.*, 1904, No. 1677. The best known authority seems to be Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* ii, prosa 4. 'In omni adversitate fortunae infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem'.

P. 117, 3. *the Printers Aduertisement*] P.S. 3^{*} 4, G.H. ii. 24-5. The sonnets referred to are to be found at P.S. Ff 2^v to end, G.H. ii. 336, &c.

14. *Fregeuile Gautius*] i.e. Jean de Fregeville of Gaut, a Protestant writer. His chief work appeared in English in 1589 as *The Reformed Politicke. That is, An apologie for the generall cause of Reformation*. He also wrote a *Traicté chronologique contenant plusieurs recherches et restitutions des anciennes supputations des Egyptiens, Assyriens, Medes, &c Perses, conformes à l'histoire saincte*, Paris, 1584.

17. *neuer so*] The sense is evidently 'never became so by means of them.'

20. *Mathematical deuices*] P.S. 3^{*} 4, G.H. ii. 25. 21-2.

P. 118, 2. *I was euer unwilling . . .*] The opening words of the book, G.H. ii. 31.

8-9. after . . . wee were reconcilde] Cf. ii. 179. 29-30.

10-11. being vrgd . . . Philosophie] I do not find 'being vrgd', though this is implied in P.S. *2-2^v, G.H. ii. 6, and elsewhere; for the rest see A 3, 34. 21, &c.; A 2, 32. 11; A 3, 34. 13-14.

14. *Apuleius*] Harvey attacks Nashe as 'young Apuleius', P.S. B 1, G.H. ii. 39-40. The three lines which follow are based on p. 40, 13-16.

18. *Non est inuentus*] Cf. note on ii. 315. 18.

19. *Commission for the Cōcealments*] Cf. note on i. 33. 12-13.

23-9. *One that is . . . earth*] This does not seem to be a quotation from Harvey, though evidently intended to appear as such. It, however, fairly represents the charges brought by him against Nashe.

P. 119, 6. *Catalonian . . . Hethite*] I do not know of any special sense attaching to these words.

13. *Romane Palemon*] Probably taken from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 3, where it is said (trans. 1569, fol. 7) that 'Palemon . . . was a very arrogant man, that he auanted that knowledge tooke beginninge with him, and shoulde die with him'. See Suet. *De Gram. Illustr.* 23.

18. *Stramutzen*] The meaning is unknown to me.

22. *Amaltheas Horne*] Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 121, &c.; Erasmus, *Adag.* chil. 1, cent. 6. 2.

P. 120, 16. *Taleus*] I suppose that Audomarus Taleus is referred to (cf. note on 64. 10-11), though from the context one would imagine that a book of the name was meant.

22. *breake*] i.e. become bankrupt.

32. *Paris, in Lucians Dialogues*] *Deorum Dial.* 20. 9.

P. 121, 2. *a Venus in print*] Cf. 112. 22. The usual sense of 'in print' was 'in perfection', sometimes 'true', 'real'.

8-9. *though Sir Philip Sidney fetcheth it out of Plautus*] This is an error. In the *Apology for Poetry* he says that we find 'the Terentian Gnato and our Chaucers Pandar so exprest that we nowe vse their names to signifie their trades' (Gregory Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, i. 166. 2-4). This derivation is the one generally accepted.

12-14. *as Thucidides pronounceth . . . least spoken*] *Hist.* ii. 45 τῆς τε γὰρ ἵπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ή δόξα καὶ ἡς ἀν ἐπ ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι η ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος γ. The saying is frequently referred to.

15-16. *Hosier Lane*] A lane running into Smithfield from the west. I cannot explain the allusion to the sponges. See P.S. I 2^v, G.H. ii. 119. 21-4.

18. *indesinently*] i.e. incessantly. The earliest instance in *N.E.D.* belongs to the year 1651. Nashe has 'indesinence' in another sense at i. 316. 29.

22. *Fasilia, the daughter of Pelagius*] An error; Fasilia, or Favilla, was son of Pelagius King of the Asturias (718-37). See Münster, *Cosmographia*, ed. 1572, p. 74 (lib. ii. cap. 20—in a list of the kings of Castille) 'Fasilia filius Pelagi. Hic discerpsit ursus in uenatiōe'.

24-5. *the Deuill of Dowgate*] A ballad entitled 'the Devell of Dowgate and his sonne' was entered in the Stationers' Register to Edward White on Aug. 5, 1596, but I believe that no copy is now

known. Long afterwards, on Oct. 17, 1623, a play called *The Devil of Dowgate* was licensed by Sir H. Herbert. It was described as by Fletcher (*Var. Shakespeare*, 1821, iii. 276). It has been identified with *Wit at Several Weapons* (Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* i. 218). I cannot learn what the 'Devil' was.

25. *a woman in Roome*] i.e. one Marcia; see Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 52.

31-4. *the female of the Aspis . . .*] See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 35.

35-6. *In some Countreys . . . most men*] i.e. among the Gindanes, a people of Libya; see Herodotus iv. 176. Brusonius, *Facetiae*, ed. 1560, p. 237, attributes the same thing to the Stymphali, but, so far as I can discover, without authority. Cf. also Montaigne, *Essais*, i. 22 (ed. Leclerc, 2-vol. undated Garnier edition, vol. i, pp. 82, foot, 80 mid.).

P. 122, 1-2. *as Messalina did*] See Pliny, *H. N.* x. 83. The immediate source was probably C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63, trans. 1569, fol. 93^v.

3. *Agelastus*] A name given to M. Licinius Crassus (ἀγέλαστος). His having laughed only once is referred to by Cicero, *De Fin.* v. 30. 92, and *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 15. 31, and Macrobius, *Sat.* ii. 1. 6—all on the authority of Lucilius. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 19, says that he never laughed. So far as I am aware the only writer who gives the reason for his laughter is St. Jerome, *Epist.* 7. 5, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. 1), cols. 340-1.

9. *Multi . . . puellæ*] Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 353 (of Narcissus) 'multi illum iuvenes, multae cupiere puellæ'.

11. *Non caret effectu . . .*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 3. 16.

12-13. *Hercules, if two to one*] Alluding, of course, to the frequently cited proverb, 'ne Hercules quidem adversus duos'. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 1, cent. 5. 39; cf. Synesius, *Calv. Encom.* (Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec. 66, col. 1169) Πρὸς δύο δέ, φησιν ὁ λόγος, οὐδὲ Ἡρακλῆς.

14. *Quis nisi . . .*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 465, . . . 'declamat'.

15. *ingram cosset*] i.e. ignorant pet, or silly. 'Cosset' is properly a lamb brought up by hand, hence a coddled child.

20. *Friskin*] i.e. frolicksome person; cf. the different use at iii. 151. 23.

22. *Rogero*] See Chappell, *Popular Mus.* pp. 93-4. The earliest certain mention of the tune seems to be in Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579.

Basilino] Nothing seems to be known of this.

Turkelony] See Chappell, u. s., 95-6. It was a dance tune, and is mentioned by Gosson together with 'Rogero'.

23. *All the flowers of the broom*] See Chappell, u. s., 116, 91. Mentioned as a dance tune in Breton's *Works of a Young Wit*, 1577.

Pepper is black] See Chappell, u. s., p. 121. The present seems to be the earliest allusion to it, save for an undated black-letter ballad by Elderton, *Prepare ye to the Plowe*, which was to be sung to this tune. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 178^b.

Greene sleevees] See Chappell, u. s., 227-33.

24. *Peggie Ramsey*] See Chappell, u. s., 218. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 81.

31-2. *generall . . . exclamations*] Not, I think, quoted from Harvey; but cf. P. S. B 1, G. H. ii. 39. 23-4.

33-4. *termes of aqua fortis and gunpowder*] Cf. P. S. D 4^v, G. H. ii. 71. 7-9.

34, &c. *I haue thundred ... pike*] Cf. P. S. D 4^v, &c., G. H. ii. 70-2. The general sense is correct, but the quotation is not close.

P. 128, 10-15. *where I wish him... mungrels*] See i. 258. 24-9.

20. *beeing neuer my Posie*] It was, of course, Danter's. See his device on i. 338. Harvey refers to 'Aut nunc, aut nunquam' at P. S. C 3, C 4^v, Cc 3^v, G. H. ii. 55. 25, 60. 6, 309. 9—in the last case together with 'Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice'—but without distinctly attributing it to Nashe, though this is more or less implied.

26. *a kinde of old verse*] I cannot learn of any verse called by this name.

26-7. *fell a rayling at Turberuile or Elderton*] So far as I am aware Harvey does not mention Turberville at all. For his railing at Elderton cf. his brief but contemptuous mention of 'your braue London Eldertons' in 3 Let. C 4, G. H. i. 62. 8-9. See i. 280. 26-31.

27. *Licosthenes reading*] Presumably referring to C. Lycosthenes' well-known and much used collection of *Apophthegmata*; but there is, of course, also a vast amount of miscellaneous learning in his *Prodigiiorum Chronicon*.

31. *floted in the sea of encounters*] Cf. P. S. B 3, G. H. ii. 45. 4-5.

33. *Ascanius*] I have been unable to discover the book or author referred to.

33-4. *Andrew Maunsells English Catalogue*] i. e. *The first (second) Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes: which concerneth such matters of Diuinite, as haue bin either written in our owne Tongue, or translated out of anie other language, and haue bin published . . . 1595.* The second part 'concerneth the sciences mathematicall . . . and also . . . Phisick and Surgerie.'

P. 124, 2. *crie mumbudget*] i. e. to be tongue-tied, to keep silence.

baffuld] i. e. treated with scorn; cf. i. 192. 21.

3-7. *The victorioust Captaines . . . he trowles vp*] For the 'Captaines' see, I suppose, P. S. G 1^v, &c., G. H. ii. 98-104; for the 'confuters' see B 2^v, &c., G. H. ii. 43-9. For 'victorioust' cf. 'curioust' in *Patient Grissill*, IV. i, l. 1637, in Dekker's *Wks.*, ed. Grosart (quoted in Prof. Collins's note to Greene's *Alphonsus*, l. 1830).

5-6. *like whom . . . forcible*] Possibly suggested by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 6, trans. 1569, fol. 20, where, speaking of the evil power of rhetoric, he instances the eloquence of Luther and others as a great cause of heresy. Cf. also Sleidan (Philippson), *Famous Chronicle*, 1560, fol. 232^v, 'What force and plétie of eloquence was in him [i. e. Luther], his workes doe sufficiently declare, . . . certenly the Dutch tongue he beautifyed and enryched exeadigly (*sic*), and hathe the chiefe commendation therin.'

15. *Puerilis*] Nashe is apparently using the word merely for 'school-book', but there was of course a work—or perhaps more than one—called *Sententiae Pueriles*; see note on iii. 366. 15.

16. *a true Pelican*] The N.E.D. states that this fable about the pelican appears to be of Egyptian origin, and to have referred originally to another bird, mentioning its use by Epiphanius [see the *Physiologus* attributed to him, Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec., 43

(Epiph. 3), col. 523], and St. Augustine [Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, 37 (Aug. 4), col. 1299]. The two accounts differ somewhat, but in both the young birds are brought back to life by the blood of the parent—not, as seems to have been later a more common form of the story, *fed* by this blood. Cf. Browne, *Pseud. Epid.* v. 1.

19-20. *Sapiēs dominabitur astris*] This very common saying seems generally to be attributed to Ptolemy, as in the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus, in Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 365, under 'Astra inclinant, sed non urgent'; Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 207; Lodge, *Devil Conjured*, 1596, G I. I have, however, not been able to light upon it in his works; cf., however, *Centum Ptol. Sententiae*, trans. Pontanus, 1519, sent. 5 (p. 7) 'Potest qui sciens est multos stellarum effectus avertere, quando naturam earum noverit, ac se ipsum ante illorum eventum praeparare'. M. Cognet, *Pol. Discourses*, trans. Hoby, 1586, p. 188 mid., appears to attribute the saying to a certain prince mentioned by Aeneas Silvius.

20-1. *the presenting of Artaxerxes with a cup of water*] Cf. Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 5 (see also below). I have not, of course, made any attempt to verify Nashe's statement as to the frequency of the story in Epistles Dedicatory, but it may be noted in passing that it is found in those of Elyot's *Governor*, ed. Croft, i. cxcii, La Primaudaye's *French Academy*, and Lupton's *Sivqila*, 1580, A 2^v—besides, of course, the classic instance of its use in Plutarch's (or another's) dedication to Trajan of the *Reg. et Imp. Apoph.* Stanyhurst in his trans. of *Aen.* i-iv, ed. Arber, p. 10, says the same thing as Nashe.

25. *Seruetus*] Michael Servetus (1509-55), a Spanish doctor of medicine and famous antitrinitarian heretic. Attempted to associate himself with the Reformers, especially Calvin, but was viewed by them also as heretical. He was burnt at Geneva.

Muretus] Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85), a French legal scholar, and later priest.

Surius] Laurentius Surius (1522-98), a German ecclesiastical historian. Best known by his *Lives of the Saints*, 1570. He wrote against Luther; cf. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, v. 600, 602, where he is called 'furious Surius' and his 'railing stories' are spoken of. Cf. Donne, ed. E. K. Chambers, Satire iv. 47-8, 'or outlie either Jovius, or Surius, or both together'.

31-2. *euer since 89.*] The 'aduertisement for Papp-hatchett' is dated at the end Nov. 5, 1589.

33. *pannyerd*] This passage is given in *N.E.D.* under the meaning 'to furnish with a pannier or panniers'. The only other instance of the word—with a different meaning—is in 1804.

P. 125, 3. *My praising of Aretine*] Cf. i. 242. 15-18 and *P.S.C* 2^v, Z 2, G. H. ii. 54-5, 272.

4-5. *so did he ... other Booke*] See i. 284. 1 and note on 283. 32.

5-6. *my excepting against his Doctorship*] Cf. *P.S.E* 1^v, G. H. ii. 73-4, and see i. 277. 33-4, 279. 18-19.

7-11. *My calling him a fawne-guest messenger ... day*] *P.S.E* 1^v, G. H. ii. 74. 5-8. See i. 265. 5.

11. *with*] The sense requires 'with him'.

13-14. *M. Demetrius ... curteous*] Cf. 4 *Let. A* 4, G. H. i. 162. 4-7.

15-19. *I haue praised ... Satyres*] Cf. *P.S.E* 1^v, G. H. ii. 74.

9-16. See i. 276. 36, &c., 295. 5-7, (?) 281. 14, &c.

21-4. *I haue fatherd on him a new Part of Tully . . . lost*] P.S. E 2, G.H. ii. 74. 17-21. See i. 290. 1, &c.

24-5. *my taking upon me to be Greenes aduocate*] P.S. E 2, G.H. ii. 75. 10. See i. 269. 33, &c., to 301. 9, also 330. 7, &c.

25-8. *my threatening . . . vrinall cases*] P.S. T 2, G.H. ii. 228. 4-7. See i. 301. 12-15.

28-30. *my calling him butter-whore . . . wrangler*] P.S. T 2^v, G.H. ii. 230. 1-6. See i. 299. 31-5.

30-4. *my accusing him of carterly derisions . . . Clarke*] P.S. V 3^v, G.H. ii. 244-5. See i. 307. 6-10.

32-3. *Pulchre . . . nil supra*] See Terence, *Eun.* iii. 1. 26, 37.

P. 126, 1-3. *maintains them to be . . . Isocrates*] P.S. V 3^v-4, G.H. ii. 244. 11-24.

4. *first*] See 35. 29-30.

9-10. *to have derided . . . Mathematicall Arts*] P.S. E 2, G.H. ii. 74. 22-3. See i. 331. 18, &c.

11-14. *of palpable Atheisme . . . & his Enemies*] P.S. E 2, G.H. ii. 74. 27-8. See, for the last phrase, i. 272. 4-5. The ‘palpable Atheisme’ of which Harvey accuses Nashe seems no more than a hit at his contemptuous treatment of Richard’s *Lamb of God*.

17-18. *I tested at heauen . . . arriued*] P.S. E 2, G.H. ii. 75. 1-2. See i. 301. 24-5. It is Harvey who calls it ‘the hauen,’ &c.

22-3. *one acre . . . Promise*] P.S. Aa 3, G.H. ii. 286. 7-9.

26-7. *deepe cut . . . Astra petit disertus*] P.S. E 2, G.H. ii. 75. 2-3. See i. 301. 24.

30. *I doo not regard . . . Bodin*] P.S. F 1, G.H. ii. 83. 15-16.

31-2. *Aristotle non vidit verum in spiritualibus*] Not found.

32. *nor Bernard all things*] A very common saying; cf. 220. 20. See Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women*, l. 16. Prof. Skeat notes that in the margin of two MSS. the proverb ‘Bernardus monachus non uidit omnia’ is given. He refers to J. J. Hofmann’s *Lexicon Universale*, Basle, 1677, s.v. Bernardus. Can it have originated in a jesting allusion to the story of St. Bernard riding all day by the lake of Lausanne so absorbed in meditation that he did not see it? See the *Golden Legend*, trans. Caxton, Temple ed. v. 21.

33-4. *To a bead-roll . . . hee appeales*] P.S. F 1, G.H. ii. 83. 20, &c.

P. 127, 6-8. *But, o, . . . Rimer?*] Cf. i. 300. 20-3.

10-11. *His imprisonment . . . supposall*] P.S. F 2^v, G.H. ii. 87. 1-6. In the same passage Harvey refers to Nashe’s charge, at i. 296. 35, that he himself had written the ‘wellwiller’s epistle’ before his 3 *Let.*—not, as is here stated, his 4 *Let.*

13. *a yeare ago*] The 3 *Let.* (1580) were about fifteen years ago; there is evidently some error.

15-18. *Hee bids . . . mine*] P.S. F 2^v, G.H. ii. 87. 16-22. Harvey is evidently referring to the short epistle to the reader, signed R. I., in the first edition of *Piers Penilesse*; Nashe to the letter to the printer, signed by himself, before the second and later editions.

26-9] P.S. F 3, G.H. ii. 88. 7-9, and P.S. V 3^v, G.H. ii. 243. 21-3.

32. *as another Scholler*] There is, so far as I am aware, no hint anywhere as to who this may have been.

P. 128, 6. *these three yeres*] If this is to be taken literally, Nashe must have been paid for his books at or before the time of entry in the

Stationers' Register—not at the date of publication. The last entry had been that of the *Unfortunate Traveller*, Sept. 17, 1593, but this, with the *Terrors of the Night* and *Dido*, appeared in 1594.

7. *that's once*] i. e. once for all, a common asseverative phrase.

14. *he putting in the Presse*] P. S. Y 2^v, G. H. ii. 262. 20-2.

16-17. *after three Forme a day*] The use of the word 'after' in such expressions is not uncommon; cf. i. 170. 32, also Cotgrave (quoted in Stubb's *Anatomy*, N. S. S., i. 294 foot), '*Il iure comme un Gentilhomme*, He sweares after a thousand pound a yeare,' and Dekker, *I Hon. Whore*, I. iii, ed. Pearson, ii. 11, '*Viola*: Sweare as if you came but new from knighting. *Fust*: Nay, Ile sweare after 400. a yeare.' In both these instances the meaning is evidently 'in the style of'; here it seems—so far as it has any definite meaning—to be equivalent to 'by'.

20. *Danters gentleman*] P. S. B 2, G. H. ii. 42. 4. Harvey refers, of course, to the fact that Danter had printed *Strange News*, and on the title page had described Nashe as 'Gentleman'; cf. i. 312. 1-2.

21. *right worshipfull Gabriell*] P. S. 3* 1^v, Ff 2^v, Gg 1, G. H. ii. 19, 335, 342.

21-4. *the gentleman he brings in . . . reincounter*] P. S. D 1-2, G. H. ii. 62-4. The phrases italicized by Nashe seem not to occur in Harvey.

25-6. *Anaxandrides*] The passage here referred to is quoted by Athenaeus, vii. 55, from his comedy Πόλεις (Meineke, *Poet. Com. Gr. Frag.*, Didot, p. 426):

τὴν ἔγχελυν μέγιστον ἡγεῖ δαίμονα,
ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ὄψων μέγιστον παραπολύ·
οὐκ ἐσθίεις ὕει, ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἤδομαι
μάλιστα τούτοις κύνα σέβεις, τύπτω δ' ἔγώ,
τοῦψον κατεσθίουσαν ἡνίκ' ἀν λάβω.

31. *as Tacitus saies*] Evidently a careless reminiscence of Bodin's *Method. ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, p. 67. Bodin, after citing Tacitus to the effect that a law cannot be perfectly fair to everybody, continues: 'Plato paulo aliter: *Hydrae caput eos amputare, qui de legibus omnia incommoda detrahi posse opinantur*'. See Plato, *Civ.* 426 e.

35. *tale of ten eggs . . .*] P. S. F 3^y, G. H. ii. 89. 17-24. Harvey implies that Nashe had sometimes eaten 'eight or nine eggs, & a pound of butter for your pore part, with Gods plenty of other victuals, & wine enough' two hours before his ordinary. It seems to have been unusual to take breakfast at all; according to Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.* ii. cap. 4, ed. N.S.S., p. 162, only a few young hungry stomachs did so, most persons contenting themselves with dinner and supper only.

The expression used by Nashe, 'tale of ten eggs', means a foolish story, or one not to the point. It occurs in various forms; cf. More, *Utopia*, trans. Robinson, Temple ed., p. 37, 'Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth' (*Lat.* 'alius interim censem'), *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. v. 23, 'What, come yow in with your seven egges'; E. Tasso, *Of Marriage and Wiving . . . Done into English by R. T.*, 1599, K 2^v, 'to smile . . . at those Tales of Simonides (who comming in with his fwe Egges, whereof foure were rotten)

dreameth . . .'; and Dekker, *Batchelors' Banquet*, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 197, 'Then comes in the Chamber-maid with her fine [? fwe] egges', i.e. puts in her say, interrupts. The only tale known to me which could possibly, as a well-known jest, have given rise to the expression is that of 'Quinque ova' in the *Facetiae* of Poggio.

P. 129, 5. *Captaine of the boyes*] Cf. P. S. V3, G. H. ii. 242. 15-16.

Sir Kil-prick] P. S. F 3^v, G. H. ii. 89. 28. 'Chilperic' is meant; cf. P. S. F 3, G. H. ii. 88. 14, 'the noble blood of the Kilprickes, and Childeberds, kinges of France.'

6. *Piggen de wiggen*] The expression, which is unknown to me, seems here to be equivalent to 'pigsney', i.e. darling. It is treated by N. E. D. as a form of 'pig-wiggen'; cf. iii. 151. 7.

7-8. *Prick-madam*] A name of certain kinds of stoncrops.

9. *Cod-pisse Kinko*] Not met with elsewhere.

10. *placards*] i.e. plackets.

durante bene placito] A legal phrase. The last two words are properly written as one.

16. *See him & see him not*] Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 144, suggests that this phrase is the origin of the wrongful assignment to Nashe of the authorship of *Hans Beerpot his invisible Comedy of See me and See me not*.

17-20. *the Good-wife . . . her selfe*] P. S. F 2^v, G. H. ii. 87. 10-13.

20. *a hackny prouerb*] It is of fairly frequent occurrence; cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 144, and *Two Angry Women of Ab.*, IV. iii., ed. Gayley, in *Repr. Eng. Com.*, xi. 169-70.

21. *K. Lud*] The mythical king who built Ludgate; he reigned from B.C. 72-58. 'London' was supposed to be a corruption of Caerlud, i.e. Lud's town; see Holinshed, *Chron.* 1807-8, i. 463.

Belinus, Brennus brother] See Holinshed, u. s., i. 456. Belinus was a mythical British chieftain, supposed to be brother to the Gallic leader who sacked Rome in B.C. 390. Brennus also is claimed as British by Holinshed and other English historians, who state that Brennus and Belinus began to reign as joint kings of Britain in B.C. 399.

22. *for the loue hee bare to oysters*] I suppose the reference is merely to the fish-market at Billingsgate. There was an 'Oystergate' not far off. See Stow, *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. i, p. 22.

25. *Arches or Commissaries Court*] A court of appeal belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

26. *prinkum prankums*] Apparently the name of a kind of dance; see Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 153-4, but here of course used in another sense.

27. *his Sister*] The strange account given in Harvey's *Letter-book* of the relations of his sister Mercy with a young nobleman seems to lend some colour to Nashe's charge.

29-30. *cannot doo withall*] i.e. cannot help it.

33. *baudie rymes*] P. S. F 4, G. H. ii. 91. 9, &c. See Introduction, Doubtful Works—*Choice of Valentines*.

P. 130, 7-8. *there is in court but one true Diana*] See i. 216. 23. Harvey attacks the expression as 'a very Vniuersall Proposition' and insulting to the rest of the court, P. S. Y 4^v, G. H. ii. 267. 20-3.

9-10. *I think as reverently of London as of any Citiē*] Harvey, in the same place, makes much of Nashe's attack upon London in *Pierce Penilesse* (i. 216. 17-18).

11. *Madam Towne*] P. S. Y 4^v, G. H. ii. 267. 26.

16-17. *Gnimelfe Hengist*] The first word is apparently from 'Gnimelf Maharba', an anagram of Abraham Fleming which occurs in the list of authorities prefixed to Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*.

18. *vowd to confute them all*] P. S. Z 1^v, G. H. ii. 270. 26-8.

18-19. *Mast. Lilly . . . him*] P. S. I 3^v, G. H. ii. 122. 6, &c.

20. *it was his own first seeking*] See i. 195. 23, &c., and notes.

30-1. *I praisde him . . . Menaphon*] See iii. 320. 28.

36. *that proper yong man*] 4 Let. B 3, G. H. i. 170. 11-15. This was probably written before the appearance of *Pierce Penilesse*.

P. 131, 1. *as also in hys Booke*] The distinction here made between Harvey's 'first butter-fly Pamphlet against Greene' and his 'Booke' seems to indicate that the second of his *Four Letters* was first issued separately; cf. p. 153 of this volume.

4-8. *praisd me . . . Tongue*] 4 Let. F 4^v, G. H. i. 218. 25, &c.

15-16. *I neuer abusd Marloe, Greene, Chettle in my life*] As to this see notes on i. 10. 3-35, iii. 311. 25, &c. Harvey's words, P. S. Dd 4^v, G. H. ii. 322. 18-23, are 'shamefully, and odiously misuseth evry frend, or acquaintance, as he hath serued some of his fauorabIest Patrons, (whom for certain respectes I am not to name), M. Apis Lapis, Greene, Marlow, Chettle, and whom not?' For 'Apis Lapis' see i. 255-8. I know nothing which might be supposed an attack upon Chettle, unless perhaps the reference to Greene's *Groats-worth of Wit*, which he had edited, as 'a scald triuial lying pamphlet'; cf. i. 154. 10-11.

20-1. *being but an Artificer*] Chettle was first (1577-85) apprentice to T. East, the stationer, and from 1591 partner with W. Hoskins and J. Danter, printers. He had, however, probably begun by this time to turn his attention to play-writing.

31-2. *thy defence . . . his reproofe*] P. S. Z 1, G. H. ii. 269. 20-1. Harvey has 'condemnation'.

P. 132, 2. *the Courts remoue*] I suppose the sense to be that Harvey's word is less to be trusted than that of a beggar who undertakes to give one the news of court.

10-14. *as it was against Paulus Iouius . . . intelligence*] From Bodin's *Methodus ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, p. 60 'Quae igitur verissime scribere potuit, noluit: puta res in Italia gestas. Quae voluit, non potuit: scilicet externa.' In the latter phrase Bodin refers to Jovius's writings on Turkish history.

16. *Gorbolone*] No such word seems to be known; and it may, of course, be merely a fantastic formation of no meaning. In view, however, of Nashe's habit of picking up words at random from his reading it may be noted that a Russian of the name of 'Gorbolones' is mentioned in Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, ii. 361, in an account of Russia which Nashe had almost certainly read; cf. note on 136. 33.

20. *pearle*] i. e. opacity of the crystalline lens, cataract; cf. Middleton, *Spanish Gipsy*, II. i. 167, 'A pearl in mine eye! I thank you for that; do you wish me blind?'

23-5] Cf. note on i. 10. 3-35.

26-7. *Valentine Bird*] I know nothing of this person; he may, however, have been related to the Christopher Bird of Saffron Walden, whose letter introducing Harvey to Demetrius is given in the *Four*

Letters, and who is frequently referred to by Harvey. Harvey had earlier corresponded with a Richard Bird, curate in the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden; see *Letter-Book*, p. 173. I can find no book against Greene that can well be the one referred to, nor, consequently, have I traced the six lines 'embezzled' from *Piers Penilesse*, which are mentioned below.

34. *kire-elosoning*] Though the words are spelt in many different ways, I cannot parallel 'elosoning', and the first *o* may be a misprint for *e*, *ee*, or *ei*. In *N. E. D.* two instances are given (Tyndale, 1528, and J. Taylor, 1630) of the noun as equivalent to a complaint or scolding. Cf. *P. S.* VI^v, G. H. ii. 237. 27.

P. 133, 1-2. *Candlemas Terme*] i.e. Hilary Term, which lasted from Jan. 23 to Feb. 12. Candlemas day was Feb. 2.

6. *Noddy Nash . . . swash*] *P. S.* Ee 2, G. H. ii. 327. 6-7.

7. *occasionall admonitionatiue Sonnet*] *P. S.* Ff 4, G. H. ii. 339.

7-8. *Apostrophe Sonnet . . . Lenuoy*] *P. S.* Ff 4^v, G. H. ii. 340.

9. *Sonnet of Gorgon and the wonderfull yeare*] See *N. L. D* 3, G. H. i. 295.

10. *for the chape of it*] A 'chape' was a metal tip to a scabbard or to certain other things—used here figuratively for 'ornament', or 'finish off'.

12. *Cloase*] Harvey entitles the verses 'Glosse'.

13-14. *tufft or labell*] The meaning seems to be fragment or specimen.

16-19. *Labore Dolore . . . the Parlament tune . . . meeting the diuell in coniure house lane*] I can learn nothing of any such tunes.

26. *Dilla*] Apparently one of the many meaningless refrain-words.

30. *yalp*] The word is given in *E. D. D.* as meaning 'to vomit' (Wexford), also as a dialectal form of 'yelp'.

32-3. *pumps and pantofles*] *P. S.* E4-4^v, G. H. ii. 81. 8-II. Cf. i. 278. 31.

35. *The Tragedie of wrath*] See i. 334. 3.

Priscianus vapulans] A famous comedy of Nicodemus Frischlin (1547-89), a professor at Tübingen.

P. 134, 3. *he mumbles . . . mouth*] *P. S.* I 2, G. H. ii. 118. 5, &c., where the last two lines of the sonnet in question are quoted and commented upon.

4. *horse-plum*] A kind of small red plum.

7-8. *Tom Burwels . . . Scholler*] *P. S.* V 1, G. H. ii. 237. 19-20. The fencer is there called 'Tom Burley'.

10. *in the same Inne*] Cf. 92. 17-24.

17. *was) when . . . Dolphin, for*] Read rather 'was, when . . . Dolphin), for'.

22. *my writing in all humors*] *P. S.* Y 3^v, G. H. ii. 265. 23, &c. See i. 320. 18-20.

27. *pan*] i.e. presumably, bowl; perhaps joking on pan=skull.

28-9. *as the Éléphant and the Rinoceros . . . pastures*] See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* xvii. 44 Μάχη δέ ῥινοκέρωτος πρὸς ἐλέφαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς νομῆς ἐστίν.

31. *Conundrum*] The word seems to have meant a foolish or fantastic device, a hoax, hence apparently here a fool.

P. 135, 1. *his verses*] The verses here discussed are those at the end of *P. S.* (G. H. ii. 335, &c.).

P. 136, 2-3. *Rhenish furie . . . passions*] From Chewt's verses 'The Asses Figg', P. S. Gg 2-2^v, G. H. ii. 345.

11-16. *Apologie . . . eloquent*] The sonnet of Fregeville, which is in French, is correctly represented by Nashe. P. S. Ff 3^v-4, G. H. ii. 338.

24. *Ramisticall*] i. e. following Ramus; cf. i. 43. 33-4 note.

30-1. *Struthio Belliuecento de Compasso Callipero*] I can suggest no meaning for this.

33. *Poditheck*] Apparently another of Nashe's random borrowings; cf. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, ii. 369, where the second word in a Samoyede vocabulary is 'Poddythecke, come hither'.

Tolmack] Cf. Hakluyt, u. s., ii. 449, where a Tartar of this name is mentioned; also iii. 138 of the same.

36. *the Encomium of the Foxe*] P. S. Cc 4^v, G. H. ii. 312. 20-1.

37. *the puling Preacher of Pax vobis & humilitie*] P. S. Bb 4, G. H. ii. 299. 6-10; cf. also Cc 2^v, 306. 20-2.

P. 137, 3. *the triangle turne-coate*] See P. S. Dd 2, G. H. ii. 316. Harvey says that Perne should have an equilateral triangle imprinted upon his sepulchre, as Archimedes had the figure of a cylinder engraved upon his, and suggests an epitaph in which occurs the line 'A chaungling Triangle : a Turnecoate rood'.

7. *snase*] i. e. the snuff of a candle. The word seems to be properly 'snast' or 'snaste'.

9. *brings in his coffin to speake*] The epitaph above mentioned is headed 'The Coffin speaketh'.

10-11. *An apostata . . . hee makes him*] See generally P. S. Bb 2^v, G. H. ii. 294-302.

11-12. *kept a Cubbe at Peterhouse*] P. S. Bb 3^v, G. H. ii. 397. 19-20.

12-13. *his hospitalitie . . . Friday*] P. S. Ff 1^v, G. H. ii. 310. 12-15.

13. *Sergius*] A Nestorian monk, an adherent of Mahomet, who was supposed to have assisted him in the compilation of the Koran. See Pol. Verg. *De Inv. Rerum*, vii. 8, and H. Smith's *God's Arrow*, cap. 4.

16-17. *Vincit qui patitur . . . knauerie*] P. S. Cc 4^v, G. H. ii. 312. 3-4. The suggestion that by the motto is meant a great counsellor who bears it (i. e. Whitgift; see W. K. R. Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*, ed. 1897, p. 6) is Nashe's.

18-19. *The whole Quire thankes you hartily*] I am uncertain as to the allusion. In *Mids. N. Dream*, II. i. 55, 'the whole quire' is used for 'the company'.

26. *a chiefe Father of our Common-wealth*] i. e. Archbishop Whitgift. Perne died when on a visit to him at Lambeth Palace.

P. 138, 5-6. *the Fiddlesticke of Oxford*] P. S. R 4, G. H. ii. 212. 26.

6-8. *it had bin better . . . leuitie*] P. S. K 3, G. H. ii. 132. 11-16.

11. *A day after the faire*] Fairly frequent; cf. *Tarlton's Jests*, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 243. Examples in *N. E. D.* from 1548.

15. *hickocke*] An older and more correct form of 'hiccup'.

16. *hee was once suspected for Martin*] P. S. K 2^v, G. H. ii. 131. 24-5.

20-1. *For a polished . . . Cartwright*] P. S. Bb 1, G. H. ii. 290. 28, &c.

21-3. *his rayling... Bishops*] This is rather curious. It apparently refers to *P. S.* X 2^v, *G. H.* ii. 252. 2-6. Harvey says that Nashe contemns and depraves Buchanan and Bartas, 'Whose grosse imperfections he hath also vowed to publish, with an irrefragable Confutation of Beza, and our florishingest New-writers, aswell in diuinie, as in humanitie; onely diuine Aretine excepted.' Nashe seems to accept the charge, but there is, I believe, nothing whatever against Beza in his known writings, save a brief reference to the wantonness of his youth in *Unf. Trav.* ii. 266. 10-11, and this had not been published when Harvey wrote. (Cf. also i. 112. 19-28, which, however, cannot, I think, possibly be regarded as an attack.)

25-6. *The Clergie . . . cheefest*] Cf. *P. S.* Bb 4, *G. H.* ii. 298. 26, &c., 'The Clergy neuer wanted excellent Fortune-wrightes; but what Byshop, or Politician in Engläd, so great a Temporiser, as he, whom every alteration founde a new-man, euen as new as the new Moone?'

P. 139, 5. *a tale out of Pontane*] See *P. S.* X 4, *G. H.* ii. 255. 15, &c. Harvey says that it is 'in *mensa Philosophica*, and *Pontans Dialogues*'. The tale is the well-known one about an archbishop, who in a sermon greatly praised Christ's humility in riding upon an ass, and after the service himself mounted a 'lofty palfry', whereupon he was rebuked by an old woman. See *Mensa Phil.*, ed. 1508, fol. 41, or T. Twyne's *Schoolmaster*, ed. 1583, Q 1 (bk. iv, ch. 26), but in both these the tale is in a shorter form than that given by Harvey. I have not succeeded in finding it in *Pontanus*.

7. *as John Bale saith*] See *Acts of Eng. Votaries*, ed. 1560, Pt. ii, A 7-7^v, 'In England here sometime, myght no byshop ride, but vpon a mare, as testifieth Bedas li. ii. ca. xiii. Cestriensis [i. e. Higden], li. v. ca. xii. & Robert Fabian, pa. v. ca. cxxx.'

9. *Gelo*] *P. S.* G 2^v, *G. H.* ii. 99. 8-13. The story is from Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, *Gelo*. 4.

13. *Bend olet hostis interfectus*] Suetonius, *Vitellius* 10 'Optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem'. Perhaps from Bodin, *Methodus ad Hist. Cognit.*, ed. 1595, p. 67.

18. *which then is to be renewed and reprinted againe*] So far as is known, this was never done.

19. *So be*] Read perhaps 'So, be'—for 'by'.

31. *with Trajan*] The idea is familiar, but I cannot find any such saying attributed to Trajan.

33-4. *Tu mihi Criminis Author*] Also at ii. 275. 12-13; from Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 40.

NASHES LENTEN STVFFE

I. Date of Composition and Publication.

The book was written in 1598 (see 160. 9-10), and was in preparation during Lent (see 151. 10-11), but cannot have been finished until the late autumn (see note on 220. 6-7). It seems to contain no other definite marks of date.

It was probably published early in 1599, in any case before June 1, when the printing of any further books by Nashe or Harvey was prohibited.

2. General Character of the Work.

Lenten Stuff, which Nashe calls 'a light friskin of my witte' (151. 23), seems to have been intended as a glorification of Yarmouth in return for the hospitable treatment which he had there received when obliged to flee from London on account of his *Isle of Dogs* (156. 10-22). After a humorous dedication to Humfrey King (147-50) and an epistle to the reader (151-2), the work opens with a few words of explanation as to the *Isle of Dogs* and Nashe's flight to Yarmouth (153-4). Next comes a History and Description of Yarmouth (156-72)—The praise of the red herring (174-95), which is interrupted by a catalogue of works on trifling subjects, introduced by way of an apology (176-8)—Humorous version of the story of Hero and Leander (195-201)—How the herring became king of fishes (201-4)—The invention of red herrings (204)—Burgh Castle and the neighbourhood (204-5)—Tale of a herring-merchant at Rome and the Pope (206-11)—Complaint of false interpretations put upon Nashe's works (213-16)—A fantastic tale of a herring, or cropshin, and a turbot (216-220)—Other tales about herrings (221-3)—In praise of fishermen (224-5).

It may be noted that Nashe's language in this work is deliberately bombastic; cf. his reference to his 'huge woords' at 152. 6. It contains, I think, a larger proportion of expressions not to be found elsewhere than any other of his writings.

3. Sources.

The only part of the work for which we need expect to find a source is the historical description of Yarmouth and the surrounding country. Nashe himself by his frequent mention of Camden, and his reference at 161. 32-3 to 'a Chronographycal Latine table, which they haue hanging vp in their Guild hall', put us on the right track, but investigation brings us face to face with at least one difficulty as to the precise way in which he became possessed of his material.

Of his borrowings from Camden's *Britannia* I need say nothing further here: some of the more important are mentioned in the notes. It is with the 'Chronographycal Latine table' that the difficulty arises.

Thomas Hearne in his edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, 1770, vi. 285-8, printed a document which purports to be a transcript of such a table, this having been, as he says, communicated to him by his friend Richard Rawlinson. The heading as given by Hearne is as follows:

'*E Tabula pensili in Aula communi magnæ Jernemuthæ.*

'Exscripsit Richardus Rawlyn impensis venerabilissimi viri Johannis Wentworth de Somerliton in comitatu Suffolciae equitis aurati, & ex liberrimis hujus municipii suffragiis in supremis regni comitiis assessoris anno orbis redempti 1627. & serenissimi Domini nostri Caroli regis tertio, qui, inter cetera benevolentiae pignora, monumentum hoc renovari curavit, Thoma Medow & Thoma Manthrope Ballivis in anno Salutis 1638.'

Properly the phrase 'e tabula exscripsit' should, I believe, mean 'copied out', with the implication that it was a complete copy, but unfortunately the point is not altogether certain, and as the original seems to have disappeared, there is no means of knowing what exactly

it contained. In one case at least the transcript printed by Hearne can hardly have been accurate, for it gives the number of persons who perished in the great plague of 1348 as 7,000, while Camden, quoting what I suppose to be the same table, though he calls it 'Tabula Chronographica antiqua in templo appensa', gives it as 7,050 (see note on 161. 32), the same number as is given by Nashe (165. 31).

Now most of Nashe's information about Yarmouth will be found in Hearne's document, much of it in a form closely resembling that in which it appears in *Lenten Stuff*, but some of it is not to be found.

There exists, however, another source of early information about Yarmouth, namely a manuscript (in English) supposed to have been written by Henry Manship the elder (fl. 1562), which, about the time when *Lenten Stuff* was written, seems to have been in possession of his son, also named Henry, who had been town clerk from 1579-85, was at this date a member of the corporation, and afterwards compiled a history of the town. The MS. was printed in 1847, with introduction and notes by C. J. Palmer, as *A Booke of the Foundation and Antiquitye of the Towne of Greate Yermouthe*, and it is remarkable that in many respects Nashe's description corresponds far more closely to this than to Hearne's transcript of the Table. Not only does this manuscript add a number of details which are used by Nashe, but the coincidence of language is so striking that there can be, at least in my opinion, no doubt that the two accounts are very closely related. Curiously enough the passage in *Lenten Stuff* which shows the greatest number of verbal similarities with the Manship MS. is the very passage which Nashe claims to have taken from the 'Chronographical Latine table' (see 161. 32-163. 2). Though something to the same effect is to be found in Hearne's transcript (see note on 162. 1, &c.), not only does the expression 'grow into sight at a [the] low water' appear both in the Manship MS. and Nashe, as corresponding to Hearne's 'crevit in altitudinem per defluxionem maris', but the phrase 'more sholder at the mouth of the river [the said flood called] Hirius' is common to the first two, while in the last there is nothing at all to correspond.

On the other hand, neither can the Manship MS. have been itself the source used, for in a few cases Nashe gives particulars and dates which are absent from this, though given in the Hearne transcript (see notes on 163. 23-4, 32; 164. 9-13; 165. 7-13), and we are thus driven to suppose either that Nashe himself combined the two accounts, which seems unlikely, or that, besides the Latin table, there existed, not improbably in the Town Hall, a translation of it, perhaps with added details, and that the compiler of the Manship MS. made much use of this, quoting large parts of it, but adding to it or omitting as he pleased. It is of course possible that even if Hearne's transcript accurately represented the Latin table as it was after its renovation in 1638, the renovator may have omitted or altered certain parts of the original, which had perhaps become illegible.

However this may be, I think that a comparison of the extracts from the Manship MS. which I have given in the notes, with the corresponding passage of Nashe will show that this MS. represents a translation of which he certainly at times made use.

It may be noted that Nashe had apparently been reading Froissart,

the *Rudens* and perhaps other plays of Plautus, and had again looked through Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.

4. After History.

There are occasional references to the work, such as Peacham's in the *Complete Gentleman*, ed. 1906, 53 foot, 'there is no booke so bad, even Sir Bevis himselfe, *Owleglasse*, or *Nashes Herring*, but some commodity may be gotten by it', and John Taylor once or twice mentions it, but none of the allusions known to me are of importance.

This seems the best place to mention an extraordinary production which was described by Haslewood in *The British Bibliographer*, i. 149-52, and by him supposed to have reference to the present work. The title as given is *A Pil to purge Melancholie: or a prep[a]rative to a purgation: or Topping, Coping, and Capping: taking either or whether: or Mash them, and squash them, and dash them, and diddle come derrie come daw them, all together*, 4to, 8 leaves, n. d. The pamphlet, which is dedicated to 'M. Baw-waw' (supposed by Haslewood to be Nashe, who uses the term in *Lenten Stuff*, 212. 1), consists chiefly of a string of terms of abuse, such as, 'Then tit ye and tip ye and tap ye, and heele ye and halt ye, and hop ye and top ye and cop ye and lip ye and lap & lop ye . . .', and, to judge at least from the extracts given, seems to be entirely devoid of meaning. There are references to 'your herringcobs inuention', 'Lenton relictes,' and to the recent arrival of the dedicatee in England from foreign countries. One of the pieces is in the form of a letter and is signed '*She that skornes thee and thy puffie stiffe: Snuffe*'. The tract was in Heber's collection, but I cannot learn what has since become of it.

P. 141. *Entry in the Stationers' Register*] The words 'vpon Condicon that he gett yt Laufully Auctorised' may have reference to the trouble about the *Isle of Dogs*. The prohibition to print any of Nashe's books was later, namely June 1, 1599.

P. 145, 2. *Lenten Stiffe*] This was a general name for provisions suitable for Lent. See quotations from the *Chronicles of Fabian* (1494) and Hall (a 1548) in *N.E.D.* The phrase had been used by Elderton as the title of a ballad; see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 178^b: 'A newe ballad entytuled Lenton Stuff for a lyttel munny ye maye have enowghe.' Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 137) thinks that Nashe took the title from Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, II, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 115, 'his shrouing ware, but lenten stuff, like the old pickle herring.'

14. *Famam peto per undas*] The source of this, if a quotation, is unknown to me, but cf. *Aen.* iv. 381 'pete regna per undas.'

16. *N. L. and C. B.*] Nicholas Ling and Cuthbert Burby.

P. 147, 1-2. *Lustie Humfrey*] i.e. Humfrey King. He was the author of a work of which the third impression was published in 1613 under the title of *An Halfe-penny-worth of Wit in a Penny-worth of Paper. Or the Hermites Tale*. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 318 b. Practically nothing is known about him. *The Hermi's Tale* is mentioned by Nashe at 150. 9-10.

7. *the Tabour*] Joking, of course, on the pipe and tabour of the morris-dance.

12-17. *H. S., . . . grow]* I do not know whether it has been noticed that we have here an allusion to the title-page of the 1593 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*, with its pig smelling at a bush round which is the motto 'non tibi spiro'. The initials H. S. are those of the editor of the volume and writer of the prefatory epistle. They have been variously interpreted, it being supposed by some that they stand for Henry Salisbury (1561-1637?), the Welsh grammarian (*D. N. B.* art. Sidney; cf. Jos. Hunter, *New Illustrations of the Life . . . of Shakespeare*, 1845, i. 276), while in J. Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, 1898, i. 311, under Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, we read, 'Mr. Henry Sanford was the earle's secretary, a good scholar and poet, and who did penne part of the *Arcadia* dedicated to her (as appeares by the preface). He haz a preface before it with the two letters of his name. 'Tis he that haz verses before Bond's Horace.'

There is another and more violent attack upon this same H. S. in the epistle to the reader prefixed to J. Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, A 5^v-6. A reference to 'dride Marioram' makes it certain that the editor of the *Arcadia* is there also intended. Behind these allusions there seems to be a rather interesting literary quarrel, but, so far as I can learn, Nashe had little direct connexion with it, and I must therefore pass it over. In his case the enmity against H. S. may possibly have had some connexion with his edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, and the action taken—perhaps by H. S., certainly by a friend of the Pembrokes—in immediately issuing a corrected text.

16. *in the old song]* The song in question seems to have completely disappeared, unless, indeed, it is merely a perversion of the well-known 'Go from my window, go', for which see Chappell, *Pop. Mus.*, 140.

21. *Cales beards]* Presumably some fashion set by those who had taken part in the Cadiz expedition of 1596.

22. *maples]* A variant of 'mapple', a mop (*N.E.D.*).

25-6. *after my returne from Ireland]* This has oddly enough been taken (e. g. in *D. N. B.*) as an announcement by Nashe that he was about to go to Ireland, while Mr. Fleay says (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 145) that from it 'it appears that Nash was in Ireland serving in the war'; but surely it is quite clear that the whole passage from l. 24 to l. 8 of the next page is the imaginary speech of the 'Brauamente segniors', to whom Nashe might have dedicated the book.

P. 148, 4-5. *to expell cold]* Jacques Cartier, in 1535, describing the use of tobacco by the Indians, says that they claimed that it 'doth keepe them warme and in health' (Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, viii. 242), and it seems to have been currently supposed that it had some such virtue.

5. *Staues-aker]* A kind of larkspur, largely used as a preventive of vermin. Cf. Marlowe, *Faustus*, iv. 22-4 (ed. Breymann (1604), ll. 378-80). Frequently referred to. Ireland seems to have been proverbially verminous; cf. *Westward Ho!*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 320. 1-2.

7. *in the word of]* Apparently equivalent to 'on the word of', for which it may indeed be a misprint.

11. *carpetmunger]* i.e. carpet knight; cf. *Much Ado*, V. ii. 32.

primerose] The word was used much as we now use 'flower';

cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster, Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, p. 219, 'two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke, and Lord H. Matreuers.' Here, of course, it is used chiefly for the joke on 'primero', the card-game.

29. *S. Loy*] i.e. Saint Eligius (d. 659), who was treasurer and friend of Dagobert I and remarkable for his skill in jewellery. He was the patron saint of goldsmiths, and also of farriers and horse-keepers. Cf. Chaucer, *Prol.* 120; also Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 528, 157.

29. *drawes deepe*] i.e. makes a deep impression on his purse. Cf. *Cambises*, ed. Manly in *Pre-Sh. Dr.*, l. 1322, 'your words draw deepe in my minde'.

32. *on the heild*] i.e. on the decline; see *N. E. D.* s. v. *hield*.

36. *haue two playes in one night*] These must have been private performances of plays or interludes. At the theatres plays were of course in the afternoon, and only one of ordinary length was performed. See Collier's *Hist. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 376, 'Hour and Duration of Performance'.

P. 149, 11. *Johannes de Indagines*] There were two writers of this name, one a Carthusian monk of the fifteenth century, otherwise known as Johannes de Hagen, who wrote on theology and ecclesiology, the other a writer on astrology and physics, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century. See Jöcher, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*. I am not sure which is here alluded to. Presumably the first.

13-14. *for somewhere I haue borrowed it*] Is Nashe still deriding R. Harvey's *Lamb of God*? Cf. i. 272. 8-9, 16-18.

18-19. *driue a coach or kill an oxe*] I cannot say what is here alluded to.

24. *ominate*] i.e., properly, prognosticate; here, perhaps, infer.

24-5. *the king of fishes*] The herring seems commonly to have had this title; cf. Ben Jonson, *Ev. Man in his Humour*, I. iii. 13 (1601, l. 354). Later in *Conceits, Clinches, &c.*, 1639, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, iii, p. 40, we learn that 'In the Common-wealth of Fishes are many officers; Herring the King, Swordfish his guard; Lobsters are Aldermen, Crabs are Constables, and poor Johns the common sort of people'.

27. *greene beefe*] i.e. fresh, not salted.

28-9. *The strife of Loue in a Dreame*] i.e. R. D.'s translation of the well-known *Hypnerotomachia* of Francesco Colonna, which appeared in 1592. One might almost fancy Nashe to have been a little jealous of its truly amazing style, feeling, perhaps, that even his own 'boystrous compound words' and 'Italionate coyned verbes all in Ize' must yield the palm to the translator's wondrous nymphes in chapter 8, with their yellow hair 'hemicirculately enstrophiated about their diuine faces'.

29. *the Lamentable burning of Tiverton*] Tiverton had been destroyed by fire on April 3, 1598. A 'true and lamentable discourse' on the subject was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 14th, and a ballad on the same subject on the 28th of the same month.

34. *there an ende*] Cf. note on iii. 36. 2.

P. 150, 4-5. *In Ruscia there are no presents but of meate or drinke*] See Hakluyt, *Princ. Navig.*, ed. 1903-5, ii. 426 margin, 'Presents

used in Russia are all for the most part of victuals', and the text opposite, where it is stated that a certain person 'had presents innumerable sent unto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke'.

7. *merry-go-downe*] i.e. a kind of strong ale. Instances in *N.E.D.* from c. 1500.

8. *the shadow of your feetes shadow*] Cf. note on iii. 92. 7.

9-10. *the Hermites Tale*] See note on 147. 1-2.

P. 151, 7. *Pig-wiggen*] Cf. iii. 129. 6, 'Piggen de Wiggen', and see *N.E.D.*, s.v. 'pigwidgin'. The word is of obscure derivation and meaning. It occurs as a fanciful name in Drayton's *Nymphidia*, and in *Selimus*, ed. Grosart, 1898, l. 1974, 'Now will I be as stately to them as if I were master Pigwiggen our constable'.

10. *Nickneacae*] The word is unknown to me.

13. *John Dringle*] Cf. iii. 13. 2.

14. *booke of the Red Herrings taile*] The work referred to is *A Herrings Tayle: Contayning a Poeticall fiction of diuers matters worthie the reading. At London, Printed for Matthew Lownes. 1598. 4to, A-D⁴, E²*. It is a rambling poem in Alexandrines, the purport of which is by no means clear, but which doubtless has some topical reference. It is said to be by R. Carew. 'See Guillim's Heraldry 1611, 1st ed., p. 154' (note in B. M. copy of the *Herring's Tail*).

21. *the Trim Tram*] Nashe evidently refers to 'Dick Litchfield's' *Trimming of Tom Nashe*. The word 'trim-tram' seems to have meant 'absurdity, trifle'; see *Cent. Dict.*

24-5. *the prayse of iniustice . . . Phalaris*] It is impossible to say whence Nashe took this, for lists of the writings of the learned on ridiculous or unworthy subjects are of constant occurrence from the time of A. Gellius (xvii. 12) downward. Nashe refers to many productions of this sort at p. 176. 20, &c. Three of the subjects here (not Phalaris) are mentioned, with others, in Erasmus's epistle to Sir T. More, prefixed to his *Encomium Moriae*.

24. *iniustice*] 'Iniustitiam [laudarit] Glauco,' Erasmus, *Enc. Moriae, Praef.* See Plato, *Rep.* ii. 361-7.

the feuer quartaine] According to A. Gellius, xvii. 12, Favorinus had made an oration in praise of the fever quartain. C. Insulanus Menapius († 1561) wrote also an 'Encomium Febris Quartanae', 1542, which may be found with a number of similar productions in the convenient collection entitled *Admiranda Rerum Admirabilium Encomia*, 1666.

Busiris] The reference is to the orations of Polycrates and Isocrates. For a full discussion see Bayle, *Dict.*, ed. 1734-8, ii. 235 note C.

25. *Phalaris*] See the two dialogues ascribed to Lucian. There was also a short dialogue by Ulrich von Hutten, entitled *Phalarismus*, or sometimes *Apologia pro Phalarismo*, published c. 1517.

29, &c.] Apparently alluded to in I *Return from Parnassus*, III. i. (ed. Macray, 917-22), 'I' faith, an excellent witt that can poetize upon such meane subjects! everie John Dringle can make a booke in the commendacions of temperance, againste the seven deadlie sinnes, but that's a rare wit that can make somthinke of nothinge, that can make an Epigram of a Mouse and an Epitaphe on a Munkey.' See also J. Taylor's *Thief, Wks.*, 1630, Kk 6, 'and I am assured that

the meaner the subiect is, the better the Inuention must bee, for (as Tom Nash said) euery Foole can fetch Water out of the Sea, or picke Corne out of full Sheaues, but to wring Oyle out of Flint, or make a plentifull Haruest with little or no Seed, that's the Workman, but that's not I'.

29. say Bee to a Battledore] See note on i. 221. 13-14.

P. 152, 8. tragicus Orator] Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 55. 203 'Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator'. Cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, Eng. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 254.

11-12. that begets good bloud] Alluding to the proverb 'good wine begets good blood'; cf. ii. 308. 12-13.

P. 153, 3. the Ille of Dogs] As to this play see the Introduction.

15. stickle-banck] I allowed this spelling to stand as being possibly an alternative form of 'stickle-back'—but I am very doubtful.

20-3 marg. Quassa tamen . . . nauis] Ovid, *Tristia* v. II. 13.

P. 154, 1-13 marg.] See Introduction.

5. I was glad to run from it] It seems clear that though a warrant was issued for Nashe's arrest he succeeded in escaping, and was not, as has frequently been stated, sent to the Fleet. The entry in *Henslowe's Diary*, 'pd this 23 of auguste 1597 to harey porter to carye to T. Nashe nowe at this tyme in the flete for wryting of the eyle of dogges . . .' is now known to be a forgery; see the *Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, fol. 33 and p. xl; and Harvey's *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, though giving a picture of him in fetters, refers to him as a fugitive (F 1, G. H. iii. 51).

9. rough cast] Cf. iii. 385. 24.

17-18. post varios casus] See iii. 91. 28.

20. ende of Autumne] i. e. of 1597.

21-2. Hic . . . imbricus] Plautus, *Mercator*, v. 2. 35 'Hic Favonius serenust, istic Auster imbricus'.

24. diameter] i. e. crosswise, at variance with.

26. Aquarius] Meaning that Nashe was at Yarmouth in the winter. The sun enters Aquarius about the middle of January.

29. as Plautus saith] *Rudens*, v. 2. 17-19 'Gripus. quid tu? num medicus, quaeso, es? Labrax. immo edepol una litera plus sum quam medicus. Gr. mendicus es? La. tetigisti acu'.

30. liue to my selfe with my owne iuice] This looks like a reminiscence of Plautus, *Capt.* i. 1. 13 'cochleae suo sibi suco vivunt'. The phrase 'live to one's self' seems usually to mean 'live by one's self, alone'; cf. Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* (1601, l. 2105), 'I will tel you, Signior (in priuate), I am a gentleman, and liue here obscure, and to my selfe'; also ii. 237. 24-5. In the present passage it apparently has the sense of earn one's own living.

P. 155, 1-4. even as Homer by Galateon was pictured vomiting . . . disgorged] See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 22. The painter's name was Galaton. Cf. Lyly's *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 5. 28, where the painter is not named; also G. B. Cinthio, *Discorsi*, 1554, p. 35.

5. bibber of Helicon] The phrase occurs in Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, VI^v, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 238. 1.

5-15] Somewhat 'written-up' from the account given in the *Vita*

Homeri, formerly attributed to Herodotus (see Homer's *Il. et Od.*, ed. 1541, ii. 378-9). He promised the inhabitants of Cyme that if they would support him he would make the town famous, but after discussion his offer was rejected. He therefore betook himself to Phocaea, where he wrote a poem called the *Phocaeid* (p. 380); and later to Chios (384).

22. *Huddle-duddles*] Explained in *N.E.D.* as 'decrepit old man', the only example given.

cum-twangs] 'An obsolete term of contempt,' *N.E.D.*; only instance.

23. *Eucionisme*] Euclio is a miser in the *Aulularia* of Plautus. For the proverbial use of the name see the *Adagia* of Hadrianus Junius in *Erasm. Adag.*, 1574, ii. 119 b.

26. *a sharpe warre*] Apparently Nashe's invention.

28. *to this effect hath Buccanan an Epigram*] Not an epigram; the lines are from his Elegy entitled 'Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae' (*Franciscanus et Fratres, Elegiarum Liber I*, &c., ed. 1594, p. 63):

Bella gerunt vrbes septem de patria Homeri:
Nulla domus vino, patria nulla fuit.

P. 156, 18. *Anchora . . .*] Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 2. 42.

21. *launce-skippe*] I know no other instance of this spelling. The most usual appears to have been 'landskip' or 'lantskip'.

22. *superimidente*] The words 'imminent' and 'eminent' were frequently confused; cf. *N.E.D.*, s. v. Imminent (especially example under 5) and Eminent, 6.

24-5. *Battlementes of Gurguntus*] i. e. Norwich, supposed to have been founded by King Gurgunt, or Gurguntius, son of Belinus. At the reception of Q. Elizabeth in 1578 there was 'one which represented King Gurgunt, sometime king of England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called Blanch Floure, and laid the foundation of the citie', Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 376.

27. *Thetford*] It had at one time been the seat of the East-Anglian kings, and later a bishopric and a town of considerable size. After the transference of the see to Norwich, however (see note on 162. 33), it had much decayed. Camden, *Brit.*, 1594, p. 359, says 'Raris nunc est habitatoribus, licet satis amplum, olim vero frequens & celebratum'.

31. *fumish*] i. e. seething.

34. *Ejectione firma*] Properly 'ejectione firmae', i. e. ejectment from a holding, a form of writ; see Bouvier's *Law Dict.* Nashe seems here to be using it jokingly for 'ejection from terra firma'. The same form of the expression (with *firma*) is found in *Span. Trag.*, III. xiii. 62 (ed. Boas), and, I believe, not infrequently.

P. 157, 11. *balist*] i. e., I suppose, weigh down, overwhelm; a form of ballast.

15. *as M. Camden calls it*] *Britannia*, 1594, p. 364 'A Norwico, Garienis . . . mari proximus in Austrum descendit, vt marinis fluctibus mollius illabatur, lingulamque facit, quam hinc ipse, inde mare allabit. In hac lingula littore apertissimo Yarmouth vidimus'.

26. *(with a vantage)*] i. e. and even more.

P. 158, 1. *gulliguts*] i. e. gluttons ; here, rather, big-bellied fellows.
 2-5. *K. Edgar . . . Summer*] See Stow, *Annals*, 1615, 83^b, where the number of the ships is given as 3,500, or, as other writers say, 300, ‘and this hath a more likelihooe of truth’. Cf. also Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, ii. 140, i. 18, and lv. In the last-mentioned passage his ships are stated to have been not comparable in size with those of later times.

7-8. *driuen in swarmes*] Probably for ‘driuen in in swarmes’, but the omission of one ‘in’ in such cases is frequent and should rather be counted, I think, as a licence than as an error.

8. *pestred*] i. e. crowded together.

11. *drabbed*] i.e. wet and dirty.

in the full clew] i. e. spread wide ; see *N.E.D.*, s.v. *clew, sb.* 7.

P. 159, 8. *or*] The *r* is badly damaged and might at first sight be equally well a broken *f* (or *i*). It seems not impossible that ‘of’ was intended.

13. *descentine*] *Harl.*¹² and *Hind.* modernize to ‘descending’. *Harl.*³ and *Gro.* read as here. In *N.E.D.* this passage is quoted s.v. *descentive*—the sole instance—the *n* being treated as a misprint for *u*. This may be correct, but until other examples of the word are found it seemed best to follow the quarto. Possibly the word is simply a misprint for ‘descending’, the termination ‘-time’ having been caught from the ‘line’ which follows.

P. 160, 5. *that dyed drunke at Lambeth*] It was Hardicanute, Canute’s son, who died ‘with the pot in his hand’ at a great feast held at Lambeth ; see Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 738.

7. *Caput extulit undis*] Cf. Vergil, *G. iv.* 352 ‘caput extulit unda’, and Ovid, *Metam.* v. 487 ‘Cum caput Eleis Alpheias extulit undis’.

13. *balderdash*] Perhaps associated by Nashe with the barber’s ball of soap. It meant ‘frothiness’, whether of liquids or of language.

18-22. *as the Westerne gales . . . Rhene*] See Camden, *Brit.*, 1594, 364 ‘Vt enim Caurus in Batauiam e regione tyrannidem exercet, & agglomeratis arenis medium Rheni ostium obturauit : itidem Aquilo hanc oram afflit, & arenas conuerrens hoc ostium obstruxisse videatur’.

34-5. *Omnium rerum . . .*] Terence, *Eun.* ii. 2. 45.

P. 161, 3. *Cerdicuſ*] *Brit.*, 365 top ‘Cerdicus bellicosus Saxo hic terram consendit (vnde locus hodie incolis Cerdiksand, & Historicis Cerdickshore dicitur).’

8. *bruite*] i.e. descendant or follower of Brutus ; hence, hero.

8-9. *cast their heeles in their necke*] This apparently means no more than ‘leapt’. A similar phrase occurs in *Tarlton’s Jests*, Hazlitt’s *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 243, ‘The fellow, seeing a foolish question had a foolish answeare, laid his legges on his neck, and got him gone’.

10. *obscene appellation*] ‘sard’=‘swive’ ; see Farmer and Henley, *Slang Dict.* s.v.

11. *Hoblobs*] ‘Hob’ and ‘Lob’ are of frequent occurrence as typical names of country bumpkins ; cf. Preston’s *Cambyses*, ll. 754, &c., and *The Sackfull of News* in Hazlitt’s *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 176.

17. *warp*] i. e. ‘a cast of herrings, haddock, or other fish ; four, as a tale of counting fish’, *Cent. Dict.*, which quotes the present passage, explaining ‘warp of weeks’ as four weeks, a month. No other

examples are given, but this is probably a nonce-use. Numerous examples of the word as a tale of four in *E. D. D.*, s. v. warp, *s. b.* 18.

18. *balkt*] i. e. shunned.

20. *Yarmoth*] Perhaps a misprint, but cf. 186. 34.

24-5. *ouerwhart*] i. e. opposite.

27-8. *Quam nulla potest abolere vetustas*] This looks like an alteration of Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 871-2 'Iamque opus exegi, quod . . . Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas'.

29-30. *as Master Camden saith*] *Brit.* 365 'in quo [oppido] Edwardi Confessoris tempore, septuaginta, vt est in Angliae Notitia, floruerunt Burgenses'.

32. *Chronographycal Latine table*] This is presumably the table mentioned by Camden, *Brit.*, 365, when referring to the plague of 1348, 'pestis illa tristissima, quae hoc oppidulo 7050. vno anno absumpserit, quod testatur Tabula Chronographica antiqua in templo appensa, ubi bella etiam cum Portuensibus [i. e. the Cinq Ports], & Lestoffensibus notantur'. See introductory note on the Sources.

P. 162, 1, &c.] As stated in the note on the sources, the historical sketch of Yarmouth given by Nashe is evidently closely related to that which has come down to us in a MS. attributed to Henry Manship, senior (fl. 1562), and both are related to a Latin account formerly in the town hall, of which a transcript has been printed by Hearne. I have already discussed the problem of the connexion between them, but must, for the sake of illustration, give a few extracts. The passages in the two authorities which correspond to this page of *Lenten Stuff* are as follows.

(1) Hearne's transcript (*Leland's Collectanea*, ed. 1770, vi. 285):

'Tempore Edwardi regis & Confessoris dicta arena crevit in altitudinem per defluxionem maris: & temporibus Harroldi regis & Willielmi Conquestoris eadem arena crevit in siccum terram: & populi ibidem congregabant in tabernaculis circa emptiones & venditiones halecium & piscium, tam de pescatoribus alienis, quam Anglicanis, in eadem arena appellentibus ab anno Domini 1040. usque ad annum 1090.'

'Tempore Willielmi Rufi regis Herebertus episcopus Norwicensis quandam capellam super eandem arenam struxit pro salute animarum illic appellentium . . .'

(2) The 'Manship MS.' from C. J. Palmer's print of 1847, pp. 7-8: I have added in square brackets a few references to lines in order to call attention to special likeness of phrasing.

'In the Tyme of the Reigne of Kinge Edward the Confessour the saide sand beganne to growe into sight [1-2] at the lowe water, and to become more showlde [2] at the mouthe of the said Flodde called Hierus, and then there were channelles for Shippes and Fyshermen to pass and enter into that arme of the Sea for utterance of there Fishe and Merchandizes, which were conveyed to diverse partes and places aswell in the Countye of Norfolke as in the Countye of Suffolke, by reason that all the wholle levell of the marshes and fennes which now are betwixte the Towne of Yermouthe and the Citie of Norwiche, were then all an arme of the Sea, entering within the Lande by the mouthe of the Hierus. And this was about the yeare of oure Savior M and XL^{tie} and long before.'

'In the tymes of the Reynges of Kinge Harrolde and of Kinge William y^e Conqueror, the saide sande did growe [25] to be drye and was not overflowen by the Sea, but waxed in heighth, and also in greatness, in so muche as greate store of people of the Countys of Norf^t. and Suffolke did resorte thither, and did pitche Tabernacles and Boothes for the enterteynenge of such Seafaringe men and Fishermen and Merchaunts as wold resorte unto that place, eyther to sell their Herringes, fish, and other comodities, and for providenqe suche things as those Seamen did neede and wante. The which thinge caused greate store of Seafaringe men to resorte tbither ; but especiallie the Fishermen of this Land; as also greate nombers of the Fishermen of Fraunce, Flaunders, and of Holland, Zealand, and all the lowe Contryes yerelie, from the feaste of Sainte Michaell th Archangell untyle the feast of Sainte Martine [28-9], aboute [28] the takinge, sellinge, and buyenge of Herringes, and at other tymes in the yere aboute other kindes of fishe. And then in the tyme of the Reigne of Kinge *William Rufus*, Kinge of this Realme, one *Herbertus*, Bisshopp of the Sea of Norwiche [33] perceyvengre greate resorte and concourse of people to be daylie and yerelie uppon the said Sande, and intendeinge to provide for there sowles healthe, did founde and buylde uppon the said Sande a certen Chappell for the devotion of the people resortinge thither . . .'

2. *sholder*] i. e. shallower ; 'shold' is a variant of 'shoal'. See *Cent. Dict.*, s.v. *shoal*, which quotes Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.* (ed. 1903-5, ii. 222. 1), 'shoalder and shoalder water'.

9-10] Something is evidently wrong with the text. The simplest emendation would be to read '*Madona Amphitrites fluctuous demeans*', but the phrase is too clumsy to be quite satisfactory.

16. *Saint Winifrides Well*] At Holywell, in Flintshire. Harrison refers to it in his *Descr. of Eng.*, i, cap. 24, ed. N.S.S. ii. (pt. 3) 164, as 'a medicinable spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed'. An unorthodox version of the story of the well is to be found in Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, i. 4, &c.; cf. pp. xxxiii, &c., of Dr. Lange's Introduction.

17. *Towre-hill water at London*] I cannot find any mention of a well on Tower Hill, though Stow speaks of several in the neighbourhood.

20. *Rutter*] i. e. chart, or directions for sailing ; O. F. *routier*.

28-9. *Saint Michael to Saint Martin*] Sept. 29-Nov. 11.

29. *sutlers*] Properly provision-sellers who accompanied an army.

33. *Herbertus*] See Camden, *Brit.*, 364 mid. Herbert Losinga (? 1054-1119) became Bishop of Thetford in 1091, and removed the see from that town to Norwich in 1094.

P. 163, 3-23.] Practically all of this will be found in the *Manship MS.*, ed. Palmer, pp. 8-9.

4. *Richard de corde Lyon*] Nashe always uses this form of the name ; cf. ii. 119. 35, iii. 20. 25.

5. *yalping*] The precise application of the word, which seems to be a variant of 'yelping' (but cf. iii. 133. 30, 'yalp'), is not clear.

6. *Eastflege*] The hundred including Yarmouth and the district immediately to the north of it.

13-14.] Hearne's transcript has merely 'Et hoc regimen duravit per centum annos ab anno Domini 1100'; Manship (p. 10, top) has 'beinge aboute the space of a hundrethe yeres, even untile the tyme of Kinge John.'

17. *soule Bell*] i. e. passing-bell.

21-2. *under . . . met*] i.e. it is unwilling to admit any equal, less than a minster or cathedral. The form 'minister' for 'minster', common earlier, was antiquated at this date, but was perhaps possible.

23-4. *whence Yarmouth roade . . . Saint Nicholas*] The Hearne transcript has '& Rhoda de Yermouth ea de causa vocatur St. Nicholas Road'; in the Manship MS. there is nothing corresponding.

28. *Anno 1209.*] The date is given by Manship (p. 10, foot), 'Kinge John, in the nyneth yere of his reigne, whiche was A^o dmi. 1209 . . .'; in Hearne the date—if any, which is not quite clear—is 1200.

32. *Anno 1240.*] The date of the town's being first governed by bailies is given in Hearne's transcript as 1200; no date in Manship MS.

34. *undermeale*] i.e. afternoon sleep; see note on i. 209. 21.

seauen sleepers] Seven brothers martyred at Ephesus by the Emperor Decius in 251. Being shut in a cave they came to life many years later. Nashe's forty years seems to be merely an error. The *Golden Legend* says that they slept for 362 or 208 years; Hakluyt (ed. 1903-5, iv. 286), where Nashe perhaps read the story, 274 years.

35-164, 8] All in Manship, p. 10, but in 164. 4 the king should be Edward II.

P. 164, 9-13] Cf. Hearne's transcript, 'Edwardus primus & Edwardus secundus concessere eisdem Burgensibus diversa privilegia, & appellaverunt aquam per nomen portus Yernemouth, & ibidem consti-tuere Tronum, & Sigillum dictum Coquet, pro oneratione & exonera-tione navium.' Manship speaks of large privileges being granted, but does not detail them.

13-17] See Manship, p. 11. Hearne's transcript mentions the moat and ditch (dating them 1230), but not the prison.

17-29] In Hearne's transcript Peerbrown is mentioned merely as admiral of the northern navy in Edward III's reign, Laburnus not being referred to at all. In the Manship MS., pp. 12-13, however, we find the whole: '*Moreover Kinge Edwarde the 2 graunted unto the sayde Towne of Greate Yermouthe, sondrye liberties and prevelydges. And also by his Lres. Patentes, dated xij of Maye, in the syxth yere of his reygne, did constitute two Lord Admiralles for the naveyes of this Realme of England, the one called the Lord Admirall of the northerne naveye, which streched from the Temes' mouthe to the northe ptes. of this Land, and the other called the Lord Admirall of the westerne naveye, which streched from the Temes' mouthe to the westward. And of this northerne naveye, John Perebrowne, one of the Burgesses of Greate Yermouth, was constituted Lord Admirall, whoe occupied that office sixe yeres together after his first election. In the which tyme one S^r Roberte Laburnus, Knighte, was also Lord Admirall of the western naveye.*

'Then after thend of these sixe years, the said John Perebrowne

conteynewed his place and office thirtene yeres more, even unto thend of the saide Kinge Edward the Seconde's Reigne ...

'Afterwards also yt appyreth by like Recordes in the Tower, That Kinge Edwarde the Thirde, in the firste yere of his Reigne, did appoynte and contynewe the said John Perebrowne in his former place and office.'

20. *Thames*] The 'thames' of Q appears also in l. 22 and at 170. 8.

24. *John Peerbrowne*] He was thirteen times bailiff of Yarmouth between 1312 and 1339. In 1317, and again in 1321, he was appointed admiral of the king's fleet north of the Thames, and in 1321 and 1324 he was elected M.P. for Yarmouth. See Palmer's note on him in his edition of the *Manship* MS., pp. 64-5, and *D. N. B.*

26. *Sir Robert Laburnus*] i.e. Sir Robert Leybourne of Leybourne Castle. See Palmer's note, u. s., p. 64.

30, &c.] See *Manship*, p. 16. He does not mention that the fleet consisted of 'foure-hundred saile'.

35. *drumbler*] i.e. a small fast vessel used as a transport, *N. E. D.*

P. 165, 2-4] Given both in the Hearne transcript and by *Manship*. The former says that Kirkley was distant from Yarmouth 'sex leucas', while *Manship* (p. 13 foot) says simply 'neere'.

3. *Kirtley*] i.e. Kirkley, one mile south of Lowestoft.

5. *hayned*] i.e. raised.

7-13] This corresponds more closely to the Hearne transcript, which gives 1385 as the year of Richard's visit. *Manship* (p. 17, foot) says 1382.

19. *Chara deum soboles*] Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 49 'Cara . . .'

24. *the clarke of the marketshippē*] See *Manship*, p. 29. The clerk was a royal officer attending at faires and markets to keep the standard of weights and measures and punish misdemeanours; also an officer appointed by city or town corporations, *N. E. D.* Yarmouth had been given certain rights as to the appointment of this clerk.

31. *seauen thousand and fifty*] See quotation from Camden in note on 161. 32. Hearne's transcript says 7000; *Manship*, 'seven thousand persons and more.' See also Creighton, *Epidemics*, i. 130, where are references to *Itineraria*, &c., ed. Nasmyth, Cantab., 1778, p. 344, and Weever, *Funeral Mon.*, p. 862 (from Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 246^a).

32. *The newe building*] See *Manship*, p. 15, foot. Nothing is said of the wooden galleries referred to overleaf.

34-5. *the imperfit workes of Kinges colledge in Cambridge*] The original plans were only partially carried out, for lack of funds, and at this time there were to be seen the unfinished portions of the east side of the quadrangle; cf. Willis, *Arch. Hist. Camb.*, ed. Clark, i. 551-2, and the cut on the latter page, where a piece of the wall is shown.

35. *or Christ-church in Oxford*] Alluding to the unfinished condition in which the college had remained since the fall of Wolsey, its founder; see Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Colleges and Halls . . . of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, 1786, pp. 447, 424.

P. 166, 4. *a neerer way to the woode*] A frequent proverbial expression; cf. Stukely in Simpson's *Sch. of Sh.*, vol. i, l. 302; also 'the wrong way to wood' in Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 156.

8-31.] This description of the town is not in *Manship*.

9 *wistly]* i. e. attentively.

14. *underfonging]* i. e. supporting or guarding from beneath (*Cent. Dict.*), which has the present example alone with this signification.

24. *procerous stature]* I suppose that 'full height' is meant.

32-3. *S. Toolies in Beckles water]* Apparently a corruption of St. Olave's, a place about two miles north-west of Herringfleet, where was a bridge over the Waveney. This is given by Manship (p. 36) as one of the bounds of the Yarmouth liberties, the others being the same as those mentioned by Nashe. Manship also states that it is ten miles from Yarmouth, though it is really much less; nor is it near Beccles, though on the way thither.

34. *Harallie crosse]* At the junction of the Chet and the Yare, one mile south-west of Reedham station.

35. *Waybridge]* On the Bure, one mile north-east of Acle.

P. 167, 10. *paralogized]* The earliest instance of the verb in *N.E.D.* Properly 'to reason falsely,' but here misused, perhaps in the sense of 'cavil,' 'find fault with.'

13. *snibd]* i. e. checked, snubbed.

cast in my dishe] Cf. note on i. 307. 14.

15-16. *tooke my bowe and arrowes and went to bed]* The late W. J. Craig pointed out to me an instance of the phrase in Greene's *Menaphon*, ed. Arber, p. 34; *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. 54, 'she blubbered and he sightht (*sic*) ... so that amongst these swaines there was such melodie, that *Menaphon* tooke his bow and arrowes and went to bedde.' See also *As You Like It*, IV. iii. 4-5. Its origin is unknown.

17. *with a recumbentibus]* i.e. with a knock-down blow. Examples in *N.E.D.* from c. 1400. Can it be from Mark 16. 14 in the Roman service of exorcism (cf. Mapes, *De Nug. Cur.*, ed. Wright, 70. 18)?

21. *bate me an ace of]* i. e., apparently, not come up to. Cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. *ace* 3 and *bate* v.², 6 d.

27. *the Kentishmens gauill kinde]* See Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S., i. 202; but he says nothing of the sons inheriting at fifteen.

P. 168, 2. *Kent and Christendome]* Cf. note on iii. 37. 18.

8. *moneths minde]* See note on ii. 252. 16.

10. *Penelopes telam retexere]* See Cicero, *Acad.* ii. 29. 95 'quasi Penelope telam retexens', and Erasm. *Adagia*, chil. i. cent. 4. 42 'Penelopes telam retexere, est inanem operam sumere, et rursum destruere quod efficeris'.

13. *dusky Cornish diamonds]* Save at iii. 332. 23, I know no other reference to these, but they must, I think, have been of the same nature as the frequently mentioned 'Bristowe diamonds'; cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, F 1, where the fraudulent sale of 'Bristow Diamonds set in gold' for genuine ones is referred to; also Heywood, *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, III. ii, 'this jewel—a plain Bristowe stone, a counterfeit.'

15-18. *Vt nemo miser . . .]* Apparently Nashe's own.

32-3. *with poundage and shillings to the lurtched]* I do not understand this, but it seems as if Nashe were referring to some contribution to the poor-rate, or possibly to a special fund appropriated to the relief of those whose ships had met with disaster; cf. *N.E.D.*, s.v. *Lurch*, sb.¹ 3. a, where the word is explained as 'discomfiture'. In the

quotation given from *Peele's Jests*, Hazlitt, *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 307, 'hauing many of these lurches' seems rather to mean having often been tricked. In ii. 70. 29 'lurcht' is used for 'stole'.

33-4. *the Bailifes fowre and twentie, and eight and fourtie*] Read rather 'Bailifes, fowre . . .' 'The four and twenty' was the regular designation of the Aldermen of Yarmouth, 'the eight and forty' of the Common Council.

P. 169, 4. *to*] Equivalent, I suppose, to 'to it'.

6. *the enemies*] One would expect 'their enemies'; but cf. iii. 255. 712.

7. *liberties,)])* The parenthesis is perhaps meant to continue to 'times' in l. 11.

17-24. *By the furnishing . . .*] Grammatically this belongs to the preceding paragraph, but all editions begin the new paragraph here, and I have therefore made no change.

20. *Bartlemewe-tyde*] The feast of St. Bartholomew was on August 24.

24-5. *shew of knitters*] On the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to the city in August, 1578. See Holinshed, *Chron.*, 1807-8, iv. 384, or Nichols' *Progresses*, ii. 144. A stage, 40 feet long and 8 feet broad, had been built in St. Stephen's Street. On this 'there stood at the one end eight small women children spinning worsted yarne, and at the other end as manie knitting of worsted yarne hose: and in the middest of the said stage stood a pretie boy richlie apparellled, which represented the common wealth of the citie.' It does not appear that the stage was particularly high.

P. 170, 29-31. *The haven hath cost in these last 28. yeares . . . five pence*] See Palmer's notes to *Manship*, p. 119. Nashe's figures were probably taken from the same 'Haven Book' which is there referred to. From this it appeared that the expenditure from 1548 to 1613 was nearly £50,000.

33-4. *Portingale voyage*] The expedition of 1589. See Stow, *Annals*, 1615, p. 751.

34. *voyage to Cales*] The expedition under the Earl of Essex and Lord Effingham which took Cadiz in 1596.

P. 171, 1. *Dunkerkers*] i.e. Dunkirk pirates, called 'Dunkerks' at 225. 12; cf. Dekker, 2 *Hon. Wh.*, I. i, and *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 164. Frequently referred to.

2. *Wafting*] I do not understand this. The word ordinarily meant 'passage' or 'passage-money'.

27. *East surprised Gades or Cales*] This seems to make no sense. Cadiz was taken by the Spaniards in April, 1596, and retaken for the French by the Earl of Essex on June 21 of the same year. But it does not seem that there was any surprise.

32-3. *flatte . . . at the top*] Cf. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, iv. 255, 'every house [at Cadiz] was . . . altogether flat-roofed in the toppe.'

36. *side-wasted*] Apparently 'broad-waisted' or simply 'broad' is meant.

P. 172, 3. *Wingandecoy*] Cf. note on iii. 24. 1.

6. *droppe vie*] A gambling term which I cannot accurately explain. To 'vie' was to wager.

17. *trauailers, from]* The comma, which is in the quarto, makes it appear that 'from our owne Realme' belongs to 'I haue not trauaile farre', thus implying that Nashe had been out of England. The punctuation is, however, too irregular throughout for evidence depending upon it to have much value.

20. *Buchanan]* Presumably the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1582, is referred to.

22. *inland partes]* i.e. ? inner parts of the records.

23-4. *middle walke in Poules]* A frequent meeting-place of gallants ; cf. Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook*, cap. 4, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 230. 17, &c., also his *Dead Term*, *Wks.*, iv. 51; B. Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, III. iii. 1 (scene drvs. of folio).

32. *Prester John]* The well-known fabulous Eastern ruler hardly requires a note, but those interested may be referred to the elaborate dissertations on the subject by F. Zarncke, Leipzig, 1874 and 1875, for knowledge of which I am indebted to Professor Bang.

34. *may haps to]* Evidently a confusion between 'haps', *adv.* (=perhaps, as at 176. 6), and the verb 'hap' (=happen).

P. 173, 2. *heaking .time]* Grosart's reading 'breaking' ought perhaps to have been given, as it may not be a mere misprint. *N.E.D.* explains as '? Time to draw in the Haking, or the fish caught in it'. No other instance is recorded. 'Haking' is defined as 'a kind of net, or apparatus with net attached, used for taking sea-fish'.

4. *Sophy]* In Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, this name is frequently given to the Persian monarch ; cf. ed. 1903-5, iii. 29, 'the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas.'

10-11. *sterne-bearer]* i.e. rudder-bearer, ship.

11. *Meridian, Mercuriall]* It should perhaps have been noted that the quarto punctuates 'Meridian; Mercuriall' (so also *Gro.*) ; hence, no doubt, the difficulty which editors seem, by their punctuation, to have felt in understanding the passage.

11-12. *Mercuriall brested]* Apparently alluding to the aptitude for commerce with which those born under Mercury were supposed to be gifted (see *N.E.D.*, s.v. *Mercurial*, *a. 3*).

12. *M. Harborne]* William Harborne (d. 1617), the first English ambassador in Turkey (1582-8). See Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, v. 221, &c., 243, &c.

accepted] Apparently influenced in sense by 'excepted', or perhaps a mistake for that word.

26. *impetrable]* Explained in *N.E.D.* as 'capable of obtaining or effecting something, successful', the present being the only example of this sense. Cf. Plautus, *Most.* v. 2. 40 'non potuit venire orator magis ad me impetrabilis', and *Merc.* iii. 4. 20.

27-30 marg. *the adamat mollifide with... bloud]* Pliny, *H.N.* xx. 1 and xxxvii. 15. The blood had to be that of a he-goat. Frequently referred to; cf. *Euphues*, Lyly, ed. Bond, i. 210. 28, and note. Several times also in Greene ; see Grosart's index (List of Plants, &c.), s.v. Adamant.

P. 174, 3. *antient]* i.e. ensign.

16. *Ticklecob]* I know nothing of the word.

Magister fac totum] The origin of the phrase 'fac totum' does

not seem to have been determined. In the *Adagia* of G. Gentius in Erasm. *Adagia*, 1574, ii. 624 b “Facere totum,” pro, vim potestatemque omnem habere’ is given as from Justinian (? *Dig.* xxviii. 5. 35. 3). Both with and without ‘magister’ the phrase was common. Cf. note on ii. 318. 5 and Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, iii. 474, ‘Boden Belscoy the Emperours chiefest favourite, and Domine fac totum’.

17. *red ruddocks*] i.e. gold coins. Very frequent, generally with the qualifying word ‘red’; cf. *Horestes*, ll. 36, 678; *Misogonus*, II. iv. 185; *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 19, ‘He looks for a golden girle, or a girle with gold, that might bring him the red ruddocks chinking in a bag’.

grummell seed] The seed of a plant allied to borage, at present usually spelt ‘gromwell’. Generally used as equivalent to ‘gain’; cf. *Respublica*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, I. i. 23-4, ‘The name of policie ys praised of eche one, But to rake grumble sede Avaryce ys a Lone’. One of the characters of T. Wilson’s *Discourse upon Usury*, 1572, is a usurer called ‘Gromel gayner, the wrong merchant or euill occupier’.

19. *the city of Argentine*] One would naturally suppose some reference to the Rio de la Plata, but I cannot learn that there was any town there so called—or that the name ‘Argentine’ was ever given to the country at this date. Possibly Strasburg, the Roman ‘Argentoratum’, or, as Coryat has it, ‘Argentina’ (*Crudities*; ed. 1905, ii. 184), may be meant, and the reference to silver be merely a jest on the name.

29. *peace*] The suppression of the possessive termination in words ending in an *s*-sound is of course frequent.

32. *gives not the wall to*] i.e. confesses not the superiority of.

P. 175, I. *Vinti quater*] I suppose that the aldermen of London are meant, but from the year 1550 onwards there were twenty-six of them. The designation of ‘vinti quater’ may, however, have persisted from earlier times when the number was twenty-four, as it was until the reign of Richard II. But perhaps the speaker merely meant the body at London corresponding to the Yarmouth ‘four and twenty’; cf. 168. 33-4 and note.

or] This must be a misprint for ‘of’, and should have been corrected.

23. *March brewage*] Beer brewed in March was considered to be the best. Cf. iii. 391. 11; also Marlowe’s *Faustus*, vi. 154 (ed. Breymann, I. 775), and Mr. Bullen’s note on the passage.

24-5. *wine of Falernum, . . . fourty yeere*] The usual statement is that it would keep for about twenty years (Athenaeus i. 48), and I do not know whence Nashe took this.

26. *Pine-trees of Ida, which neuer rot*] Apparently alluding to *Aen.* ix. 77-92.

P. 176, 8-9. *galingale, which Chaucer . . . encomionizeth*] The only reference to it is in the *Prol. to Cant. Tales*, l. 381, where it is mentioned with ‘poudre-marchant’. It was a spice, not a confection, but seems to have later come to mean a cake flavoured with the spice.

14. *wamble*] i.e., apparently, roll, but I know no other example of this sense at the date.

17-18. *through thicke and thinne*] Not, I believe, very common

in the Elizabethan period; cf. Chaucer, *Reeve's Tale*, l. 146, and Spenser, *F. Q.* iii. 4. 46 (from *Cent. Dict.*); also *Marriage of Wit and Science*, I (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 331).

20, &c.] The composition of *encomia* on unworthy or ridiculous subjects was, it need hardly be said, a common exercise of the scholars of the later renaissance. These were sometimes mere excursions of wit or fancy, but they frequently had a serious purpose—as, for example, the *Encomium Moriae* itself. It was, further, almost traditional in the preface to a book upon a light subject to give a list of such works, as affording some justification or excuse for one's own attempt—witness, for example, the reference of Statius to the *Culex* and the *Batrachomyomachia* in the dedication of his first book of *Sylvae*—and Nashe is here only following a well-established precedent. Such lists are numerous; I need only refer here to the one in the dedication of the *Encomium Moriae* (see note to 151. 24), to one in André Pasquet's preface to *Les Bigarrures du Seigneur des Accords*, and to Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, ed. 1814, xiii. For other mentions of works of the kind see Castiglione's *Courtier*, 'Tudor Trans.', p. 123; Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, ed. 1560, fol. 4^v; and Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii. 244, foot; lastly there is a long, but not particularly accurate, list in a piece entitled *Iucunda de Osculis*, printed with the *De Arte Bibendi* of Ohsopaeus and other *facetiae* at Leyden in 1754, p. 222. Among the collections of sixteenth-century works of the class may be mentioned the *Argumentorum Ludicrorum et Amoenitatum Scriptores Varii*, 1623, and *Admiranda Rerum Admirabilium Encomia*, Nimeguen, 1666 and 1676. I have little doubt that Nashe took most of this list in a piece from somewhere, but have failed to discover the source.

It seems necessary to mention the popular collection of *Paradossi*, *Cioè, Sententie fuori del comun parere* of Ortensio Landi, of which there were many editions from 1543 onwards. They appeared also in French as *Paradoxes, ce sont propos contre la commune opinion* (1553 and later), said in B. M. Cat. to be 'Imitated by C. Estienne from the Italian of O. Landi', but most of them are practically translations. From French the book was translated into English by A. Munday as *The Defence of Contraries*, 1593 (Camb. Univ. Lib.), which I have not seen. Among the thirty paradoxes are included the praise of poverty, imprisonment, death, ill-health, and banishment, all which are subjects included in Nashe's list, but nevertheless I think he is referring not to a collection of this sort but to individual pieces. Cf. also the collection of poems by Berni and others mentioned in the note on 'the asse' in l. 31.

20-1. *rats and frogs . . . the Gnat, the Flea*] These, of course, are the *Batραχομομάχια*; the *Culex*; and the *De Pulice*, attributed to Ovid. The *Encomium Pulicis* of Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541) is in prose.

21-2. *the Hasill nut*] The *Nux* of Ovid must, I think, be meant; though its subject was a walnut. Wilson, in his *Art of Rhet.*, ed. 1560, fol. 4^v, speaks of those who 'of fruite . . . commende Nuttes chiefly, as Ouid did'.

22. *the Grashopper*] Probably the Anacreontic poem commencing Μακαρίζουέν σε, τέτριξ.

the Butterflie] Mr. Bullen suggests that Nashe alludes to Spenser's

Muiopotmos, but the context seems to demand a poem in a classical tongue.

the Parrot] Probably either the poem of 'Statius, *Silv.* ii. 4 'Psittacus Atedii Melioris', or that of Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 6, is meant.

22-3. the Popinjay] Usually 'popinjay' was equivalent to 'parrot', but here perhaps, as occasionally, it may stand for the woodpecker. I know of no poem on the subject.

23. Phillip sparrow] Probably the well-known poem of Catullus is referred to, but there may be a side allusion to Skelton's *Phylyp Sparowe* or Gascoigne's *Praise of Phillip Sparowe*.

the Cuckowe] The only verse in praise of the cuckoo known to me is a Maying song called *The Cuckowe's Comendation*, mentioned by Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 774, but this is presumably much too late. A ballad 'Full merely synges the Cowckcwe' was entered to W. Griffith in 1565-6.

24-5. on their mistris gloue . . . pantosle] Probably no particular poems are referred to.

26. Johannes Secundus] Born at the Hague in 1511, died in 1536. His Latin poems, including the *Basia*, were published in 1541.

28. pouertie] It is difficult to say what is referred to. 'The Defence of pouertie againte the Desire of worldlie riches Dialogue wise collected by Anthонie Mundaye' was entered to J. Charlewood, Nov. 18, 1577, but seems to be now unknown. One may guess it to have been a translation, but I have been unable to discover any foreign work.

28-9. imprisonment] Perhaps the work by Odet de la Noue (d. 1618), entitled *Paradoxe que les adversitez sont plus nécessaires que les prosperitez et qu'entre toutes l'estat d'une estroite prison est le plus doux et le plus profitable*, La Rochelle, 1588; later this was translated into English by I. Sylvester as *The profit of imprisonment. A paradox*, 1605.

29. death] Probably *The Defence of Death. Contayning a moste excellent discourse of life and death, written in Frenche by Philip de Mornaye Gentleman. And doone into English by E. A.* London, J. Alde for Edward Aggas, 1577.

sickenesse] Not found.

banishment] O. Landi in his paradox on exile refers to Boccaccio as having said in a letter to a Florentine gentleman all that there is to be said on the subject. This is the letter to Messer Pino de' Rossi, who was banished in 1360. It is, however, like the *De Exilio* of Plutarch, rather a letter of consolation than an encomium of banishment.

baldnesse] The *Calvitii Encomium* of Synesius is referred to; cf. iii. 7. 33. There is also the curious poem of the monk Huchaldus, or Hugbaldus (fl. 880), entitled *Ecloga de Laudibus Calvitii* (printed in Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 132, col. 1041, &c.), every word of which begins with the letter *c*. This was dedicated to Charles the Bald.

30. the bee] Possibly Varro, *De Re Rustica*, iii. 16, &c., is referred to, or Vergil, *G.* iv. We need not, I think, attach much importance to Nashe's calling these authors 'philosophers'.

the storke] The bird is of course frequently praised for its supposed piety towards its parents; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 10. 1,

ἀντιπελαργεῖν, for a number of such allusions, but I cannot learn of any piece entirely devoted to it.

30. *I. the constant turtle*] Nothing of the sort is known to me. There can hardly be a reference to the lost poem of Arruntius Stella on the dove (*columba*) of his mistress; cf. Martial, *Epig.* i. 8.

31. *the horse*] No special work in praise of the horse is known to me, though there is a short poem (16 lines) entitled 'De Equo Elogium' in Buchanan's *Silvae*. Pliny also mentions a poem by Germanicus Caesar on the erection by Augustus of a tomb to his horse (*H. N.* viii. 64), but the nature of this is unknown.

the dog] Perhaps the *Canis Laudatio* of Theodore Gaza (printed in Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec. 161) is meant. In a sense the *Cynegetica* of Gratius Faliscus and of Nemesianus might be said to have the dog for principal subject, and there is also the *Alcon, sive de Cura Canum Venaticorum* of Girolamo Fracastoro (1483-1553), as well as other pieces of a like sort. Cf. also note on iii. 254, 670, &c.

the ape] Unknown to me.

the asse] A more common subject of encomium. *The Nobleness of the Asse*, by A. B., had appeared in 1595 (see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 261, where it is attributed to Daniel Heinsius—not, I presume, the famous scholar of the name who was born in 1580). Either this or the *Encomium Asini* which forms the penultimate chapter of C. Agrippa's *De Incert. et Van.* may be meant, or possibly the similarly named piece of Jean Passerat (1534-1602). There is also an Italian poem attributed by some to F. Berni (1490-1536), *In Lode del Asino*. See *Delle Rime Piacevoli del Berni, Casa, &c.*, ed. 1603, i. fol. 51, also note on fol. 42, where Berni's authorship of it is denied. This collection includes a vast number of such pieces in praise of trivial subjects. It may also be mentioned that a work described as 'the nobleness of the Asse by Atta Balippa of Peru a province in the Newe World' was entered in the Stationers' Register on Oct. 12, 1595, but I cannot learn whether it was ever printed. The work was evidently a translation of *La Nobiltà dell' Asino, di Attabalippa dal Perù* [i.e. Adriano Banchieri], 1592.

the foxe] I cannot say what is referred to—not, surely, the *Roman de Renard*.

32. *the ferret*] Nothing of the sort is known to me.

33. *Honorificabilitudinitatibus*] Du Cange refers for this word to 'Honor. Albertus Mussatus *De Gestis Henrici VII*, lib. 3, rubr. 8, apud Murator. tom. 10, col. 376'.

Panachæa] The supposed universal medicine of this name is often referred to, but I can learn of no work exclusively devoted to it. There was also a herb called by the name; see *N. E. D.*

34. *Guiacum*] Probably the well-known work of Ulrich von Hutten, entitled *De Guiaci Medicina et Morbo Gallico*, 1519; but there were doubtless other treatises on the same drug.

glisters] Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, ii. 299, mentions the praise of clysters by Trincavellius and Hercules de Saxonia, but not in separate works.

triaclæs] There was a work by T. Erastus, entitled *Examen de Simplicibus quae ad Compositionem Theriacæ Andromachi requiruntur*, a drug discussed by Cardan in the *De Subtilitate* (cf. Burton, u. s. ii.

257); also a *Booke of the natures and vertues of Triacles, newly corrected and set foorth againe*, annexed to W. Turner's *Book of Wines*, 1568.

35. *mithridates*] See note on ii. 179. 15-16. There was an English work on the subject, entitled *A Discourse of the medicine called Mithridatium, declaring the first beginninge, the temperature, the noble vertues, and the true use of the same*, 1585. It is anonymous, but see Mr. Hazlitt's *Coll. & Notes*, 4th Ser. 18, where it is attributed to W. Bailey.

36. *Rubarbe*] No special work on it is known to me.

Stibium] i.e. antimony. See Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* ii. 262-3, where many who have praised it are referred to.

P. 177, 1. *cornugraphers*] Apparently a nonce-word of Nashe's invention. With the list of works which follows compare iii. 277. 1394-1416. Also Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, ed. 1814, xiii, 'Sure I am that many other countrymen, both Dutch, French, and Italians, with great praise of wit, though small of modesty, have written of worse matters. One writes in praise of folly; another in honour of the pox; a third defends usury; a fourth commends Nero; a fifth extols and instructs bawdery; the sixth displays and describes *Puttana Errante*, which I hear will come forth shortly in English; a seventh . . . [see Rabelais, i. 13].'

2. *sodomitrie*] The work of Giovanni della Casa (1503-56), Archbishop of Benevento from 1544, entitled *Il Capitolo del Forno*, must be referred to. It was first published in his *Capitoli*, 1538. See a sufficient discussion of its meaning and the accusations to which it gave rise in Bayle, *Dict.*, ed. 1734-8, v. 422, note E. The book is referred to by Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 76.

2-3. *the strumpet errant*] i.e. *La Puttana Errante*, formerly attributed to Pietro Aretino.

3. *the goute*] There were works in praise of the gout by Bilibaldus Pirckheimer (1470-1530), published in 1522, and by Cardan, published in 1566 in his *Opuscula Medica et Philosophica*.

the ague] Probably the *Encomium Febris Quartanae* of G. Menapius, published in 1542.

3-4. *the dropsie, the sciatica*] Not known to me.

4. *follie*] The *Encomium Moriae* of Erasmus.

drunckennesse] Nashe is probably referring to the *Arts Bibendi* of V. Obsopaeus, 1536 (cf. iii. 277. 1406-7), though this cannot properly be said to be in praise of drunkenness. There was also the *Encomium Ebrietatis* of Chr. Hegendorff, 1519.

slouenry] The poem entitled *Grobianus* (1549 and, enlarged, 1552), by Frederick Dedeckind. Cf. iii. 277. 1408-9.

5. *cocking*] i.e. pert, swaggering.

euery pissing while] Cf. *Gam. Gurt. Needle*, IV. i. 3; *Two Gent. of Ver.* IV. iv. 21. In frequent use.

6. *primmer editions*] I do not know what is meant.

Imprimeda iour duy] Standing, of course, for *Imprimé aujourd'hui*, but I am doubtful how the text should be corrected.

7. *condiciblenesse*] This probably, if not certainly, stands for 'conducibleness', i.e. advantageousness, but the earliest example of the word in *N.E.D.* belongs to 1647, and then it is not used absolutely, but with 'for'. Nashe has 'conducible' at i. 201. 26.

Poco] i. e. of course, the *Morbus Gallicus*. The work referred to is unknown to me, unless it be the poem by M. Bino (*A. 1530*), 'In lode del Malfrancese,' printed in *Delle Rime Piacevoli del Berni, Casa, &c.*, ed. 1603, i. 121. That Nashe is speaking of French authors is of little consequence. Cf. also *Paradoxes or Encomions in the Praise of Being Lowsey . . . , by S. S., 1653*, pp. 12-16, where is a poem 'In praise of the French Pox'. This is evidently of much later date, but may have been translated from, or based on, an earlier piece. It appears to have no connexion with Bino's poem. The famous poem of G. Fracastoro, *Syphilis, sive Morbus Gallicus*, 1530, should perhaps be mentioned, but it can hardly be the work referred to by Nashe, unless he was quite ignorant of its nature. Cf. also quotation in note on l. 1.

The verbal joke, such as it is, may be paralleled by a passage in the Epistle prefixed to Greene's *Perimedes the Blacksmith*, 1588, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vii. 8. 8-16, 'such mad and scoffing poets, that haue propheticall spirits, as bred of Merlins race, if there be anye in England that set the end of scollarisme in an English blanck verse, I thinke either it is the humor of a nouice that tickles them with selfe-loue, or to much frequenting the hot house (to vse the Germaine prouerbe) hath swet out all the greatest part of their wits, which wasteth *Gradam*, as the Italians say *Poco à poco*.'

8-12. *the prescript lawes of Tennis or Balonne . . . Panados]* I can identify none of these.

13. *calinos]* Only instance in *N.E.D.* It is suggested that the word may have some reference to the 'calino custure me' song, but as an alternative, and surely more probable, explanation we are referred to the French *calin*, 'a beggarly rogue or lazie vagabond that counterfeits disease' (Cotgr.).

13-14. *the excellencie of the browne bill and the long bowe]* I doubt whether any particular work is referred to. There was some discussion at the time as to the comparative importance of the bow and the musket, and several works were written on each side. Among others may be mentioned that of R. S., 'A briefe Treatise to prooue the necessitie and excellencie of the use of Archerie,' 1596. I can learn of no special work on the brown bill.

15-16. *the noble science of defence]* I presume that the reference is to the work entitled *Giacomo De Grassi his true Arte of Defence, plainlie teaching . . . how a man . . . may safelie handle all sortes of Weapons as well offensiuе as defensiuе . . . First written in Italian by the foresaid Author, and Englished by I. G., 1594* (Hazlitt, *Coll. and Notes*, II. 688).

17. *the nature of white-meates]* 'White-meats' were milk, butter, curds, and cheese. I cannot discover the work referred to.

19-20. *something in prayse of nothing]* i. e. *The prayse of Nothing*. By E[dward] D[yer], 1585.

20-1. *of an enflamed heale to copper-smithes hal]* The meaning of these words has not yet dawned upon me. For 'copper-smithes hal' see note on iii. 393. 2.

21. *of the diuersitie of red noses]* There are a number of references to some book or ballad on red noses, but nothing seems to be known about it. It was perhaps Elderton's 'parliament of noses' referred to

by Nashe at i. 258. 18-19; but this gives us no further information. Some book of the kind seems to be pointed at by Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586, in Prof. Gregory Smith's *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, i. 246. 26-9, 'euerie one that can frame a Booke in Ryme, though for want of matter it be but in commendations of Copper noses or Bottle Ale, wyll catch at the Garlande due to Poets.' The book is also referred to by J. Taylor in his *Praise of Hempseed*, 1620, B 1 (in *Wks.*, 1630, Fff 2^v), but the whole passage is probably taken from the present one. Among works on trivial subjects it includes *Lenten Stuff* itself.

24. *maulkins*] Mops, especially those used to wipe out bakers' ovens.

24-5. *a strong dozen of poyntes*] I know nothing of this, unless it be an earlier edition of 'A Godly new Ballad intituled, a Dozen of Points,

A dozen of Points you may here read.
Whereon each Christian's soul may feed.'

This was printed without date for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson; see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 103. Vere and Gilbertson do not appear as booksellers before about 1640.

29-30. *a Tobacco pipe*] I cannot learn of any book in praise of tobacco at this date, though there were several later. Mr. Hazlitt, however, records as in the Chalmers sale a work described as 'Tobacco [Woodcut of a man Smoking.] Lond. 1595. 12 mo.' (*Handbook*, 608.) I know nothing of it. Cf. Maunsell, *Cat.*, ii. 24^a.

32. *in commendation of daunsing*] i.e. the poem of Sir John Davies, entitled *Orchestra, or a Poem of Dauncing*, 1596.

33. *offers sacrifice to the goddesse Cloaca*] Referring, of course, to the works of Sir J. Harington, the *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, &c., 1596.

P. 178, 2. *Tosted turues against famine*] I suppose that there is an allusion to Sir Hugh Plat's *Sundrie new and artificiall Remedies against Famine*, 1596, where among means of allaying hunger which the author does not warrant but includes because he has found them in good authors, is '1. And first of all Paracelsus himselfe affirmeth, that a fresh turfe or clod of earth, applyed euery daie vnto the stomach of a man, will preserue him from famishing for some smal number of daies' (B 1). It will, however, be noticed that the turf was not to be toasted, so possibly this may not be the passage really referred to.

3. *Cornelius the brabantine*] See 'The Worthy tract of Paulus Iouius, contayning a Discourse of . . . Imprese,' 1585, * 5, letter of N. W. to S. Daniel, 'You trifle not as Cornelius the Brabantine, who [marg. Anno. 1582.] published an *Encomion of Tuftmockados*.' I have been able to identify neither Cornelius nor his book.

7. *the french Academy*] i. e. the work of Pierre de la Primaudaye which was translated into English by T. B. in 1586 as *The French Academie, wherin is discoursed the institution of maners, and whatsoever els concerneth the good and happie life of all estates and callings*. It is a miscellaneous collection of examples of virtues and vices, gathered from a great variety of sources. As has been shown by Mr. H. C. Hart in *Notes and Queries*, 1906, it was much used by R. Greene.

the Cornucopia of a cowe] i. e., I suppose, the plenty to be derived from a cow, with, of course, an allusion to its horns. So far as I know the book never appeared. Taylor, in the passage referred to in the note on 177. 21, refers to it thus:

‘Anothers humour will nothing allow
To bee more profitable than a Cow;’

but he probably derived his knowledge of it from the present passage of Nashe. One might here be tempted to read ‘or the *Cornucopia*’, and suppose a reference to the *Cornucopiae, or divers Secrets of Thomas Johnson*, printed in 1595, save for the fact that this is by no means a ‘bigge garbd’ treatise, but a thin quarto.

10. *filing*] i. e. ? fussing, from the sense of ‘file’, to elaborate.

12. *in laud of a bag-pudding*] I know nothing of this.

16. *right Sheffield*] I suppose this means of good quality metal, a sconce being either a helmet or a head. The town seems then, as now, to have been famous for cutlery; ‘Sheffield knives’ are referred to in *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, F 2^v, and elsewhere.

18. *Quot capita tot sententiae*] Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* ii. 4. 14 ‘quot homines tot sententiae,’ and Erasm. *Adag.* chil. 1, cent. 3. 7. Nashe’s substitution of ‘capita’ for ‘homines’ may possibly have been caused by his recollection of the somewhat similar saying of Horace, *Sat.* ii. 1. 27, also frequently quoted, ‘Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum Millia.’

19-20. *Terlery-gincki*] A nonce word from ‘turlery-ginks’; cf. i. 296. 14.

22. *in a frosty morning*] The phrase, used again at iii. 315. 32-3, is a mere expletive.

24-5. *Totaliter ad appositum*] The meaning is evidently ‘keeping to the point’. I have not met with it elsewhere, but the contrary, *ad oppositum*, is used by Whitgift in *Def. of Ans. to Adm.*, 1577, pp. 88, 282.

30. *which Polidore Virgill calls Verè aureum vellus*] See the *Angl. Hist.*, ed. 1570, 13. 25 ‘Hoc vellus vere aureum est.’ From 12. 44 onwards much is said about the English wool. Harrison, *Descri. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S., ii. 6. 1-2, perhaps borrowing from the same source, says that if Jason had known how good was the wool of the English sheep ‘he would never haue gone to Colchis to looke for anie there’.

33. *Grana paradisi*] The capsules of *Amomum Melegueta*, a kind of pungent spice brought from Africa; cf. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, 175 and 147. See *Cent. Dict.* and *N.E.D.*, s. v. ‘Grains of Paradise.’ It was an ingredient of spiced wine.

P. 179, 11. *about Isenborough*] I suppose Eisenburg in Hungary is meant; a town of the name in Saxe-Altenburg does not seem to be remarkable for iron.

22. *hosted*] Apparently a form of the verb derived from ‘oast’, a kiln—properly for drying malt or hops; but I can find no instance of its use in connexion with the smoking or curing of fish.

27. *for babies*] i. e. as dolls or toys.

27-8. *euery mans money*] i. e. every one buys it.

29. *goodman Baltrop*] The name is unknown to me.

32. *dinnier*] i. e., of course, the coin ‘denier’; penny—not ‘dinner’, as some appear to have thought.

Leather piltche] i.e. leather coat, frequently referred to as the dress of a labourer.

laboratho] This might possibly be intended as a Spanish form of 'labourer', but I can find no justification for the word.

33. *mouse*] The 'mouse-piece' of beef was the part below the round; cf. Lyly's *Sapho and Phao*, I. iii. 11 (Nares, *Gloss.*); but the context here seems to require 'mouse' to mean a morsel.

35. *smudging . . . chapmanable*] i.e. smoking it so as to render it an article of merchandise.

P. 180, 3. *Questman*] A parish official of apparently somewhat indeterminate functions, or a person appointed by the parish to inquire into abuses or irregularities.

7. *squamy*] i.e. scaly; cf. 'squamosum pecus' in Plautus, *Rud.* iv. 3. 5.

10. *handfuls*] i.e. I suppose, as much as they can do with.

15. *Woades*] Used for dyeing. Harrison, *Descr. of Brit.*, c. 18, Holins, ed. 1807-8, i. 187, speaks of woad, with madder, as no longer produced in England, not because the ground is unable to produce it, 'but that we are negligent . . . as men rather willing to buie the same of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home.' Cf. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, v. 235, where 'the high price of forreine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure)' is spoken of. It is also mentioned as an import ('Woode') in W. Stafford's *Exam. of Complaints*, ed. N. S. S., 16 foot.

16. *salt*] Though, as indicated in ll. 10-11, it was largely produced in England, much was also imported; cf. Stafford, *Exam. of Complaints*, N.S.S., 49.

Vitre] I suppose that glass is meant, but have not found the word elsewhere.

trash] i.e. here, valuables; often used for 'money', as in Greene's *James IV*, III. i. 26-7 (l. 1142), 'therefore must I bid him prouide trash, for my maister is no friend without money.' See Prof. Collins's note.

17. *Semper Augustus*] A title of the later Roman emperors.

23. *slop*] The loose garment called a slop seems to have been commonly worn by sailors; cf. note on i. 172. 16. Nashe, I suppose, means no more than 'every single ropehaler'.

28. *poore Iohn*] i.e. salted hake.

swuttie] Qy.=sooty, used for 'dirty'.

29. *without . . . mustard*] Mustard seems to have usually been eaten with poor John; cf. i. 171. 5-6.

no ho] i.e. no stopping; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. iii. 55, 'past whoo', and Dekker, *I Hon. Whore*, V. ii. (ed. Pearson, ii. 79), 'O I, a plague on 'em, ther's no ho with 'em, they're madder than March hares'. The phrase is very common.

35. *five and five*] For the form of the expression cf. *Histriomastix* (Simpson's *Sch. of Sh.* ii), VI. 197, 'two and two to an egg'.

P. 181, 11. *Leopald*] The point of the allusion is unknown to me.

12-21. marg. *That is . . . headlong*] Apparently not in Hakluyt.

13. *put them to their trumps*] A fairly common expression for to place one in difficulties, 'in a hole'; cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vii. 131. 15.

15. *in his Schoolemaster*] See Ascham, *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, p. 295. Nashe's reference is either to the edition of 1570 or to that of 1571, which correspond page for page. The quotation is approximately correct, but should run 'Varro . . . doth not enter there in to . . .' and Ascham has 'him selfe', not 'by himselfe'.

16. *are*] The insertion of the word is unnecessary; cf. 188. 13.

24-5. *for seuen yere together lacking a quarter*] See the Introduction as to Nashe's residence at St. John's College.

28. *ab uno*] Read probably *abnuo*.

30-1. *gifie their heads for the washing*] The phrase was not uncommon in the sense of 'submit to insult'. Mr. Crawford refers me to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cupid's Revenge*, IV. iii. 18-19, and to *Hudibras*, pt. I, c. 3, l. 256.

34. *soundeth*] i.e. implies.

P. 182, 15. *Randevowe*] With various spellings 'rendezvous' seems to have been in common use from 1591.

21. *port-sale*] i.e. public sale, auction.

23. *Vltima Theule*] The identity of Vergil's 'ultima Thule' (*G. i.* 30) is discussed in Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, iv. 102-3. It seems generally to have been taken to mean Iceland.

24-5. *Pallamede don pedro de linge*] I can suggest no reason for this name given to the ling, unless, which seems quite unlikely, there be some jesting reference to the Mediterranean fish 'pelamyd' (Ital. *palamita*), a young tunny. Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, v. 81, describes the 'Palomide' as something like a mackerel, but much larger.

26. *trundle-taile*] i.e. curly-tailed; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange i. 62, where mention is made of a shoe 'very sharp at the toe, turning up like the tail of an Island dog'.

shaugh] The same as 'sholt', a kind of rough-haired dog; cf. Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, N.S.S. ii. 48, 'Besides these also we haue sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and much made of among vs, because of their sawciness and quarrelling'. Spelt 'shault' in *Def. of Cony-Catching*, Greene's *Works*, ed. Grosart, xi. 65. 20.

32. *cinque ace*] A throw at dice of 5 and 1; apparently a throw of special significance in some game.

P. 183, 12. *firking as flight swift*] 'Firk' is used of any rapid movement. A 'flight' was a long light arrow; cf. *Sol. & Pers.* I. iii. 42, 'our swift flight shot.'

14. *earely*] Perhaps a form of 'yarely'.

16-18. *light-foot tripper . . . kirell*] See Ovid, *Metam.* x. 654-5, said of Atalanta and Hippomenes; but I suspect that Nashe was really thinking of the description of Camilla in *Aen.* vii. 808-11, especially of the words 'nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas'.

16. *Metamorphisis*] Hardly a misprint; cf. 'metamorphized' at iii. 74. 24 and note.

20. *crab-tree fac't*] i.e. sour-faced.

hards] Refuse of flax, hemp, &c.

30. *crash*] Cf. 220. 27; generally a piece of music or a dance; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. iv. 260, 'What say yow to dauncinge, shall we daunce a little crashe?' and Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 101, 'Will you not have a crash ere you goe?', where 'crash' means a tune on the fiddle.

Huniades] Probably 'chieftain' or 'conqueror' is meant. 'Huniades' is the usual Latin form of the name of John Hunyade, or Corvin, c. 1400-56, who as vaivode of Transylvania gained great renown against the Turks, being especially known for his defence of Belgrade against Mahomet II in 1456. See for this form of the name the Turkish history of L. Chalcocondylas (Lat. trans.) and Burton's *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, i. 398, ii. 164.

P. 184, 5. *Shroft-tuisday*] I cannot parallel the form, which, however, seems not impossible.

6. *weare candles-endes in their hattes at midsommer*] Possibly butchers were in the habit of wearing candles in this way simply for the purpose of light—it would obviously be a convenience in selecting joints of meat hung from the rafters—and no more is meant than that they would be so busy that they would forget to take them out, though in the lighter months they would not be required. But I only suggest this in default of a better explanation.

7. *prickes*] i.e. skewers—used, among other purposes, for pinning fat to lean meat in order to make it more saleable, and also, it would appear, in some process of causing meat to swell and so appear more plump. Cf. *The Will of the Deuyll* (in *Jyl of Breyntfords Testament*, ed. Furnivall, 1871), 71-2, 'I geue to the Butchers . . . prickes inough to set vp their thynne meate, that it may appeare thycke and well fedde'; Greene's *Quip, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 273, foot-274; *Def. of Cony-Catching* in Greene's *Wks.*, n. s. xi. 69. 17-19; Massinger, *Virgin Martyr*, II. i, tenth speech.

8. *Domingo Rufus*] For 'Domingo' cf. iii. 264. 971. 'Rufus' presumably refers merely to the red herring.

Sacrapant herring] There seems to be no special point in the name. Sacrapant is a character—a magician—in Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, and, spelt Sacripant, in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*. The name comes originally from Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, canto 1, st. 45, &c.

12-13. *counterpoysen of the spitting sickenesse*] Presumably because of the 'vis sicca et astringens' of the salt; see A. de Villeneuve's commentary on the *Schola Salernitana*, cap. 52, as to the supposed action of this on the humidities of the body.

14. *Bezer*] i.e. bezoar, calculi found in the intestines of certain animals, supposed to be efficacious against poison. For a full account see *Joyful News out of the Newfound world*, N. Monardes, trans. by J. Frampton, ed. 1580, fol. 120^v-32.

16. *shooing-horne*] See note on i. 207. 14.

19. *Lippitudo Atticæ*] The reference is, I suppose, to the statement in Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 10, that Pericles used to call Aegina ή λήμη τοῦ Πειραιώς, the eye-sore of the Piraeus. The phrase does not, so far as I can learn, occur in any Latin author of classical times.

23-4. *old Sarum plaine song*] Presumably Nashe is referring to the 'Sarum use', i.e. the form of liturgy superseded by Edward's first prayer-book of 1549, which was, however, largely based on it. He probably regarded the older service as less elaborate than the more modern one.

26. *Lady Lucar*] i.e. lucre. The name of a character in R. Wilson's *Three Ladies of London*.

Instar mille] Cf. Cic. *Brutus*, 51. 191 'instar omnium'.

31-2. drewe a thousand ships to Troy] Obviously a possible allusion to Marlowe's *Faustus*, xiv. 83-4 (ed. Breymann (1604), 1363-4):

Was this the face that laucht a thousand shippes,
And burnt the toplesse Towres of Ilium?

but perhaps merely the 'mille rates' of Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 7, Sabinus, i. 106, iii. 74, and many others.

33. *in the meane while*] i.e. all the same, for the matter of that; cf. *N.E.D.*, s.v. mean while, *s.b.* 1c, and mean time, *s.b.* 1b, for examples of the use, which seems somewhat uncommon. In *Darius*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, l. 800, 'A good chyld in the meane tyme thou arte,' the sense is exactly as here.

35. *Eloquent*] i.e. eloquent. The earliest example in *N.E.D.*

36. *dwarfe*] Cf. iii. 293. 1901.

P. 185, 1-2. *of whome it is Iliiadizd . . . honye*] Should not this refer to Nestor? Cf. *Il.* i. 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδῆ.

2-3. *Natalis Comes*] The *Mythologiae* of Natalis Comes (Noël Conti), a Milanese scholar († 1582), was the standard work on its subject throughout the Elizabethan period.

4-7. marg. *In olde time they used to wring out at any miracle*] Cf. quotation from More's *Dialogue . . . of the Veneration . . . of Images* in Stone's *Shakspeare's Holinshed*, p. 254, where it is stated that on the restoration of his sight to a certain blind man 'a myracle [was] solemly rongen'.

5-6. *Piemont Huldrick Herring*] 'Piemont' I do not understand. 'Huldrick' is Saint Ulric, on whose day (July 4) fish was offered in the churches; see *The Popish Kingdom*, book iv, l. 789, in Stubbes's *Anatomy*, ed. N.S.S., i. 339.

13. *Froysard*] See Bourchier's translation, ed. 1812, ii. 718.

threapes] i.e. contradicts, 'to aver or affirm with pertinacious repetition.' *Cent. Dict.*

16. *Zenos*] For Zeno of Elea and his argument of the unreality of motion see Aristot. *Nat. Ausc.* vi. 9 (14). The story alluded to in the next line refers not to him but to Zeno of Citium; it is told by Wilson, *Rule of Reason*, 1551, B 3v: 'Zeno beyng asked the difference betwene Logique and Rethorique, made awnser by Demonstration of his Hande, declaring that when his hande was closed, it resembles Logique, when it was opē & stretched out, it was like Rethorique' (See Cicero, *Orator*, 32. 113). Cf. *Almond*, iii. 370. 28, where it seems to be implied that he was in the habit of using his fists in another way in order to drive home his arguments; but this may be due to a misunderstanding of the story.

sinnow] i.e. 'to knit or bind strongly', *Cent. Dict.*, which quotes 3 *Hen. VI.*, II. vi. 91, 'So shalt thou sinew both these lands together' ['sinow' F. 1]. Here, to clench the fist.

17. *cluster-fistes*] The word usually means 'niggards'.

22. *flud bickerers and foame-curbers*] The only examples of these words in *N.E.D.*

24. *spittle-positōs*] 'Spittle' seems to be the ordinary word (=hospital), used in a vaguely derogatory sense—as 'bedred'.

27. *yeare of Iubile in Edward the thirds time*] This must be the Jubilee held by Clement VI in 1350. The source of the statement is unknown to me. Matteo Villani, I. i, cap. 56 in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* xiv, speaks of the great number of pilgrims.

29. *romed to Rome*] Cf. I Hen. VI, III. i. 51: 'Winchester: Rome shall remedy this. Warwick: Roam thither, then.'

30. *veniall*] Apparently used in the sense of 'pardoning', instead of 'pardonable'. Perhaps a Latinism; cf. Amm. Marc. xxviii. 5. 3; 'ut . . . signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestrixi veniale poscerent pacem'—they begged for pardon and peace.

32. *cruchet or crouchtant friers*] 'The canons regular of the Holy Cross, so named on account of an embroidered cross which they wore on their 'garments'; *Cent. Dict.* The usual form of the name is 'crutched' or 'crouched'.

P. 186, 2. *a hoppe on my thumbe*] Instances in *N.E.D.* from 1530; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 11, 'Againe, he is but a dwarfe in respect of a man, a shrimpe, a wren, a hop-of-my-thumbe, such a one as a baby might hide in a wrinkle of their buttocks'.

4. *eleuaute*] Probably a misprint for 'eleuate'.

5. *Gogmagognes*] i. e. greatness—not in *N.E.D.*

15–16. *Phenician Didos hide of grounde*] Verg. *Aen.* i. 367–8.

18. *dimunutives*] Probably a misprint for 'diminutives'.

21. *rundlet*] i. e. small barrel; cf. iii. 247, 434.

impe] The usual sense is to engraff feathers into the wings of a bird in order to strengthen its flight. Here it seems to mean to add power to.

22. *Holy S. Taurbard*] I have no idea who is meant by this.

23. *watchet*] i. e. pale blue.

27–8. *Smill, the Prince of the Crims & Nagayans*] From Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, 1589, p. 349 (ed. 1903–5, ii. 454), 'Departing from Perouolog . . . we saw a great heard of Nagayans . . . that Hord was belonging to a great Murse called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driven away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children.' Cf. also p. 350 foot (457), 'the aforesayd Tartar prince called Murse Smille.' The 'Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians' are referred to on p. 343 (438) of the book, and frequently.

31. *Robin hoode and little John*] I have not met elsewhere with this equivalent of 'Tom, Dick, and Harry'.

P. 187, 5. *consistorians or settled standers*] The first word is explained in *N.E.D.* as 'settled inhabitants'—no other instance. For 'stander' cf. Dampier's *Voyages*, II. i. 49, as quoted in *Cent. Dict.*, 'They [the Dutch] are the longest standers here by many years: for the English are but newly removed hither from Hean, where they resided altogether before.'

8–10. *as the Sweetkin Madams did about valiat S. Walter Manny*] Apparently not from Froissart, who, however, mentions his vow to be the first that should enter France (Bourchier, i. cap. 36) and the knights and gentlemen who closed up one of their eyes (cap. 28), to whom Nashe alludes in l. 29.

10–11. *he that built Charterhouse*] See Stow's *Annals*, 1615, 245–6; during the plague of 1349, fearing that there might not be

room to bury all the people who died, Manny bought thirteen acres of land to be used as a churchyard, and later, in 1371, founded a house of Carthusian monks there. Cf. also Creighton's *Hist. of Epidemics in Brit.*, i. 126-8.

12-13. *win the horse or lose the saddle*] In various forms the proverb is common. Cf. ii. 290. 32 and Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 100 foot, 'what they got in the bridle they lost in the saddle.'

34. *S. Magnus corner*] St. Magnus's church was just at the end of London Bridge, and the corner was regarded as an important centre, proclamations, &c., being read there (cf. Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 740^b). Perhaps considered as the typical end of a sea-voyage, but the returning traveller would more naturally land at the Billingsgate stairs, a little further east, the usual resort of the Gravesend watermen.

P. 188, 6. *harbing*] i.e. (?) lodge, receive.

9. *non est inuentus*] See note on ii. 315. 18.

10-11. *Jockies or Redshanks*] 'Jockey', used more or less contemptuously for 'lad', 'fellow', &c., is properly Scotch, as being a diminutive of 'Jock', but does not seem to have been restricted to Scotchmen at this date. The term 'Redshanks' was, according to *N.E.D.*, applied to the Celtic inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands and of Ireland, in allusion to the colour of the bare legs reddened by exposure. Nashe's explanation is of course burlesque.

14. *in diebus illis*] See note on i. 367. 33.

Robert de Breaux] I do not know whence Nashe took this form of the name of Bruce. Holinshed (1807-8, v. 20, 339, &c.) seems invariably to call him Robert Bruse. So also Stow, *Annals*, 1615, p. 209.

14-15. *sent his deare heart to the haly land*] See Froissart, ed. 1812, i. 29 (cap. 20).

21. *sacklesse*] i.e. innocent, a word much used by Greene.

30. *beare palme*] i.e. win credit or applause (not necessarily the most credit, as at present).

31-2. *sixe hundred Scottish witches executed in Scotland*] I can learn nothing of this—surely imaginary—affair.

35. *ternados*] Mentioned, with this spelling, by Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, vi. 388 and elsewhere. For 'furicanos' cf. iii. 20, 5.

P. 189, 3. *lower region*] The classical *aer* as distinguished from *aether*, the upper air, which was unaffected by storms, Lucretius, v. 501-4.

14. marg. *John Thurkile*] Nothing further seems to be known of him. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 406, mentions one Mark Scaliot, a blacksmith of London, who made a very small lock and key.

20. *Hydra herring*] I can give no reason for the name.

21. *lays knife aboard*] A frequent expression; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 26.

21-7. marg. *The Sybarites . . . warning*] See Athenaeus, xii. 20, Plut. *VII Sap. Conviv.* 2. Also Erasmus, *Adag.* chil. ii, cent. 2. 65. Cf. iii. 285. 1646-7.

26. *aboue ela*] See note on ii. 268. 8.

27. *rutilant*] i.e. shining, glittering.

Heralius] I do not know who is meant.

29. *the goats iumpe*] See note on i. 61. 27.

31. *laualtos*] The lavolta was a lively dance.

33. *skincoat*] Frequently used for 'skin'; cf. Greene's *James IV*, Induct. ll. 44-5, 'engraued the memory of *Bohan* on the skin-coate of some of them,' i. e. wounded them; also *King John*, II. i. 139.

36. *Himens saffron colour'd robe*] Cf. ii. 274. 22-3.

P. 190, 2-3] The punctuation is difficult. I have followed the quarto, but possibly 'him, such . . . dayes : they' would be better.

7-32] I cannot discover where Nashe 'snatcht vp' this tale.

13. *hold, belly, holde*] The expression is of fairly frequent occurrence; cf. *Faustus*, vii. 36 (ed. Breymann (1616), 783), and *Sir Giles Goosecappe*, 1606, G 4.

18. *at host with*] Cf. i. 40. 23.

20. *bast*] i. e. barked—probably imitative.

25. *summer setted*] i. e. 'somersaulted'. The expression appears in numerous forms, but almost always as a single word.

fliptflapſt] In *N.E.D.* there are instances from 1676 of 'Flip-flaps'—a kind of somersault in which the performer throws himself over on his hands and feet alternately. The noun does not seem to have been found earlier. Here we should probably read 'flip-flapſt'.

27. *lagman*] Given in *N.E.D.*, s. v. lag, *a.* B 2, as equivalent to last man, one who brings up the rear.

30. *white leather*] Leather of a light colour prepared with alum or some other substance which does not darken it, instead of by the usual process of tanning. *tgn.*

35-6. *propound v̄ile for one of the highest nourishers*] Cf. Elyot, *Castle of Health*, 1572, E 4^v, 'Kidde and veale of Galen is cōmended next vnto porke, but some men do suppose, y^t in health and sicknes they be much better than Porke, the iuice of the both being more pure.'

P. 191, 2. *to liuery with*] The form of the phrase appears to be unusual. I cannot find 'with' used elsewhere to introduce the matter of the 'livery'.

3. *Hurrey, Hurrey, Hurrey*] i. e. apparently 'harrow!'

4. marg. *Vrrey*] I can learn of no fishing place of the name. Urray in Ross-shire, at the head of Inverness Firth, is five miles inland.

15. *intenerate*] i. e. tender. This seems a solitary example of the adjectival use, though the verb occurs occasionally.

20. *old dog*] Cf. iii. 7. 7.

21. *becollow*] i. e. dirty.

32. *clumme*] The meaning of the word is far from clear; cf. *Digby Myst.*, E.E.T.S., 157. 522-3, 'than farewеле, consciens, he were clumme, I shuld haue all my wyll.' The word is explained in the glossary as 'benumbed, hence, rendered useless'. In Harsnet's *Popish Impost.* 34, 'Clum quoth the Carpenters wife and clum quoth the Friar', some explain 'clum' as a note of silence (=mum!) others as representing the muttering of the paternoster (*N.E.D.*).

P. 192, 2-3. *the Grammarians . . . Halec*] See Priscian, p. 686, P, or the verses 'De Nominibus Heteroclitis' in Lily's Grammar.

8. *Fumados*] The name given to them, of course, when smoked.

11. *Ockamie*] See note on iii. 83. 14.

14-15. *that fish . . . wet*] Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, xi. 153, says of flying fishes that they 'fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst; and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe'. Also, and perhaps rather, iv. 244.

18-19. *walkes his stations*] Cf. Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, II. ii, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 117, *And.*: 'Faith father, what pleasure haue you met by walking your stations?' The meaning is, I suppose, 'goes his rounds.'

27. *with his Doue*] See note on i. 351. 8.

31. *troubled with the falling sicknesse*] Perhaps from the *Strange and Memorable Things out of Seb. Munster*, 1574, fol. 63 (I 2), where it is stated that Mahomet 'throughe intemperant lyuing and continual dronkennes, fell at the lengthe into the fallinge sicknes', to cloak which he pretended that he was cast into a trance by the brightness of the angel Gabriel who visited him. Also, with the story about the dove, in H. Smith's *God's Arrow*, ed. 1637, p. 44.

33. *ab inferno nulla redemptio*] The phrase is often quoted, but I do not know its origin; Harington, *Met. of Ajax*, ed. 1814, 79, says, 'As for that scripture, *ex inferno nulla redemptio*, I have heard it oft alleged by great clerks; but I think it is in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, or in Nicodemus' Gospel: for I never yet could find it in the Bible.' In *Hickscorner*, l. 785-6, it is attributed to Job.

he is falne backward into hell] Alluding to his promise that three days after his death he would rise again and ascend to heaven.

P. 193, 2. *Turbanto*] I have not found this form elsewhere. Hakluyt has 'tolipane' and 'turbant' (ed. 1903-5, iii. 21; v. 345, 351); Puttenham, *Art of Poesy*, ed. Haslewood, p. 239, 'tolibant.'

groutheades] i. e. blockheads.

2-3. *hang all men by the throates on Iron hookes*] I have found no mention of this elsewhere.

9. *Dionisius*] See note on ii. 238. 16-17.

11. *fable of Midas*] Nashe as usual follows the Ovidian form of the story; see *Metam.* xi. 85-145.

P. 194, 1. *Agathocles earthen stuffe*] See note on iii. 58, 26-9.

trillid] The word 'trillid' is more often used as an exclamation, generally having some reference to the act of drinking; cf. Lodge, and Greene's *Looking Glass*, 1686-8, 'Come, let vs to the spring of the best liquor: whilst this lastes, tril-lill'; see Prof. Collins's note on *James IV*, 1134-5, in his edition of Greene's *Works*, where some further examples are given; also Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, l. 491-2, 'Well, weele to the church stile, and have a pot, and so tryll lyll.' Cf. also iii. 265. 1009, and the use of 'trilled' in *Almond for a Parrot*, iii. 363. 15.

6. *without welt or garde*] Cf. ii. 210. 24 and i. 382. 8 note.

14. *Scali-ger*] There seems to be no point in this besides the very crude pun.

16. *hay-cromes*] i. e. a kind of hay-rake.

17. *afterwards a schoolemaster*] Cf. note on i. 312. 7.

18. *had plaid the coatchman to Plato*] I do not know what is referred to, unless perhaps his sending a chariot to meet Plato on his arrival in Sicily, Plutarch, *Dio*, 13.

18-19. *spit in Aristippus . . . face*] Diog. Laert. ii. 8. 3. 67.

21. *budgely*] i. e. formally.

23. *with a wennion*] See iii. 53. 20.

25. *demy or mandillion*] A 'demi' was a kind of short coat or vest; a 'mandilion' a loose sleeveless coat.

26. *pudding house*] Cf. iii. 100. 34.

31-2. *play the Schoolemaister*] Cf. i. 17 above.

P. 195, 3. *Ismael Persians Haly, or Mortus Alli*] Cf. iii. 19. 7-8, and note. 'Ismael' alludes, I suppose, to one of the Shahs of the name, Ismael I (1500-1523) or Ismael II (1576-8); unless possibly to Mahomet's supposed descent from Ishmael.

7. *his hairie tuft or loue-locke*] See Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, iii. 162, 'although they [i. e. the Persians] shave their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leave they a tuft of haire upon their heads about 2. foote long. I have enquired why they leave the tuft of haire upon their heads. They answer, that thereby they may easiler be caried up into heaven when they are dead.'

10. *fopperly*] i. e. foolish; the only example in *N.E.D.*

11. *church-booke*] i. e. parish register. *N.E.D.* quotes Massinger, *City Madam*, I. i. 64. There should, perhaps, be a comma after 'booke'.

18. *Kit Marlow*] The first two sestads of *Hero and Leander* were published in 1598.

23. *pinckany*] Used here, as pigsney, for darling. Properly a small, narrow, or peering eye. The earliest instance in *N.E.D.* of this sense.

26. *a long arme*] The earliest example of the phrase in *N.E.D.*, though 'Kynges haue longe handes' is found in 1539.

28. *at wrig wrag*] The expression 'wrig wrag' is only known to me in Skelton, who uses 'Syr Wryg wrag' several times as a proper name, apparently for an unstable person, or perhaps a Jack of both sides; cf. *Wks.*, ed. Dyce, i. 131, 149, 150.

32. *didopper*] Cf. note on i. 256. 36.

32-3. *ducking water spaniel*] Used in falconry to put up water-birds; cf. Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S., ii. 42-3.

P. 196, 1. *blindmans holiday*] No earlier instance seems to have been found; later in common use for dusk.

2-3. *one of our Irish castles*] i. e. the 'round towers'.

4. *iert*] A variant of 'jerk'; cf. iii. 261. 893.

13-14. *Fate is a spaniel that you cannot beate from you*] Cf. Lyly's *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 249. 7-8, 'the kinde Spaniell, which the more he is beaten the fonder he is'. Dr. Landmann quotes *Mids. N.Dr.*, II. i. 203-4.

30-1. *weame or bracke*] Both words mean 'fault' or 'defect'. They seem here to be used for 'check'.

31-3. *three things . . . a bawd, a witch, and a midwife*] Evidently proverbial, but I have not met with it elsewhere.

P. 197, 12. *frambold*] i. e. turbulent, peevish.

14. *coquet*] i. e. a warrant delivered by the officials of a custom-house to certify that a merchant has complied with the legal requirements, and so authorizing the removal of his goods.

15-16. *for curuetting any more to the mayden tower*] It is perhaps

not too fanciful to suggest that Nashe remembered Surrey's well-known lines in his poem on his imprisonment at Windsor:

'The large grene courtes where we were wont to houe,
With eyes cast vp into the mayden tower,
And easie sighes, such as folk draw in Loue.'

17-18. *leman or orange*] The joke upon 'lemon' and 'leman' seems to be almost inevitable. There are many instances of it, but it will suffice to refer to Henry Buttes' *Diet's Dry Dinner*, 1599, C 5, 'All say a Limon in Wine is good: some thinke a Leman and Wine better,' and to Gascoigne's *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 48-9, where are some punning verses on the subject.

20-1. *the rheume ... a signe ... of some drowning*] I have not met with this idea elsewhere.

23. *checkestone*] i.e., presumably, 'chuckiestanes'—but was the game ever English? As played in Scotland it consisted in throwing a pebble or shell into the air and picking up or arranging a certain number of others before it fell and was caught again.

31-2. *the glowing and blistring of our braines ... are dreames*] Cf. i. 355. 30, &c., also 10-11.

P. 198, 5. *luket*] i.e. a casement. Only one other instance in *N.E.D.*, i.e. '1564, Bulleyn, *Dial. agst. Pest.* 21 b, Drawe the Curtaines, open the lukette of the windowe.'

16-19. *even as Semiramis ... Babilon was taken*] Cf. Val. Max. ix. 3. ext. 4; Babylon had not been taken, but had revolted, and Nashe elaborates the details. 'Lye' was a cosmetic for the hair; see *N.E.D.*

27-9. *The gods ... applevife*] From the second 'gods' this reads like a quotation from some song, but I have been unable to identify it. It is just possible that the popular ditty 'cuckolds all of a row', the words of which seem to be lost (see Chappell, *Pop. Mus.*, 340), may have been related to it as a parody or otherwise. I have no idea what is meant by 'bread and crow'.

P. 199, 3. *Hurrie currie*] The only example in *N.E.D.*

9-11. *trees of the Sunne and Moone ... that spoke to Alexander*] See Mandeville, cap. 7, ed. 1900, p. 34, 'Men say also, that the balm groweth in Ind the more, in that desert where Alexander spake to the trees of the sun and of the moon ...' Also cap. 32, p. 196, 'within those deserts were the trees of the sun and of the moon, that spake to King Alexander, and warned him of his death'.

14. *tooke bread ... eate it*] Cf. note on iii. 69. 1.

31. *pagled*] i.e. pregnant.

timpanized] i.e. swollen.

34. *Fabian*] I do not understand the allusion; it seems impossible to suppose any reference to the writer of the Chronicle.

Palmerin of England] A translation of this romance, originally written in Spanish by Luis Hurtado, was licensed to Charlewood in 1581-2, but no edition earlier than 1596 seems to have been seen in modern times (see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 436).

34-5. *Cadwallader Herring*] Nashe's allusions are sometimes so far-fetched that I venture to suggest—in default of a better explanation—that he had perhaps chanced upon a sidenote in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1807-8, i. 633, 'Cadwallader constrained to forsake the

land'—in reference to the migration of him and his people to Armorica—and therefore thought his name might appropriately be applied in jest to a 'king of fishes'.

P. 200, 4. *mother Mampudding*] Presumably a fanciful name for an old woman, perhaps from 'mump', i. e. chew (cf. l. 12) + pudding. Cf., however, Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 52, where a certain tavern or provision-shop for sailors in Petty Wales, Thames Street, is described. He says 'Amongst others, one Mother *Mampudding* (as they termed her) for many Years kept this House, or a great part thereof, for victualling'. The passage appears in the first edition, 1598.

19-20. *shrewish snappish*] Cf. iii. 29. 31-2, 'shrewish snappish mustard'.

24. *water his plants*] A common phrase for 'weep'; cf. Lyly's *Euphues*, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 253. 13, Greene's *Philomela*, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 144. 13, Lodge's *Rosalynde*, ed. Greg, 144.

25-7. *the red Herring and Ling ... mustard*] On the custom of eating mustard with salt fish see note on i. 171. 6.

28. *tanned wainscot hue*] The mustard used at table was perhaps what is now called 'brown mustard'. At any rate it seems not to have had the clear yellow hue which is now associated with it. Readers of John Taylor will remember his story of the Highlanders who came to England, and were served at a tavern with beef and mustard, and how one of them, never having seen the condiment before, partook of it too liberally, 'but it was so strong, that it was no sooner in his mouth, but it set him a snuffing and neesing, that he told his Friends (*Duncan and Donald*) that hee was slaine with the grey Grewell in the wee-dish' (*Taylor's Feast*, 1638, B 4). Such expressions as 'wainscot-faced' for 'brazen' were frequent; cf. Martin's *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 31. 8; Cooper's *Admon. to People of Eng.*, ed. Arber, 71. 22; *Hay any Work*, ed. Petheram, 65. 10, and Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xii. 114. 20-1.

31. *louing-land*] The name of the hundred extending from just south of Yarmouth to Lowestoft.

P. 201, 2. *because Elstred was drownd there*] There is some confusion here. It was in the Severn that 'Estrildis, daughter to Humber, otherwise called Cumbrus or Vmar', who was overthrown by Locrine, was drowned. See Harrison, *Descr. of Brit.*, cap. 13; Holins. *Chron.* 1807-8, i. 117. It was Humber himself who was drowned in the river which bears his name, Holinshed, n. s., i. 157, 444.

6. *Whippet*] Apparently the same as 'whip', which was later in use as an exclamation, in the sense of 'at once', 'all of a sudden'. At iii. 107. 17, 'whippet' seems to mean a contemptible person.

7. *John for the King*] Cf. iii. 84. 20 and note.

8-9. *upon a time and tide, ... holiday*] Obviously altered from the opening words of some ballad, but I have not identified it.

11-12. *giving them stones to cast & scourge*] i. e. to cause vomiting and purging.

P. 202, 9. *trigge*] A form of 'trudge'.

10-11. *Aequora nos ... imago*] Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 427 'Aequora me terrent, et ponti tristis imago.'

14. *backe-friends*] Usually meaning feigned friends, but here, exceptionally, 'backers'.

23-4. *quarrell from them, hauing]* Qy. either read 'for them' or punctuate 'quarrell, from them hauing ...'

28. *John indifferent]* Apparently the same as 'Jack o' both sides'.

32. *wasserman]* 'A male sea-monster of human form; a sort of merman', *Cent. Dict.*, which quotes the *Faery Queen*, ii. 12. 24,

'The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game
The flying ships with swiftnes to pursew'.

P. 203, 1. *deraine]* i.e. draw up; cf. 3 *Hen. VI*, II. ii. 72.

10. *delegatory Scipio]* By 'delegatory' Nashe apparently means 'appointed as a delegate'—not autocratic. I am doubtful which of the Scipios—or what particular incident—was in his mind.

Petito] I cannot explain the allusion.

II. *the heire of Laertes per aphresin, Ulysses]* With respect to this puzzling expression, Professor Moore Smith remarks that ἐξ ἀφαρέσεως means in Logic 'in the abstract', 'by abstraction' (*Aristot. Anal. Post.* i. 18. 1), and that Cicero jokes on the term, *Epist. ad Att.* vi. 1. 2. He understands the phrase to mean that Ulysses was the heir of Laertes *in the abstract*, because during Laertes' old age his property had melted away (cf. iii. 27. 2-4). I do not feel certain that this is the correct explanation, for the joke would surely not have been understood by many of Nashe's readers—but it is at least better than any alternative that I have to offer.

21-3. *the Playse and the Butte ... haue wry mouthes ever since]* Cf. Dekker, 2 *Hon. Whore*, II. i., ed. Pearson, ii. 113, 'if I had had it, I should ha made a wry mouth at the world like a Playse'. Also Foxe, *Acts & Mon.*, ed. Townsend, v. 152, where it is related how Stephen Gardiner made 'a plaiice-mouth with his lip' in annoyance at Bonner obtaining the bishopric of Hereford.

25-6. *had the worst end of the staffe]* i.e. got the worst of it; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 100, and *Gam. Gurt. Needle*, I. iv. 32; also, with opposite signification, 'best end of the staff', *Horestes*, 168.

26. *iourney]* i.e. day's fighting.

canuazado] i.e. a sudden attack; see *N.E.D.*

32-3. *Alfonsus]* i.e. Moses Sephardi (1062-1110), a Jewish physician, who being converted to Christianity took the name Petrus Alfunsi. He wrote a number of works, the best known being a collection of thirty-three tales intended for the instruction of young clerics and entitled *Disciplina Clericalis* (see the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*). Certain of these, or adaptations of them, were printed with Aesop's fables, by Caxton and in later editions, as the fables of 'Alfonce'. The collection also includes certain fables of Poggio.

P. 204, 13. *Poldauies]* i.e. poledavy, a coarse linen.

17. *in decimo sexto]* Frequently used to mean 'small'; cf. Lyly, *Mother Bomby*, II. i. 44-6, 'looke where Halfepenie, Sperantus boy, commeth; though bound vp in *decimo sexto* for carriage, yet a wit in *folio* for coosnage' [i.e. he is little, but very artful].

24. *make all smoake]* i.e., apparently, dissipate all they have.

27. *white as whales bone]* The comparison was extremely frequent in earlier times, but this must be one of the latest instances. It occurs in *Love's Lab. Lost*, V. ii. 332, in a note to which many

instances are given by the Variorum editors. The 'whale's bone' was the tusk of the walrus.

P. 205, 2-27. *The floud Waueney ... coynes*] All this closely follows Camden, *Brit.*, ed. 1594, 356-7.

8-9. *the Nasheſ of Herefordſhire*] See the general introduction as to Nashe's family.

15-16. *Bede and Maister Camden*] Camden is quoting, with acknowledgement, from Bede.

18. *Furfæus*] A misprint in Q for 'Fursæus', to which it should have been corrected. See Camden, u.s., p. 357, and Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 619.

24. *tartered*] The reading of *Harl.* is probably correct. Camden has 'lacera moenia'.

27. *and booies and anchors*] Nasbe's addition to Camden. The digging up of anchors at several places near Yarmouth, but not at Burgh Castle, is mentioned by Manship (p. 40 note).

36. *Herring Fleet*] A village about four miles from the coast, midway between Yarmouth and Lowestoft.

P. 206, 5. *Vigilius*] Pope 537(8)-555. The statement about the institution of vigils seems to be merely a piece of popular etymology, their observation dating from the earliest times of the Church.

11. *ambry*] i.e. store; more usually, storehouse.

14. *Turkie*] i.e. turquoise.

14-15. *thicke iagged ... Arsedine*] The sense is evidently 'with an ornamental border'. 'Arsedine' is imitation gold, Dutch metal. The word 'theaming' is unknown to me.

23-207, 32.] The idea at the root of this story—the destruction of part of what is offered for sale and the demand of the same or an enhanced price for the rest—is of course frequent, the classic instance being the story of Tarquinius Superbus and the Sibylline books in Aulus Gellius, i. 19.

27. *cuttle-bong*] Cf. S. Rowlands, *Martin Mark-All*, 1610, E 2, 'A Cuttle bung, a knife to cut a purse'; also Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 38, 111, 116.

P. 207, 6. *halperd*] i.e. went backward and forward, hesitated to come to an agreement; cf. iii. 72. 23, the only other example of the word in *N.E.D.*

13. *mulliegrums*] i.e. ill-temper, properly colic.

24. *fadge*] i.e. succeed, 'do.'

31. *geremumble*] Cf. i. 321. 22. Explained in *N.E.D.* as '? to garbage (fish)'; the only example. The curious phrase 'three sorts of cosen garmombles' in *Merry Wives*, Q i. xv. 56 (Cambr. ed.), altered in later eds. to 'three cozen-germans' (IV. v. 78), perhaps affords another—of course as a malapropism.

P. 208, 11. *loggerhead*] i.e. thick-head, stupid. There appears to be no special sense of the word—nor of 'sowter' (i.e. shoemaker) in the following line—which suits the context here.

P. 209, 2. *true latine*] *Fæx* being feminine.

3-4. *congruity*] Apparently an unusual word. In *Kemp's Nine Days' Wonder*, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 4, the phrase 'It stands not with the congruity of my health' is jested at, Kemp declaring that he does not know what 'congruity' means.

5. *queazened*] i. e. choked, smothered. See *N. E. D.*, s. v. *queasom*.
The word is of obscure origin.

dampel] Cf. i. 239. 34 and note.

5-6. *that tooke both Bell and Baram . . . that day*] Evidently two lines from some song or ballad, but I have been unable to identify it, nor can I say who Bell and Baram were.

20. *epitasis*] The main action of a drama.

21. *swarthrutter sowre*] This also looks like a reminiscence of some song or ballad. A swart-rutter was a member of certain bands of irregular troopers in the Low Countries.

23. *Agæus*] i. e. Augeus. Perhaps to be regarded as a misprint.

25. *the Pope it popt under boord*] I am not sure of the meaning of this, but there is of course a pun on Pope. Possibly 'popt' is 'pooped', said of a sea breaking over a ship from the stern, the word being used here for 'overwhelmed'. I take 'it' to be the subject and 'Pope' the object of the verb.

26. *Phocases*] Apparently *phocae*, i. e. sea-calves, is meant, but it was a 'bull' (*taurus*) that frightened the horses of Hippolytus; cf. Seneca, *Hip.* 1036, and Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 511. Neptune's team of *phocae* are mentioned by Val. Fl. *Argon.* ii. 319.

27-8. *harpies . . . Phineus*] The story is referred to, but not told at length, in Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 2-4.

P. 210, 2. *Lanterneman*] Explained by *N. E. D.* as specifically 'one who empties privies by lantern-light, a nightman'. The explanation seems to be based on the present passage.

5. *ringoll*] i. e. apparently 'ringle', a little ring.

6. *by the name of*] A phrase borrowed from the legal formula of summoning a person to appear in court. Cf. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 737.

7. *coniured to appeare in the center of it*] Cf. note on ii. 169. 12-13; also 218. 5-6 below.

8-9. *surdo . . . sordidi*] The source of this is unknown to me.

10. *frier Pendela*] I can learn nothing of any such person.

12. *neither in Hull, Hell, nor Halifax*] A fairly common proverbial expression of, I believe, unknown origin, for 'nowhere'. Mr. Crawford writes (Oct. 1907) that the proverb 'is still in common use in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where a belief popularly prevails that it has relation to three stations on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, viz. Hull, Elland, Halifax. Of course this is a delusion. I heard a man make use of the proverb only just now . . .'

16-20. *who, being long in Purgatorie . . . Elisium*] Cf. *Faustus*, vii. 74-7 (ed. Breymann, 891-5), where the Pope while at dinner is tormented by Faustus, who is invisible. '*Card. of Lorraine*. My lord, it may be some ghost newly crept out of Purgatory, come to beg a pardon of your Holiness. *Pope*. It may be so. Friars, prepare a dirge to lay the fury of this ghost.'

25-6] *Harl.*³ reads 'accompanying both, under'; the other editions follow *Q* in having no comma.

P. 211, 3. *saint Gildarde*] His festival was on April 1.

10. *Celina Cornificia*] Presumably a name of Nashe's invention.

13. *the iewish lumbarde*] 'Lombard' is found much earlier for a native of Lombardy engaged in the business of a banker or pawn-

broker, but this is one of the first instances of its use for his place of business. The *N.E.D.* gives no example before 1609, where it is equivalent to 'bank'.

16. *cobs*] Apparently the heads of the two herrings ; cf. 221. 21.

18-19. *a sleeuelesse answer*] More usually in the phrase 'a sleeveless errand', i. e. a useless errand, generally one contrived in order to get a person out of the way ; cf. *Tr. and Cres.*, V. iv. 9, and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 214. 17. For the present phrase cf. Greene, *Card of Fancy*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iv. 78. 18-22, 'Gwydonius perceiving that *Castanias parle* was nothing to the purpose, and that shee toucht not that point whereof hee desired moste to bee absolued, but meant to shake him off with a sleeuelesse answere, beganne . . . Cf. also Lylly, *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 253. 17, 'sleeuelesse excuse', and Mr. Bond's note on iii. 405. 17, where he explains the phrase as having reference to the custom of messengers carrying a sleeve on the hat as a token of their employment, and quotes in illustration a passage from Lady Guest's trans. of the *Mabinogion* (Dream of Maxen Wledig). Cf. i. 322. 24, 'a sleeuelesse ieast'.

21. *cobbing*] i. e. perhaps, cheating, in which sense 'cop' seems to have been used. The usual meaning of 'cob' is strike or beat.

22. *riche Cobbes*] i. e. wealthy persons, or misers. Examples in *N.E.D.* from 1548, and in common use at this date.

32-3. *Confur streete*] i. e., I suppose, Conisford Street ; see map in Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii.

P. 212, 1. *bawwaw, quoth Bagshaw*] Evidently a proverbial saying, but I have not met with it elsewhere. In *Misogonus* (ed. Brandl in *Quellen*), IV. i. 57, 'Bow wow' seems to be meant as a contemptuous exclamation.

2. *drawlacheth*] i. e. sneaks, shuffles, or lags behind, *N.E.D.*, the only example of the verb.

6. *Guilding crosse*] There was an area called Gilden-croft in the north-west of Norwich ; see Blomefield's *Norfolk*, iv. 478, but I can learn nothing of the cross.

15-23. *the ieast of a Scholler in Cambridge . . . before them*] Cf. the story told of Antony's fishing and the salt-fish hung by Cleopatra's diver on his line, *Ant. and Cleo.*, II. v. 16-18, from Plutarch, *Ant.* 29. 2. But the same jest is, I believe, found elsewhere. There is some allusion which I do not understand in the bell about the herring's neck ; cf. *Marriage of Wit and Science*, II. i (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 336) :

'Lusty like a herring, with a bell about his neck,
Wise as a woodcock : as-brag as a bodylouse ;'

and *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 72, where in a ballad entitled 'A Bill of Fare' we find, among other fantastic dishes,

'A shoale of Red-herrings with bels 'bout their neckes,
Which made such rare sport that I neuer saw such ;
They leaped and danced, with other fine tricks ;
A man may admire how they could doe so much.'

25. *the bubbling of Moore-ditch*] I can learn nothing of this or of the 'bedlem hatmakers wife' in ll. 30-1.

33-5. *Don Sebastian . . . raysed from the dead*] After the death of Sebastian, king of Portugal, in 1578, at the battle of Alcazar-Quiriv against the Moors, his kingdom passed to his uncle Henry, and on the death of the latter in 1580 it was seized by Philip II of Spain. Shortly after this there began to appear a succession of impostors claiming to be Sebastian, who, it was said, had escaped from the battle, and at least five of them obtained a certain following among the people, to whom the union with Spain was far from pleasing. The pretender who most resembled Sebastian was a certain Matthieu Alvares; the one who made most stir at the time a Calabrian named Marco Tullio. As is well known, Massinger's *Believe as You List* is founded on the story.

P. 213, 3-4. *gudgeon dole*] 'Gudgeon' was in common use for a person easily gulled—see *N.E.D.*, s.v.; cf. also the phrase 'to swallow a gudgin' in Greene's *James IV*, II. i. 86 (l. 763).

4. *Gods plenty*] A fairly common phrase; cf. Greene's *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 219. II. Cf. iii. 57. 5; 261. 892.

12-13. *an infant squib of the Innes of Court*] Probably a hit at some special enemy of Nashe, but we have no means of knowing who is referred to.

28-9. *creeper upon pattens*] 'Beggar-women' seems to be meant.

33. *Gods fooles*] Cf. ii. 107. 10.

P. 214, 3. *mingle mangle cum purre*] For this odd phrase see Latimer's *Third Sermon before Edward VI* (*Sermons* in Dent's 'Everyman's Lib.', p. 126), 'They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, "Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur": even so they [the Germans] made mingle-mangle of it [i. e. religion].' Latimer again refers to the same thing, though without giving the words 'come pur' in his Sermon at Stamford, Nov. 9, 1550, *Sermons*, u. s., p. 252. In *N. & Q.*, 10th S. vi. 323, Mr. C. B. Mount gives another instance of the phrase from Thomas Becon's *Displaying of the Popish Mass* [I quote from ed. 1637, M 3^v, p. 270], 'But yee tarry for no man, but having a Boy to helpe you to say Masse, ye goe to your mingle-mangle, and never call purre to you. For yee eate and drinke up altogether alone, being much worse than the swineheardes.' He states that *purr* = pig, and that 'the "Dialect Dictionary"' gives as one sense of the word 'a call to pigs'. I have not found this: *E.D.D.* gives 'pur' as 'a call to turkeys', but that is not the same thing. I am not sure that Nashe quite understood the meaning of the phrase which he used.

23-4. *landresses*] From many allusions it would seem that laundresses were looked upon as of doubtful reputation. Cf. Webster, *White Devil*, III. ii, 'Did I want Ten leash of courtezans, it would furnish me; Nay, laundress three armies.' They seem to have collected the linen in the rooms of their customers and thus to have had especial facilities of entry.

24. *night walkes to Pancredge*] I do not know precisely what is meant, but Pancras was always regarded as a disreputable locality.

P. 215, 5-6. *as a principall agent . . . complaineth*] Not identified.

7. *a tale of a poore man and an aduocate*] I have not met with this tale elsewhere.

16. *Fitzherbart*] i. e. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert (1470-1538), judge.

Several legal works are attributed to him, but only the *Grande Abridgement* seems certainly to be his.

23. *pressed to death for obstinate silence*] See Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S. 228, 'Such fellons as stand mute, and speake not at their arraignement, are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a boord, that lieth ouer their breast, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to sauе their goods vnto their wiues and children, which, if they were condemned, should be confiscated to the prince.' The law was enforced in England in 1721 and in 1735, and in Ireland as late as 1740. Lecky's *Eng. in 18th Cent.*, iii, quoted in *Cent. Dict.*, s. v. press, v. i.

33-4. *vntaynted . . . corruption*] For the inversion cf. i. 262. 25-6 and note.

P. 216, i. *Lopus*] Lopez was arraigned on Feb. 28, 1594, in the Guild Hall of London. Nashe was therefore, it would appear, in London on that date.

9-10. *Neyther Ouid nor Ariosto . . . induced to study the Civil law*] See Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10; I cannot learn that Ariosto ever studied the civil law; does not Nashe mean Tasso?

13. *sow*] Equivalent to 'pig' in 'pig-iron'. The roughly-shaped lumps or bars in which the metal is first cast.

16. *lawing*] i. e. arguing.

23. *neither rime nor reason*] In common use, as it still is; cf. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 46 foot.

29. *cropshin*] A form of 'copshen' or 'corpcion', meaning an inferior quality of herring (or, as one authority explains it, a herring which has lost its head). *N.E.D.*

32. *Erra Pater Almanacks*] 'Erra Pater' was, it is believed, a purely fictitious personage. An almanac arranged so as to serve for any year was published about 1535 as *The Pronostycacion for euer of Erra Pater: A Iewe borne in Iewery, a Doctour in Astronomye, and Physycke. Profytale to kepe the bodye in helth. And also Ptholomeus sayth the same.* There were numerous later editions of it. The book is a miscellaneous collection of astrological data, rules of health, &c. Cf. *N. & Q.* 10th S., viii. 518.

35. *calander*] A kind of lark; earliest instance in *N.E.D.*

P. 217, i. *Colossus of the sunne*] The Colossus at Rhodes; see Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiv. 18.

2. *tumidus Antimachus*] Cf. Catullus, 95. 10 'At populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.'

Adelantado] A Spanish title of the governor of a province.

3. *tuftaffatie*] A kind of taffata (a silk or linen fabric apparently of a somewhat indefinite nature) woven with a pile like that of velvet, arranged in tufts or spots. *Cent. Dict.*

7. *Megaras*] i. e. Megaera's; cf. iii. 113. 30.

8. *a fooles head and garlick*] I do not know if there is any special allusion in this; 'a sheep's head and garlic' is mentioned in the *Taming of a Shrew* (corresponding passage to IV. iii. 17-30 of *The Shrew*), as if a usual dish.

10-11. *though thunder nere lights on Phœbus tree*] i. e. the laurel; see Pliny, *H.N.* xv. 40. Frequently referred to.

16. *miniature*] It is not very easy to understand the word here,

unless Nashe means beauty of colouring—a sense in which it could not properly be used. Miniature is, of course, painting in red—but there is nothing red about a turbot.

20-1. *spireable odor . . . audience*] This seems to have no meaning whatever.

22. *Erimanthian beare*] i. e. Callisto of Arcadia, who was turned into a bear and placed in the sky as Arctos. Probably familiar to Nashe from Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 4. 47 and i. 4. 1; ‘extreame lineaments’ is perhaps from Cicero, *Or.* 56. 186, but there seems no possible sense in the expression here.

22-3. *priuy fistula of the Pierides*] I can only suggest that Nashe is joking on a passage in Cicero’s *De Orat.* iii. 60. 225, where it is stated that C. Sempronius Gracchus had a slave who, when he spoke ‘staret occulte post ipsum’ and gave him the correct pitch upon an ‘eburneola fistula’ (cf. *Aul. Gel.* i. 11).

25. *French-hood of a cowsharde*] Cf. i. 163. 1-2. Probably some form of flat cap or head-dress was supposed to resemble one.

28. *With this, in*] The insertion of the comma seems to give the better sense. I doubt whether ‘to be in a rage with (i. e. at) a thing’ was an allowable expression.

30. *eloquent Zenophon . . . spake*] Cicero, *Or.* 19. 62 ‘Xenophontis . voce Musas quasi locutas ferunt’.

P. 218, 6. *coniured into the . . . circle*] Cf. note on ii. 169. 12-13.

9. *currat rex, vivat lex*] The saying ‘vivat rex, currat lex’ was not uncommon, but the source is unknown to me.

28. *breath, it*] Either some phrase such as ‘they bring him a tale of treachery, whereas, in reality’ has dropped out here, or the ‘when’ of l. 27 should be transferred to l. 28 before ‘it is’.

33. *wayters*] i. e., apparently, guards.

P. 219, 16. *disquisition*] i. e. investigation, inquisition; earlier than instances in *N. E. D.*

P. 220, 6-7. *the Case is altered*] Ben Jonson’s play cannot, according to Collier, have been written before the publication of Meres’ *Palladis Tamia* (ent. *S. R.* Sept. 7, 1598). See Collier, *Hist. of E. Dr. P.*, 1831, i. 355, and Mr. Fleay’s *Biog. Chron.* i. 357. This passage, therefore, must have been written very near the end of 1598.

8. *I will speake a proude word*] An almost proverbial expression; cf. Jonson’s *Ev. man in his Humour*, Qto. 1601, l. 578.

10. *Philips his Venus*] i. e. *Philippe’s Venus. Wherein is pleasantly discoursed sundrye fine and wittie Arguments in a senode of the Gods and Godesses assembled for the expelling of wanton Venus from among their sacred societie, &c.* 1591. See Mr. Hazlitt’s *Handbook*, p. 365, and Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* Add. Notes xxxi*; it purports to have been written by Jo. M.

the white Tragedie] Not identified.

11. *the greene Knight*] Not identified. It can have nothing to do with the well-known fourteenth-century poem. The only Elizabethan Green Knight known to me is the one with whom are concerned the opening poems of Gascoigne’s *Weeds*. It is not impossible that these may be referred to, though hardly, I think, likely.

20. *Bernardus non vidit omnia*] See note on iii. 126. 32.

27. *crash*] See note on 183. 30.

P. 221, 6-9. *Cornelius Agrippa . . . booke of Alcumy written vpon it] De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 90, trans. 1559, fol. 158v, 'Yet there are some whiche thinke that the skinne of the golden fleese was a booke of Alcumie writhen vpō a skinne after the manner of the auncients, wherein was conteined the knowledge to make golde.'

21. *cobbe*] Apparently, head; cf. 211. 16; but 'cob' seems also to mean young herring; cf. ii. 209. 21.

24. *kickshawes*] From Fr. *quelque chose*, used at this date for a dainty, or fancy dish in cookery, which is probably the sense here. The earliest instance, in any spelling, given in *N.E.D.* is 1597. 2 Hen. IV, V. i. 29. Cf. *Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, G 1^v, 'commanded the mayde to lay the cloath, that they might haue some *quelque chose* for a reare supper'. I have not seen the first edition (1590).

25-6. *Iacke Cade . . . cades*] The same play upon the name is found in 2 Hen. VI, IV. ii. 33-6.

28. *cade*] i. e. to pack in cades (i. e. kegs holding 720 herrings)—the only instance of the verb in *N.E.D.*

35. *Iacke Straw*] Cf. note on iii. 107. 17.

36. *Greeca fide*] Cf. Erasm. *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 8. 27. He quotes Ausonius, *Epist.* 10. 41-2 and 22. 24, and Plautus, *Asin.* i. 3. 47. The sense, in the latter case at least, is 'cash down', without credit.

P. 222, 6-8. *Gentleman Iacke Herring . . . wearing*] I have not met with the proverb elsewhere. It seems to allude to the dressing of herrings with the tail in the mouth—as fried whitings are served at present; cf. 216. 33.

9. *Nere a barrell better herring*] This, in slightly varying forms, is frequent and means 'one is as good as another', 'they are as like as different herrings taken from the same barrel.' Cf. note on iii. 61. 7.

9-10. *Neither flesh nor fish, nor good red herring*] Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 41. Fairly frequent.

11. *dribd forth*] Cf. i. 270. 23.

15-16. *plucke a crowe*] The phrase is common; see *N.E.D.*, s. v. *Pluck*, v. 9, and *Crow*, sb.¹ 3 b.

16. *putre halec*] Martial, iii. 77. 4 'et putri cepas halece natantes,' but *halec* there means a kind of fish-sauce, not a herring.

24-5. *Roan . . . Cane*] i. e. Rouen and Caen.

P. 223, 7. (*quatenus horses*)] Nashe apparently means 'for horses', 'considering that they are horses.' For the ordinary logical use cf. *Plain Perceval*, ed. Petheram, 27. 20, 'You had best saie now I speake against good men: *quatenus* they are good, *Martin*, I am their Orator . . . to extoll them'—[I only speak against the evil which is in them].

12. *Hounce Vanderuecke*] Possibly a well-known merchant of the day, but I can learn nothing of him.

20-2. *lurcones or epulones . . . (as one . . . enstileth vs English mē)*] Not found.

24-6. *as the Cameleon . . . nourished*] See the *Carminum Proverbialium . . . loci communes* of S. A. I, ed. 1579, p. 10: *Animalia sine cibis viventia.*

Quatuor ex puris vitam ducunt elementis:

Chameleon, talpa, maris halec, & salamandra.

Halec vnda fouet, ignis pascit salamandram,

Talpam terra nutrit, aer quoque chameleontem.

For the chameleon see note on i. 36. 7, and for the salamander ii. 46. 27. Cf. Kendall, *Epigrams*, R 5, Greene, *Wks.*, vii. 229.

29. as Diogenes said to his weary Schollers] See Diog. *Laert.* vi. 2. 6. 38. It was not the cynic himself who was reading, but another.

31. fishing before the nette] Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 67, 'It is ill fishing before the net,' also Warner's *Albion's Eng.*, ed. 1602, M 7v. Frequent.

32-4. the Athenians . . . inuented wrastling] Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 38 καὶ ἄγνω τὸν διὰ τῶν σωμάτων πρώτοι ἐπενόσταν [Αθηναῖοι].

34. Ericthonius] See Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 57, and Vergil, *G.* iii. 113-14. It was the *quadriga* that he invented, not the *biga*.

P. 224, 4-6. *Nimium ne credite ponto . . . Periurij poenas repetit ille locus*] I do not find either of these in Ovid, but they may be incorrect reminiscences of two lines in the epistle of Dido to Aeneas, *Heroid.* vii. 54, 58:

Expertae totiens, tam male, credis aquae!
Perfidiae poenas exigit ille locus.

Would it be too fanciful to suggest that Nashe may have been thinking of Vergil's oft-quoted 'nimium ne crede colori', *Ecl.* 2. 17?

10. cowthring] 'Cowther' is stated in *N.E.D.* to be a variant of 'quither' (not given, but see *E.D.D.*), i.e. to tremble, to be 'all of a shake'.

12-14] The lines are from *Rudens*, ii. 1. 11-13:

Cibum captamus e mari: sin eventus non venit,
Neque quicquam captum est piscium, salsi lautique pure
Domum redimus clanculum, dormimus incoenati.

19] See *Rudens*, ii. 2. 5, 6. The words are spoken by Trachalio, a slave:

Salvete, fures maritimi, conchitae, atque hamiotae,
Famelica hominum natio! quid agitis? ut peritis!

20. gubbins] i. e. parings or fragments of fish.

23. Viuimus . . . sitiꝝ] The answer of the 'Piscatores', *Rudens*, u. s., l. 7 'Ut piscatorem aequom est, fame, sitique, speque.'

27-9. the lowsie riddle . . . Homer . . . to drowne hymselfe] See the *Vita Homeri* formerly attributed to Herodotus, in Homer's *Il. et Od.*, 1541, ii. 390; the Pseudo-Plutarchan *Vita et Poesis Homeri*, i. 4. 3; Val. Max. ix. 12, ext. 3. I do not know who attributes it to 'another Philosopher', nor who is the authority for the mode of death here mentioned. The story—as given by Brusoni, *Facetiae*, ed. 1560, p. 306, is as follows: 'Homerum literarum principem, ait Plin. quum Ioniam in insulam nauigasset, in piscatores incidisse, qui pediculis se purgabant, rogasseque nunquid haberent? illi vero, se perdidisse quod ceperant, responderunt: quod vero non cepissent (ad pediculos alludentes) habent, aenigmatis difficultate concussum animam exhalasse'. The Pseudo-Herodotus denies the common report that the riddle was the cause of his death. The riddle is given in two hexameter lines in the *Carm. Prov.* of S.A. I, ed. 1579, pp. 3-4, the origin not being mentioned.

30. supernagulum] See i. 205 marg.

31-2. *kickshiwinshes*] i.e. fantastic devices, whims; see *N.E.D.*, s.v. Kicksey-winsey. Apparently suggested by 'kick and wince' (see note on ii. 113. 32), but, as observed in *N.E.D.*, the recorded senses seem to connect it with 'kickshaws'.

P. 225, 4-5. *for your selling smoake you may be courtiers*] Cf. Greene's *Farewell to Folly*, Greene's *Works*, ed. Grosart, ix. 343 '... as Alexander Seuerus handled his secretarie, who . . . selling the verie fauourable lookes of his maister for coyne, promising poore men to prosecute their sutes, when he neuer mooued their cause: at last in requitall of this treacherous dealing was tied to a post and choaked with smoake, hauing a proclamation made before him by sound of trumpet, that they which sell smoake shoulde so perishe with smoake': cf. also 'to buy smoake' in Greene, u.s. xii. 10. 25. Greene perhaps borrowed the story from Whetstone's *Enemy of Unthriftiness*, ed. 1586, F 2v. See Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 35-6.

8. *huffe-cappest*] i.e. strongest. For this and other names given to strong ale cf. Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N.S.S. i. 295.

12. *the Dunkerks*] See note on 171. I.

17. *recommends*] i.e. ? praise. The only instance in *N.E.D.*.

18-19. *sweete Oliuers*] Apparently a name for 'good fellows'; possibly derived from the ballad of 'O swete Olyuer, Leave me not behind the', which was licensed to R. Jones, Aug. 6, 1584. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. iii. 101 and the notes of the commentators.

P. 226, 3. *Meonian*] I do not understand the point of the epithet.

12. *Saint Laurence feuer*] Alluding of course to his martyrdom by broiling. I cannot learn that there was any particular form of fever to which this name was applied.

15-18] Cf. list of saints of various countries and towns in Scot's *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 527. St. Michael is there for France.

SVMMERS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

I. Place and Date of Performance.

The allusions in ll. 1830 and 1873 to Croydon, in l. 621 to 'Dubbers hill', and in l. 202 to Streatham as to a place known to the audience, make it certain that the piece was performed¹ at or near Croydon.

It was acted in a private house, not in a public theatre or inn; cf. 'my Lords tyle-stones' in ll. 205-6. Apparently it was played before the owner of the house; cf. the references to 'my Lord' in ll. 17-18, 208, 1897.

The allusion in l. 1879 to Lambeth suggests that the 'Lord' in question was the Archbishop of Canterbury, a suggestion which is perhaps supported by Winter's words to Bacchus in l. 1012—'Fye, drunken sot, forget'st thou where thou art?'—his language and general behaviour being certainly out of place before a dignitary of the Church.

The house in which it was played was 'lowe built' (l. 1884), a description which applies to the Archbishop's palace at Croydon, while there seems to have been no other nobleman's house in the neighbourhood which was similarly situated. It may therefore be concluded, with probability, if not certainty, that it was performed before Whitgift

¹ Or written for performance. We have no evidence that it was ever actually played. What follows must all be regarded as subject to this qualification.

in his palace at Croydon (see Nashe's *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. xxviii–xxx, where there is a full discussion by B. Nicholson, who was, I believe, the first fully to work out the locality).¹

The year of writing—and, presumably, of first performance—was apparently 1592, but the evidence on the point seems to me to be much less clear than some have supposed.

The chief indications of date are (1) the allusion in l. 1881 to 'the want of Terme', i.e., doubtless, the holding of the (Michaelmas) law-term elsewhere than at London, on account of the plague; (2) the statement in ll. 543–6 that the Thames was, at the time of writing, exceptionally empty of water; and (3) the references in ll. 133–6 and 1843–4 to the Queen being on a progress.

The first of these was considered by B. Nicholson (Nashe, ed. Grosart, vi. xxvi) to point to 1593, while Mr. Fleay regards it as fixing the date in 1592, neither being apparently aware that the Michaelmas term was removed from London in both years, in 1592 to Hertford, and in 1593 to St. Albans.² It thus appears that the 'want of Terme' might equally well be lamented in either year.

Our second indication seems at first sight conclusive, for the reference must surely be to the drying up of the Thames recorded by Stow as taking place on Sept. 6, 1592, and lines 543–6 undoubtedly imply that

¹ Dr. Lee, however, in *D.N.B.*, says that the piece was 'privately acted about Michaelmas at Beddington, near Croydon, at the house of Sir George Carey'. I am not aware what are the grounds for this statement, but surely Beddington belonged, not to Sir George Carey, but to Sir Francis Carew, a member of an entirely different family, and one with which Nashe has not been shown to have had any connexion.

² As to the 1592 removal there is no question. See Stow's *Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 764, and *Acts of the Privy Council*, from which we learn that the term, which should have commenced on Oct. 9, was first deferred (*Acts, New Ser.* xxiii. 221—Oct. 1) and finally removed to Hertford (273–4, 276—Oct. 30), where it began on Nov. 3. Unfortunately, however, the records of the Privy Council from Aug. 26, 1593, to 1595 are missing; and Stow, though he tells us that on July 19, 1593, the court of assize for Surrey was held in St. George's field, three days' work being finished in one day, 'for the Justices . . . made hast away, for feare of being infected with the pestilence,' says nothing of the Michaelmas term of that year. Circumstances would in any case have permitted little business to be done at a season when plague was so severe and so widely spread, and this may account for there being fewer references to the term's removal, but the fact is clear enough. We find, for example, three ballads on the subject entered in the Stationers' Register, (1) Oct. 2, 1593, 'a sorowfull songe of Londons lamentacon for the losse of the terme &c.'; (2) Oct. 31, 'the Cuntrymens sorrowe to see the tearme kepte at Saint Albons'; and (3) Nov. 28, 'The cuntrymens Report of the vsage of them at Saint Albons Terme.' Still more positive evidence may be found in the *Calendar of MSS. of the Marques of Salisbury at Hatfield* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vol. iv, p. 429, where Benjamin Beard, writing on Dec. 5, 1593, to Sir R. Cecil about the imprisonment of a Mrs. Jane Shelley, mentions that the Warden of the Fleet, 'he being at St. Albans at the term, caused one Parry to write from thence a letter to her' [Mrs. Shelley]. The letter in question was sent to Cecil (see p. 434) and is given in the *Calendar* on p. 413. It is dated at St. Albans, Nov. 11, 1593. We learn also that Dr. Caesar, judge of the Admiralty Court, was residing at St. Albans on Nov. 3 (Creighton, *Epidem. in Brit.* i. 356), and much other evidence might be given.

the drought was quite recent, if not still continuing, and thus seem with certainty to fix the date of composition as early in September of that year. Curiously enough, however, in ll. 562-3 we have an allusion to 'the yeare . . . when that the *Thames* was bare', as if to one already past. It is obviously impossible to reconcile the two passages, and unless we suppose something wrong with the first—and for this I see no justification—we must, I think, conclude that the second is either corrupt or is a later addition.

The third group of indications, the allusions to the Queen's progress, also involves us in difficulties. She was on a progress during the late summer and autumn of 1592, returning to Hampton Court on Oct. 10 (see note on l. 136), while in 1593 she apparently remained at Windsor from August 1 to November. This seems to rule out the later year and to fix the date as 1592. If, however, we consider the two passages in which this progress is referred to, we shall, I think, find it difficult to date them later than August of the year in which they were written—summer for a month has lain languishing a-bed (l. 130), and autumn with its ripened fruits is yet to come (l. 1847). Surely such language would not be natural to one writing after Sept. 6, the date of the drying up of the Thames, while even Sept. 6 seems an impossibly early date for the 'want of Terme' (which was not due to begin until Oct. 9) to be lamented.¹ Thus it appears impossible to reconcile the allusions to the Queen's progress with the other indications of date, which point unmistakably to a later time of year. There is, I think, but one way out of the difficulty—to suppose that we have a play written at one date and revised, probably for another performance, some years later.

If we neglect these references to the Queen's progress, there is little difficulty in fixing the time of year. It was after harvest (l. 125), and winter was approaching (ll. 1874-6). The reference to the drying of the Thames inclines one to date the play as soon after Sept. 6 as possible, but the 'want of Terme' can hardly have been referred to before Oct. 1, when it was definitely postponed. On the whole, if we suppose the play to have been written in September and the first half of October, 1592, and to have been performed towards the end of October, we shall probably not be far wrong.

Whitgift may have been at Croydon almost any time during the autumn of 1592. We find him attending meetings of the Privy Council at Nonesuch on Aug. 6, and at Hampton Court on Oct. 11, 12, 22 and Nov. 1, 5, 19, 26, and it is quite likely that in all the longer intervals when he was absent from meetings, such as Aug. 7 to Oct. 10, Oct. 13-20, 23-30, Nov. 6-18, he returned to Croydon. He was certainly there on Oct. 30, when he dated a letter from that place (*Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Add. 1580-1625*, p. 341).

The time of day when the piece was acted has been discussed by B. Nicholson. He refers to the mention of night in l. 2, to Will Summers' complaint that he has not yet supped in l. 5, and to the allusions to bedtime in ll. 587, 1892-3. All these seem to make it clear

¹ It is true that as early as Sept. 12 there was talk of the term being removed to Hertford or Reading (see Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* iii. 130—letter of E. Jones), but l. 1881 certainly implies that it was term-time, though no term was being held in London.

that it was performed in the evening after supper, which was normally about 9 o'clock.

To recur now to the references to the Queen. B. Nicholson has argued at length (Nashe, ed. Grosart, vi. xxxiv-xxxvi) that Elizabeth must have been present at the performance. He bases his opinion on ll. 124-38, 388-403,¹ and 1840-62, and I certainly do not see how it is possible to resist the conclusion. But there is no reason for thinking her to have been at Croydon in 1592. Shall we suppose the play to have been written in expectation of her coming—the expectation being never fulfilled? Hardly, I think, for in that case it would surely not be the entry of 'my Lord' which would cause Summer to check his folly (ll. 17-18), but of the 'most sacred Dame' herself. To ignore her presence in such a connexion would, I imagine, have been an unpardonable slight.² Is it not more natural to suppose that the play was originally written for performance before Whitgift in October, 1592, and that then on a later occasion, perhaps on Aug. 14, 1600, when the queen visited the archbishop at Croydon, it was brought out again, somewhat revised, and two or three speeches in praise of the queen added?³ It is possible that in the acting copy of the play other slight changes may have been made, which it was not thought worth while to incorporate in the copy sent to the printer. I put this forward merely as a suggestion, in default of anything better. It seems to me to be a possible explanation of the difficulties: I should hesitate to maintain that it is even a very probable one.

The question by whom the play was acted I would willingly leave to those better acquainted with the history of the theatrical companies. Collier conjectured 'that it was performed either by the children of St. Paul's, of the Queen's Chapel, or of the Revels' (see note on l. 625); Mr. Fleay says the Chapel children (*Biog. Chron.*, ii. 148). B. Nicholson attempts to prove that in any case the actors were professionals. He points to the statement in the Prologue (ll. 36-7) that the actors [or is it after all the author who is meant] 'haue ceased to tune any musike of mirth to your eares this twelvemonth', notes that the Epilogue apparently plays on the actors 'travailing' and 'travelling', l. 1920, and that when the spectators went to bed the actors were going to a tavern (l. 1892-3), which suggests that they were not inmates of the house. Probably Toy himself was a professional (see note on l. 1068), but it seems to me possible that most of the others were servants of the household. In any case it is quite unlikely that a privy councillor in frequent attendance at Court should have risked infecting his household with plague by entertaining actors from London at such a time.⁴

¹ I am not certain that l. 401 would have altogether pleased the Queen.

² B. Nicholson was of opinion that her visit to Croydon was unofficial, or incognito, that, in fact, her presence was, at her own desire, ignored, and that the direct references to her were due to the poet's 'reverence and love seeming to carry him away beyond himself'. But is there evidence that at any time Elizabeth went about in this way?

³ I suggest that the added passages are ll. 130-9, 1840-62, and, possibly, 388-403, while there may also, of course, have been other minor changes, as in l. 563.

⁴ He would have remembered the trouble into which his predecessor Grindal got by sending to the Queen a present of grapes at a time when there was

2. Sources.

There is nothing to say under this head. The notes will show evidence of much the same reading as Nashe's other work of the date, but the general plan may well have been his own invention.

P. 227, 12. Burre.] It is impossible to say whether the stop is a very dirty full stop or a damaged comma. In the copies which I have seen it most resembles the former, though in the facsimile on p. 231 one would take it for a comma.

P. 233, heading. Enter Will Summers] Not much is known with certainty about Henry VIII's famous jester. He seems to have been a native of Shropshire, to have been installed Court fool about 1525, and to have died in 1560 (*D.N.B.*). His name appears as Sommers (*D.N.B.*), Summers, and Summer. Collier quotes the description of him in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies* (ed. J. P. C. for Shakespeare Soc., 1842, pp. 41-2), and refers to the late chap-book *A pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Summers*, 1676, reprinted by J. Caulfield (Collier says Harding) in 1794. Mr. Hazlitt (*Handbook*, 47) says that this is simply *Scoggins Jests* 'in a new coat', but it seems really to be compiled from many sources, including this and the *Jests of Peele*. Collier mentions also that Summers plays an important part in S. Rowley's *When you see me you know me*, 1605. See also Rowlands' *Good News and Bad News*, 1622, A 3^v. His name was almost a general term for a fool; thus in *Misogonus*, I. i. 199, &c., the fool is addressed as Will Summers. Allusions to him are very numerous.

1. *Noctem peccatis . . .*] Horace, *Epist.* i. 16. 62, *Coll.*

7-8. *my cousin Ned*] Cf. 258. 783.

9. *within*] i.e., of course, in the tiring room, as 'without' in l. 14 means on the stage. Cf. stage direction at head, 'comming out', and l. 436, 'come out in', wrongly altered by Collier to 'come in in'.

11-12. *without a hat-band*] The hat-band seems to have been a somewhat important article of attire; see, for example, Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 234. Cf. also the 'gold cable hat-band' in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, IV. iv. (quoted in Stubbes's *Anatomy*, ed. N. S. S., p. 246, top). To wear a hat without a band was a mark of eccentricity; see Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, C 1.

14. *Dick Huntley*] As remarked by Collier, this was evidently the name of the prompter. Nothing seems to be known of him.

P. 234, 30-3. At a solemne feast . . . to view] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 24, trans. 1569, fol. 35^v, 'And accordinge as the same Authour [Pliny] saithe, in a solemne election of the *Triumuiri*, it was seene for a proufe, that the Birdes ceased to singe, by reason of a painted Serpente'. See Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 38. It was neither at a feast nor an election; the painting (of a *draco*) was hung up because Lepidus complained that the birds kept him awake at night.

44-6. *Politianus speaketh of a beast . . . creature*] From C. Agrippa, supposed—though, it seems, wrongly—to be plague in his house. See Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 386, note 1. There is abundant evidence of the very stringent precautions taken to prevent any danger of infection being brought to the Court.

De Incert. et Van., cap. 22, trans. 1569, fol. 33^v, 'that beaste, which Politian speaketh of, who whilst that he is cut on the table, drinketh: and representeth the motions and voices [ed. 1575 noyses] of a liunge creature'. The 'Mathematicians experiments' in ll. 59-62 are from the same chapter of Agricella.

50. *Didymus*] See note on iii. 60. 11-12.

54-5. *Socrates . . . daunced*] Mentioned by C. Agricella, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 18, trans. 1569, fol. 31, 'Yea Socrates who was judged by the Oracle the wisest of all men . . . was not ashamed to learne it [i.e. dancing]'. See Plutarch, *De Sanitate*, 6; Lucian, *De Saltat.* 25, and others; constantly referred to.

P. 235, 55-6. *Scipio and Lelius*] See Cic. *De Orat.* ii. 6. 22 and Val. Max. viii. 8. 1, but they collected shells and pebbles rather than 'played at pebble-stone'. If there was a game so called it may have been similar to the 'checkestone' mentioned at iii. 197. 23.

56-7. *Semel insaniuumus omnes*] Mantuanus, *Ecl.* i. 118. Also quoted at iii. 79. 27.

57-62. *with Archimedes . . . goares*] Compare the very similar passage in *Strange News*, i. 331. 19-22, and notes.

62. *goares*] The reading 'gourdes' is undoubtedly correct. See note on i. 331. 19-20.

Poeta] Grosart notes that Q has *Poetæ*, but in copies seen the last letter is certainly a.

63. *Placeat . . .*] Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 862-3 'Ille tamen placeatque sibi, placeatque licebit, Quod nolle, Galatea, tibi'.

65. *Moralizers*] Cf. note on i. 154. 20.

68. *quips in Characters*] The meaning is evidently personal allusions.

70-1. *As the Parthians . . . away*] Cf. Agricella, *De Incert.*, cap. 8, trans. 1569, fol. 23, 'accordinge to the vse of the Parthians they [i.e. certain sophisters] fighte flyinge awaie'.

76. *the Iigge of Rowlands God-sonne*] A first and second part of 'Rowlandes godson moralized' were entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wolf on April 18 and 29, 1592. The 'Iigge' itself was presumably earlier, but nothing seems to be known of it.

78-9. *Gyllian of Braynfords will*] See the reprint *Jyl of Breyntfords Testament, by Robert Copland, Boke-Prynter, The Wyll of the Deuyll and his Last Testament . . . Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Printed for Private Circulation, London, 1871*. A collection of pieces; the first reprinted from Bodl. 4to, C. 39, Art Seld., printed by W. Copland. (For list of the contents of this most interesting volume (now split up) see *Brit. Bibl.* i. 61-5.) The 'score' of bequests was really twenty-five. Collier refers to the play of *Friar Fox and Gillian of Branford* in Henslowe's Diary (ed. Greg, fol. 53^v). Gyllian is fairly often referred to; Collier notes a mention of her in *Westward Ho!* (Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 347); see also Harington's *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, p. 13, and Nashe's other references in index. 'Brainford' seems to have been the usual spelling of Brentford; cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 311, 312; *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 130; and *Jests of G. Peele*, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 264, and foot-note.

80-1. *the plague raignes . . . summer*] Collier quotes Camden's *Annals of Eliz.* regarding the plague of 1592-3, in which he says

17,890 persons died; cf. Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics*, i. 351-6. See notes on i. 153. 21-2, 155. 12.

83-4. *tittle tattle Tom boy*] The meaning, if any, is unknown to me; 'tittle tattle,' i.e. nonsense, occurs at iii. 350. 29.

84. *God give you good night in Watling street*] I do not know whether 'in Watling Street' has any special meaning, but 'God give us good night!' seems to have been used in some such sense as 'worse luck!' or 'it is a bad thing for us'; cf. *Jacob and Esau*, I. iv, in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 204.

P. 236, 94. *the knaue in cue*] Grosart remarks "the knave in cue" is = the knave in humour or temper—still in dialectal use' (Glos.).

104. S. D. *Vertumnus*] Collier notes at his entry that he was provided, as appears afterwards [ll. 1569-70], with a silver arrow.

109. *away*] It is not impossible that the correct reading is 'hence', as in l. 115. The use of 'away' would be a metrical sophistication hardly, I think, in keeping with the period or with Nashe's style.

P. 237, 117. *Will.*] As throughout the play the speakers' names are kept in the form given by Q, it has seemed better to leave the stop after 'Will' or 'Wil' wherever it occurs. But, save for the *D.N.B.*, I doubt if any one ever called him 'William Summers'.

119. *greene men*] i.e. men dressed up with greenery to represent wild men of the woods, *N.E.D.*, which has no example earlier than 1638.

120. *Iowben*] I can learn of no song of the name, which may be intended for 'Jew Ben' (cf. Williams, *Spec. of Eliz. Dr.* 474-5).

129. *Omnibus una manet ... lethi*] As noted by Collier, from Horace, *Od.* i. 28. 15-16.

136. *her ioyfull progresse*] During the autumn of 1592 Elizabeth was on a progress in the midland counties, being at Newbury on Aug. 24, at Cirencester on Sept. 3, at Woodstock on Sept. 19, and at Oxford on Sept. 26. She returned to Hampton Court by Oct. 10, and stayed there some months (see *Acts of the P. C.*). In 1593 she remained at Windsor from Aug. 1 to November (Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, iii. 227).

P. 238, 145. *O, he is mard, that is for others made*] See *Arcadia*, 1590, fol. 89^v. In later editions, altered to 'O wretched state of man in selfe diuision'.

151-4.] For clearness I give this passage as it stands in Q:

'And of the wealth I gaue them to dispose,
Know what is left. I may know what to giue
Vertumnus then, that turnst the yere about.
Summon . . .'

The legacy is of course not to Vertumnus, as it appears from this reading, but to the world in general.

159-60. *by the name of... court*] The ordinary formula; cf. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iii. 737-8, the trial of Q. Katherine.

lose a marke in issues] i.e. be fined a mark for non-attendance. Cf. '1562 J. Heywood, *Prov. & Epigr.* (1867) 205, 'Thou lostst a marke in issews, criers say', and '1752 J. Louthian, *Form of Process* (ed. 2), 184, A. B. come forth, or you lose 100s. in Issues' (*N.E.D.*); also *Mother Bomby*, V. iii. 48, 'as they cry at the Sizes, a marke in issues'.

164. *to witta woo*] The more usual form of owl's cry seems to be 'to whit to whoo' as in *Mother Bomby*, III. iv. 54; Dekker's *Hon. Wh. Pt. ii*, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 131, 'Two woes in that Skreechowles language?'

P. 239, 177. *bent*;] I should have noted that Q has 'bent,' (comma), for if we take 'but' as 'unless' and suppose 'harmlesse' to be used much as 'innocent', we shall get a different sense, namely 'Unless you are intentionally playing the fool, one might take you for an idiot'. Vertumnus is evidently not paying attention to what is going on; see ll. 180-9.

182. *Falangtado*] Collier (Add. notes) quotes Harvey's *New Letter of Notable Contentis* (Harvey, ed. Grosart, i. 282) to show that Falantado or Falanta was the burden of a song or ballad at the time. Harvey says 'Let him [a railer] be the *Falanta downe-didle* of Ryme; the *Hayhohalliday* of Prose, the *Walladay* of new writers . . . my *battering instrument* is resolute, and hath vowed to bray the braying creature to powder'. Cf. 'falangtedo' at i. 275. 32.

the blacke and yellow] I do not know what is signified by the colours.

196. *Summa totalis*] Read probably, as Mr. Fleay suggests, *Summ' tot*; cf. iii. 108. 19, 20.

P. 240, 199. *bable*] I am by no means certain that this emendation is correct. In public performances at least, a ladle was carried to collect money, either by the hobby-horse or by the fool. See Mr. E. K. Chambers's *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 197, top of first col. of notes. Cf. i. 83. 18.

200. *O braue hall!*] 'Hall, the taborer, mentioned in *Old Meg of Herefordshire*, 1609. See the reprint in *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*, 1816', Hazl. This Hall in 1609 was ninety-seven years of age (extracts from *Old Meg*, in *Brit. Bibl.* iv. 330); so it seems at least doubtful if he is here referred to.

201. *for the credit of Wostershire*] We must presume that the dancers, or some of them, were Worcestershire men, for there seems to have been no special connexion between the morris dance and that county, though Worcestershire was famous for bagpipes (*Old Meg* in *Brit. Bibl.* iv. 328), an instrument, by the way, of which the archbishop was fond (*Def. of Ans. to Admonition*, 707). Whitgift had been Bishop of Worcester before his elevation to the primacy in 1583, and it is quite likely that he should have brought some of his old servants to London with him.

226. *nam quæ habui, perdidii*] Cf. Terence, *Eun.* ii. 2. 6 'miser, quod habui, perdidii.'

P. 241, 229. *giving wenches greene gownes*] i.e. throwing them down on the grass. The phrase is of frequent occurrence; cf. Dekker's *Hon. Wh. Pt. ii*, I. i. beginning; *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 95, 'a morning to tempt *Ioue* from his Ningle Ganimed, which is but to give Dary Wenches greene gownes as they are going a milking'. See also Greene's *Wks.*, ed. Collins, ii. 370, top, where several instances are given.

235-6. *in lute strings and gray paper*] Cf. note on ii. 93. 9-10.

242. *none but Asses liue within their bounds*] Cf. ii. 221. 1-2.

249. *to goe*] A not infrequent phrase in the sense of 'is off',

generally with a sense of going hurriedly; cf. *Impatient Poverty*, l. 418, 'He to go and she after', Erasmus's *Apophthegms*, trans. N. Udal, 1542, T 7^v (quoted in Brydges' *Restituta*, ii. 73), 'Demosthenes ... cast shilde and all awaye from hym, & togo as fast as his legges might beare hym', and *Merry tales of Skelton* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 30, '[he] tooke the preest on his backe, & locked the church dores, and to go'. Also quotation in note on i. 118. 23.

250-1. *the horses lately sworne to be stolne*] 'Some case of horse-stealing, which had lately taken place, and which had attracted public attention'. Hazl.

256-9.] Cf. Donne, *Anatomy*, First Anniv. 156-7 and *The Duchess of Malfy*, III. v. 98-9; but the idea is of course a commonplace.

P. 242, 266-74. *Geta ... Table*] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 89, trans. 1569, fol. 156-156^v, 'Geta the Emperour also is saide to haue ben of so vn honest a life, that he commaunded meate to be brought accordinge to the order of the Alphabet, and for the space of three daies togeather he sate at the table eatinge'.

272. *pingle*] i.e. 'to eat with little appetite; to be fanciful or dainty about one's food.' E.D.D. Still in dialect use.

276. *without the consent of a whetstone*] 'See Collier's *Bibliogr. Catal.*, ii. 512, Extr. from *Stat. Reg.*, i. 184, and a woodcut in his *Book of Roxburghe Ballads*, 1847, p. 103.' Hazl. Cf. note on i. 319. 6.

282. *donec facinus inuasit mortales*] Also at i. 191. 24.

283. *the Scythians alwayes detested it*] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert.*, cap. 24, u. s. fol. 41, 'The Scithians alone, as *Solinus* [20] recompteth, did condemne for euer the vse of Golde and Siluer.'

285-6. *summum bonum ... vacacione*] Cic. *De Nat. Deorum*, i. 20. 53 'Nos autem beatam vitam in animi securitate et in omnium vacatione munerum ponimus.' It appears not unlikely that Nashe took the quotation from the Latin of C. Agrippa's *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 54 (ed. 1609, O 4^v) 'Cicero in omnium rerum vacacione' [summum bonum posuit]; see the notes on ll. 1146-8, 1214-15, 1426-9, where also he seems to borrow from the Latin text of Agrippa, though as a general rule he made use of the translation.

290-1.] Proverbial. See Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 82, 'And who . . . As may he . . .' Mr. Crawford refers me also to *Damon and Pythias* (*Anc. Brit. Drama*, i. 90): 'Jacke: . . . they say, who can singe so mery a note, As he that is not able to change a grote?' Hazlitt notes 'The title of an old ballad. Compare Collier's *Extr. from Stat. Reg.* i. 7, 19 [S.R., ed. Arber, i. 75, 96], and Rimbault's *Book of Songs and Ballads*, p. 83.' See Chappell, *Pop. Mus.*, p. 81.

292-4. *Cui nil est, nil deest... Omnia habeo, nec quicquam habeo*] Cf. Terence, *Eun.* ii. 2. 12 'omnia habeo, neque quicquam habeo: nil quom est, nil deficit tamen.'

295-6. *Multi . . . egere*] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23 'Vitio vertunt, quia multa egeo; at ego illis, quia nequeunt egere'.

P. 243, 299. *Diuesq; miserq;*] Not found in these words.

300. *natura paucis contenta*] The saying is, of course, common—it occurs, for example, in the *Sententiae Pueriles*, ed. 1717, p. 7—but I do not know whence it originally comes. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 33. 96 'quod parvo cultu natura contenta sit,' and *Adagia I. Ulpii* in Erasmus's *Adag.*, 1574, ii. 309 b 'Natura quidem paucis contenta, sed

quod huic sufficit, non satis est curiositati'; so Seneca, *Epist.* 16. 6 'Exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum'. Collier says: 'Nash seems, from various parts of his works, to have been well read in what are called, though not very properly in English, the burlesque poets of Italy. This praise of poverty in the reply of Ver to the accusation of Summer is one proof of his acquaintance with them. See 'Capitolo sopra l' Epiteto della Pouertà, à Messer Carlo Capponi,' by Matteo Francesi, in the *Rime Piacevoli del Berni, Copetta, Francesi, &c.*, vol. ii. fol. 49^v. Edit. Vicenza, 1609:

"In somma ella non hà si del bestiale,
Com' altri stima, perche la natura
Del poco si contenta, e si preuale, &c."

301-3] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 54, trans. 1569, fol. 74^v, 'Herillus the Philosopher, Alcidamus, and many of Socrates secte, supposed that science was the soueraigne good'.

304. *paupertas omnes perdocet artes*] Cf. Plautus, *Stichus*, i. 3. 24 'Nam illa [sc. paupertas] omnes artes perdocet, ubi quem attigit'. See also many similar sayings in Erasmus's *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 5. 22 'Paupertas sapientiam sortita est', and the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus (Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 459), under 'Egestas artes docet'.

306. *Paupertas audax*] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 51.

308-9. *Non habet . . . amorem*] Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 749. Coll.

311. *Omnia mea mecum porto*] Cicero, *Paradox.* i. 1. 8. Also said of Stilpo; see Seneca, *De Const. Sap.* 5. 3 and *Epist.* 9. 15-16.

314. *& neuer had*] Perhaps we should read 'a [i. e. he] neuer had'.

315-16. *That young man of Athens*] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 39. Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 64, trans. 1569, fol. 98^v-99, 'the image of fortune, whereof Eliane maketh mention, was so feruently loued of an Athenian yonge man, y^t when he coulde not buye it for mony, died by it.'

P. 244, 344. æ] The letter is damaged. In copy a it resembles æ, in copy c it is more like a.

359-60] It would, I now think, have been safer to let the reading of the quarto stand, but in any case I cannot accept the punctuation of the modern editors. No one would say 'Without, peace there below!' As the piece was performed not in a theatre, but in a private house, it is quite likely that the actors, instead of entering from a tiring-room at the back of the stage, would come in by a side door, perhaps passing through the audience. In such a case it seems not impossible that 'without' might be used to mean outside the hall, though I am very doubtful. Properly speaking the direction should be 'cry within', or 'within'. Cf. S.D. at head of piece, p. 233, 'comming out', and note on l. 9.

P. 245, 367. *dayes eyes*] Collier quotes from *The Flower and the Leaf* to illustrate the use of 'day's eye' for 'daisy'; cf. also Chaucer, *Legend.*, l. 184.

381. *Inter utrumq[ue] tene, medio tutissimus ibis*] Collier notes that the second half of the line is from Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 137; the first half is from l. 140 of the same.

P. 246, 399. *friends fauor*] Collier's 'friends, favour' is probably, I think, correct.

421-3. *Fye . . . body*] Possibly intended as four lines of rough verse.

P. 247, 428. *scales*] i. e. kayles, the pins used in the game so called, a kind of ninepins or skittles; cf. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. Cox, p. 220, s. v. Loggats.

434. *rundlet*] i. e. a small barrel.

435. *prodigall childe*] Mr. Hazlitt notes 'A common subject at shows'. Dr. Ward sees a probable allusion to Ingelend's *Disobedient Child* (*Eng. Dr. Lit.* i. 250, note). Mr. Fleay states that it refers to *Acolastus*, 'as if still on the stage' (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 149).

439-40. *in grace and vertue to proceed*] Cf. ll. 209. 27-8 and note.

441. *will . . . vs ?*] The full stop of Q is perhaps right, for in all other cases Summer's directions to Vertumnus are in the form of commands. Possibly we should read 'will Sol to come', but the 'to' is not absolutely necessary.

443. S.D. *noyse*] i. e., as usual, company.

446. *big*] i. e. truculent; 'to look big' is to swagger.

453. *eye-sore*] 'Some play on words is here probably meant. *Eyesore* quasi eye-soar,' Hazlitt.

P. 248, 461. *for some respect*] i. e. on terms, for a consideration.

476. *sonne*] Hazlitt's note that the old copy has 'sonne' seems to show that he did occasionally refer to it—unless, indeed, he guessed this spelling from Collier's 'son'. In nearly all other cases Hazlitt's readings of the 'old copy' seem to be taken from Collier. See p. 228.

P. 249, 491-3] The lines are probably corrupt, but no emendation has been proposed.

499. *baddest*] No emendation seems necessary, as this was quite an accepted form at the date.

505] i. e., I suppose, Guilt has gained the name of martyrdom.

509-11] The sense of the lines is obscured in Q by bad punctuation. I take them to mean 'You bred the excrements, and I devoured them, in order to rid the earth of them. The "grosse carriage" of my beams is therefore due to you'. Cf. ll. 481-4. It matters little whether we take 510 with the preceding or the following line.

P. 250, 528. *Heber . . . Orpheus*] Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 50-2.

530, footnote] Collier has 'word's eloquence', but as he explains it to mean 'the eloquence of words', I presume that the position of the apostrophe is accidental. Grosart has no apostrophe.

531-2. *Dead Phaetons three sisters . . . turnd*] Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 364-5, Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 11.

531-5] I have left these lines as they stand in Q, not because they are satisfactory, but because I do not see that they are improved by any of the emendations proposed.

544. *Whose waues thou hast exhaust for winter shoures*] See Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 764 b, 'Wednesday the sixt of September [1592] the wind west and by south, as it had bene for the space of two dayes before very boystrous, the riuier of Thamis was made so voyde of water by forcing out the fresh and keeping backe the sault, that menne in diuers places might goe 200. paces ouer, and then fling a stone to the land. a collier on a mare, rode from the north side to y^e south, and back againe, on eyther side of London bridge but not without daunger of drowning both wayes.' Collier quotes from

Camden, giving the date as September 5. See note on ll. 562-3, and introductory note on the date.

548. *Which like to Nilus . . . head*] Possibly something has been lost before this line, though Nashe is, I think, still speaking of the Thames; cf. Harrison in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 79, 'the Thames . . . of whose founteine some men make as much adoo, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet desried) was neuer found.'

549. *Some few yeares since . . . walks*] Hazlitt mentions the flood of 1579, referring to Stow's *Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 686 (but I see no mention here of the Thames being in flood), and the entry in the Stationers' Register of January 25, 1579-80, of a ballad on the great floods. He also mentions the flood of 1571. I cannot learn of any noteworthy flood about this time, but Holinshed's *Chron.*, u.s. i. 81, speaks as if the flooding of the low ground near the Thames was of common occurrence in January and February.

550. *the horse-race*] Presumably some stretch of land by the Thames, but save at Smithfield I can hear of no horse-racing in the neighbourhood of London at this date.

553. *When . . . droupt*] Hazlitt says 'Persons who had drunk the Thames water fell ill'.

P. 251, 562-3. *in the yeare . . . bare*] This seems inconsistent with ll. 543-5, which clearly point to a drought at the time of writing; see introductory note on date. In any case the present passage is not very satisfactory, for surely there are few years without an eclipse of the moon; and further l. 562 is unmetrical.

564. *perhaps*] Hazlitt explains his reading 'per-haps' as 'guesses', but it is surely more natural to take 'perhaps' here as meaning the word 'perhaps'.

567-72] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 48, trans. 1569, fol. 62v, 'Yea and that the passinge learned Pythagoras did oftentimes vse this pastime, that he wrote with bloude in a glasse suche thinges as he thought meete, whiche when it was turned directly againste the newe Moone, shewed to them whiche stode behinde him thinges writen in the circle of the Moone.' The Latin has 'ad pleni luminis lunae orbem'.

P. 252, 588-9. *riffe raffe of the rumming of Elinor*] Collier notes the reference to Skelton's *Tunning of Elinor Rummung*. The expression 'riffe raffe' was equivalent to rubbish; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, II. iii. 51, 'Tauke thou of rubbinge horses and of such riffe raffe.' I suspect, however, that the sense had been influenced by Chaucer's (and Gascoigne's) name for alliterative verse, 'rum, ram, ruff,' which seems to have come to mean rude verse of any kind; cf. *Old Wives' Tale*, ed. Gummere in Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Com.*, ll. 625-6, 'Ile nowe set my countenance and to bir in prose; it may be this *rim ram ruffe* is too rude an encounter'.

594. *Histiaeus*] Collier quotes the story from Aulus Gellius, xvii. 9, and also from Herodotus, v. 35, noting that the former account is here followed. This alone mentions the defective sight of the servant, which is important as giving Histiaeus an excuse for shaving his head.

612. *Peter Bales*] Collier has a long note on Peter Bales and brachygraphy, which he maintains to have been the invention of

Dr. Timothy Bright (1551?–1615). The point, however, seems to be somewhat doubtful, Bales (1547?–1610) being a few years Bright's senior, and apparently practising some kind of stenography before 1575 (see *D.N.B.*), while the first dated example of Bright's method appears to belong to 1586 (see *D.N.B.*, art. Bright). But indeed there is no reason for supposing that the first idea of such writing in modern times originated with either of them. Collier refers for mentions of shorthand to the trial scene in *The Devil's Law Case* (IV. ii), and to Heywood's *Dialogues and Dramas* (p. 249, ed. Bang, ll. 8462–3), where he complains that one of his plays had been taken down by stenography. Bales is frequently referred to; see among others Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807–8, iv. 330; Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 680^b; Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, A 3.

614. *Murrians*] i.e. Moor's, or rather blackamoor's; cf. Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 89. 12–13, 'a faire pearle in a Murrians eare cannot make him white.'

615. *his Richmond cap*] I cannot discover what precisely this was.
the terrible cut] See note on iii. 6. 33.

617 marg. *Imberbis Apollo*] In some copies of the present edition the *s* of 'Imberbis' has fallen out during the printing.

P. 253, 621. *Dubbers hill*] i.e. Dupper's hill, lying to the west of Croydon.

625. *my good children*] 'From what is said here, and in other parts of the play, we may conclude that it was performed either by the children of St. Paul's, of the Queen's Chapel, or of the Revels.' Coll., who refers to 'the diminutive urchins' in ll. 792–3, and the little boy who speaks the epilogue.

641. *Hireus*] Hyrieus is correct, but the error may well be Nashe's.

P. 254, 649. (*no dog but hath his day,*)] An allusion, as Hazlitt points out, to the common proverb.

652. *meteors*] i.e. the *ignis fatuus*; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. meteor 2 b. The word could be used of practically any atmospheric phenomenon.

658. *arre*] Cf. *Rom. and Jul.*, II. iv. 222–3, 'An R... Ah, mocker! that's the dog's name', and the parallels of the commentators, including Bacon, *Nat. Hist.*, cent. 2, § 200, 'snarling of dogs [hath resemblance] with the letter *r*', and B. Jonson's *Eng. Gram.*, 'R Is the dog's letter'. Also Scoggin's *Jests* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 127, 'Scogin arose and went to the doore, and said: arre, arre, like another dog.'

670—256, 735] The whole of this comes ultimately from the *Pyrrhoniae Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus, though not, of course, directly from the Greek, nor even, I believe, from the Latin translation of Henri Étienne. In 1591 Nashe spoke of the works of Sextus having been 'latelie translated into English for the benefit of vnlearned writers' (iii. 332. 31–4), and in i. 174. 4 and 185. 8, where, quoting from him, he wrongly substitutes 'ashes' for 'asses' and 'bones' for 'beans', we seem to have evidence that he was himself using such a translation, and an incorrect print or copy of it. I have, however, failed to discover any early Englishing of the work.

The present discourse about dogs gives us still stronger evidence of the existence of an English version, but at the same time brings us face to face with a problem which only the discovery of the translation

itself can completely solve. In the tract—one might almost call it a compilation—by S. Rowlands, entitled *Green's Ghost Haunting Conycatchers*, 1602, D 3^v-4^v, we again meet with the whole of this passage from Sextus, under the heading ‘A notable Scholerlike discourse vpon the nature of Dogges’. Now comparing Rowlands’ prose with Nashe’s verse, we are struck by the extraordinary similarity of phrasing; for example Nashe’s l. 677, ‘They barke as good old Saxon as may be,’ occurs in precisely the same words in Rowlands—while naturally there is nothing corresponding in the Greek. So too ‘hunting and conie-catching’ (l. 691) are mentioned also by Rowlands, while the Greek only refers to hunting; and there is nothing in Sextus to correspond to ll. 692-7, though this is found in Rowlands (see end of extract below). Again, the ‘outward’ speech of dogs is dealt with by both the English writers before the ‘inward’. The original discusses it at the end of the whole description. A comparison of the extract given from Rowlands below will show several other points of resemblance. A natural inference would of course be that Rowlands simply turned the passage of *Summer's Last Will* into prose, but this is at once shown to be impossible by a further comparison with the original, for Rowlands translates many passages which Nashe omits; and in that corresponding to ll. 698-720 follows Sextus in giving the example of Argus before the reference to Chrysippus, while Nashe reverses the order. Hence it seems that either (1) There existed a translation of Sextus into English, or rather a free paraphrase—as many Elizabethan translations were—and both authors used this, Nashe following the language closely in such passages as he selected, Rowlands perhaps simply copying the whole word for word—as indeed he often did when borrowing from other authors. Or (2) Rowlands had before him a different text of *Summer's Last Will*. A third possibility, that he used Nashe’s work, but knew and referred to its source, is not worth discussing, for one can hardly imagine Rowlands doing any such thing. There can, I think, be little doubt that the first explanation is the correct one, but we must for the present be content to leave the matter open. As the works of Sextus are not in every English scholar’s library it may perhaps be useful to give the passage in the Latin of Étienne, printing in italics those parts of which Nashe made no use—though Rowlands did. (*Pyrr. Hypot.* i. 14. 64-71; ed. 1569, p. 416) ‘Sensu ergo nos antecellere hoc animal [sc. canis], ore uno fatentur omnes Dogmatici. [672-4] nam odoratu magis quam nos percipit, per hunc feras quas non videt, indagans: et oculis eas celerius cernens quam ipsi possimus. Sed et acuto aurium sensu praeditus est. *Itaque ad sermonem veniamus, qui intrinsecus et in animo situs est, aut enuntiativus. videamus igitur prius de intrinseco. hic certe secundum eos qui maxime nobis adversantur nunc, dogmaticos Stoicos, in his videtur agitari, videlicet in eligendis iis quae ad naturam nostram accommodata, et in fugiendis iis quae aliena sunt: item in cognoscendis quae ad hoc conferunt artibus, in percipiendis iis quae ad propriam naturam pertinent virtutibus, quae circa affectiones versantur.* Canis ergo (quod unum ex brutis in exemplum afferre libuit) [683-7] eligit quae sibi sunt commoda, et fugit quae noxia: quaecunque esculenta sibi esse cognoscit, quaerens et persequens,

intentato autem flagello recedens. [690-1] Sed et artem habet sibi commodorum comparatricem, nimirum venatoriam. *Nec vero virtutis est expers. nam quum iustitia sit ea quae unicuique id quo dignus est, tribuit:* [713] canis familiaribus quidem et iis qui de ipso bene merentur, velut assentans, eosque custodiens, externos autem et [712] qui ei iniuriam inferunt, ulciscens, *iustitiae expers non fuerit.* *Quod si hanc habet, quum virtus una ab aliis separari non possit, etiam caeteras habet virtutes, quas ipsi sapientes vulgus hominum habere negant.* *Quinetiam et magnanimum ipsum esse videmus in propulsandis iniuriis.* [714-20] Videmus et prudentem: ut etiam testatus est Homerus: qui Ulyssem omnibus domesticis ignotum inducit, a solo autem Argo agnitus: quum nec immutatione corporis ipsius hominis deceptus esset canis, nec a comprehensiva phantasia descivisset: quam magis quam homines habere ipsum apparuit. [698-708] Secundum autem Chrysippum (*qui maxime irrationalibus animalibus adversatur*) etiam illius tam celebratae dialecticae particeps est. ait enim eum hic vir tertii notitiam per multa anapodicta consequi, quum ad trivium venerit, et ex tribus viis quum iam duas indagaverit, per quas non transierit fera, tertiam ne indagans quidem, statim per eam magno impetu fertur. Perinde enim hoc valere ait vetus ille Philosopher, acsi si ratiocinaretur hoc modo, Aut hac, aut istac, aut illac transiit fera: neque autem hac, neque istac: ergo illac. [722-37] Sed et morbi sui, quales sint, percipit, et leniendo dolori curam adhibet. Si quis enim illi palum impegerit, ad hunc extrahendum properat, pedem terrae africans, et dentium utens ministerio. Quod si illi forte sit alicubi ulcus (quoniam sordida ulcera magna cum difficultate curantur, munda autem facile) leniter tabum inde fluentem abstergit. Sed et Hippocratis praeceptum pulcherrime observat: quoniam enim pedis medicina, et eius quies: is si quod forte vulnus in pede habuerit, hunc sursum attollit, et quantum potest, dat operam ne agitur. Quum vero facessunt illi negotium humores incommodi, herba vescitur, cuius ope quicquid est incommodum illi, egerens, valetudinem recuperat.' *[He goes on to speak of their language, saying that though we cannot understand them, yet neither can we understand 'Barbarorum vocem'].* [679-81] 'Quinetiam canes audimus aliam quidem edentes vocem quum aliquos persequuntur, aliam quum ululant, et rursum aliam quum vapulant, sed et aliam cevent.'

I now give an extract from Rowlands, as a specimen of what I believe to be really Nashe's original [*Greene's Ghost*, D 3^v, corresponding to 671-681]: 'first and formost, there is no man of experiance that will denie but dogs do excell in outward sence, for they will smell better then we, and therby hunt the game when they see it not. Besides, they get the sight of it better then we, and are wonderfull quicke of hearing. But let vs come to speech, which is either inward or outward. Now that they haue outward speech I make no question, although we cannot vnderstand them, for they bark as good old Saxon as may be; yea they haue it in more daintie maner thā we, for they haue one kind of voice in the chase, and another when they are beaten, and another when they fight. [Not in Nashe:] That they haue the inward speech of mind, which is chiefly conuersant in those things which agree with our nature, or are most against it, in knowing those

things which stand vs most in steed, & attaining those vertues which belong to our proper life, and are most conuersant in our affections, thus I proue : first and formost [683-91] he chooseth those things that are cōmodious vnto him, and shunnethe the contrarie : He knoweth what is good for his diet, and seeketh about for it. At the sight of a whip he runneth away like a theef from a hue and crie. Neither is he an idle fellow that liues like a trenched Flie vpon the sweat of other mens browes, but hath naturallie a trade to get his liuing by, as namely the arte of hunting and Conicatching, which these late books go about to discredit. [692-7—*Not in Sextus* :] Yea, there be of them as of men of all occupations, some Cariers, and they will fetch ; some watermen, and they will due and swim when you bid them ; some butchers, and they will kill sheepe ; some cookes, and they turne the spit. [*Not in Nashe* :] Neither are they void of vertue . . .

P. 255, 683-4] Collier quotes a parallel from Machiavelli, *Dell' Asino d' Oro*, cap. 8.

712. *the enemies*] 'their enemies' would seem more natural ; but cf. iii. 169. 6.

714. *as Homer witnesseth*] *Od.* xvii. 300, &c.

P. 256, 739. *They . . . invented vomitting*] Pliny, *H. N.* xxix. 14
'Vomitiones quoque hoc animal monstrasse homini videtur'.

750. *There is no bloud-letting*] Generally speaking, blood-letting was considered inadvisable in time of great heat or great cold, and would therefore not be practised during the dog-days.

751-5. *Physicians with their Cataposia . . . triacles*] Perhaps suggested by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 83 (ed. 1609, Cc 2) 'deinde magna iactantia [medicus] praescribit medicamina ; Recipe catapotia, mitte sanguinem, fiant clysteria, fiant pessi, fiant unctiones, fiant cataplasmata, dentur elinctoria, dentur masticatoria, fiant gargarismata, fiant sacculi, fiant fumi, dentur condita, dentur syropi, dentur aquae, exhibeantur teriacalia.' The translation of 1569 has 'pitche clothes' for 'pessi', but cannot have been the source of the present passage, as it has English equivalents for most of the terms.

P. 257, 753. *Masticatoria*] Read, probably, '*Masticatoria*'.

764. *Nihil violentum perpetuum*] The saying, in various forms, was common ; cf. Professor Moore Smith's note (and addendum) on *Pedantius*, l. 1556. In *Aristotelis Sententiae . . . Selectissimae*, 1556, p. 71 'Nullum violentum est perpetuum' is given as from *De Caelo*, lib. ii. I presume that cap. 3. Ι οὐθὲν γὰρ παρά φύσιν ἀδίον, is referred to ; cf. also cap. 14. 1. As explained by Professor Moore Smith, the saying refers to the distinction of *motus naturalis* and *motus violentus* or *praeter naturam*.

777. *prandum caninum*] See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 10. 39, and Aul. Gel. xiii. 30.

779. *ship of fooles*] Collier remarks upon the obvious allusion to the *Stultifera Navis* of Brandt.

P. 258, 783. *Ned foole*] Presumably the name of the household fool ; possibly, however, a mere general term, like 'Tom-fool'.

784. *sixpence*] Grosart, or rather B. Nicholson, took this as the nickname of a page (*Nashe, Wks.*, vi. xxix) ; but, unless I am mistaken, I have seen the word used as a name for a dog, which would give the better sense here.

786. *The foxe, though he weares a chayne*] B. Nicholson thought there was reference to a tame fox which ran about the house.

799-800] I print this as prose, being doubtful how much, if any, is intended as verse.

804, &c.] Collier quotes the chorus of the Second Three-man's song, prefixed to Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*, 1600: 'Trowle the boll, the iolly Nut-browne boll, And here kind mate to thee . . .' and says 'It seems probable that this was a harvest-home song, usually sung by reapers in the country: the chorus or burden, "Hooky, hooky," &c., is still heard in some parts of the kingdom, with this variation :

"Hooky, hooky, we have shorn,
And bound what we did reap,
And we have brought the harvest home,
To make bread good and cheap."

Which is an improvement, in as much as harvests are not brought home to town.'

806. *with a poupe and a lerry*] Apparently a meaningless phrase suggested by 'litipoop', for which see note on ii. 309. 21.

P. 259, 823. *Anon, anon, sir*] Collier refers to Francis, the drawer in i *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 29, 41, &c.

824-5. *leaue is light*] Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 42, and Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 13. Mr. Crawford also refers me to Bacon's *Promus*, No. 947 (ed. Mrs. Potts, p. 313), and Ben Jonson's *Love's Welcome* (ed. Gifford, 1873, p. 660 b).

826. *mowe*] There is apparently the same pun on the two senses of 'mow' in Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 227. 11.

P. 260, 836. *almes*] Disyllabic here, but cf. 286. 1676.

838-40] The meaning is, I suppose, that the hinds and beggars only cry for small beer and coarse bread, but even that is denied. Hazlitt (not Collier) has 'the hind's and beggar's cry'—perhaps a misprint.

845. *my elbows eate wheate*] 'This expression must allude to the dress of Harvest, which has many ears of wheat about it in various parts. Will Summer, after Harvest goes out, calls him, on this account, "a bundle of straw", and speaks of his "thatched suit"' (ll. 941, 953), *Collier*.

852. *Sicke, sicke, and very sickel*] See Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 226. The tune (which was in print in 1597) probably belongs to a ballad entitled *Captain Car*, dealing with events which occurred in the year 1571, of which four lines are 'Sick, sick, and very sick, And sick and like to die; The sickest night that I abode, Good Lord, have mercy on me.' Apparently alluded to in *Much Ado*, III. iv. 41-2.

860. *pose*] Apparently joking on two meanings of the word, (1) a cold in the head, (2) a state of perplexity, but *N. E. D.* has only a single example of the noun in the latter sense, in 1616; as a verb it occurs in 1593.

860-1. *blow your nose, master constable*] An almost meaningless phrase of the same type as 'blurt, master constable'.

865. *O man in desperation*] See note on i. 265. 18-19.

867. *attract*] i. e. take in, 'swallow'; cf. ii. 168. 26 and i. 226. 31.

P. 261, 868. *nought seeke, nought haue*] Doubtless proverbial, but I can give no other early instance.

872. *stable table*] Possibly Harvest is intended to say 'at my stable', and then to correct the last word to 'table'.

878. *you heare with your haruest eares*] Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 154, 'You had on your harvest eares, thicke of hearing.' Mr. Crawford also compares Bacon's *Promus*, No. 674 (ed. Mrs. Potts, p. 252), 'Harvest ears (of a busy man)'.

886. *the Bakers loafe, that should waygh but sixe ounces*] I do not know what is meant by this; the weight of loaves was, of course, fixed by law, but it varied according to the price of wheat, and according to other considerations.

888-9. *Eate me . . . will*] 'In allusion to the ears of corn, straw, &c., with which he was dressed,' Hazlitt.

891. *hadst*] Collier apparently took 'thriue' in l. 901 as determining the time, and was therefore led to alter all past tenses in the passage to the present. But the past tenses predominate.

895. *hay-ree*] Hazlitt notes that in *John Bon and Mast Person* (Hazl. Pop. Poet. iv. 16) the expression used is 'haight, ree'. Cf. Heywood, *Fortune by Land and Sea*, Wks., ed. Pearson, vi. 384, 'Come, Ile go teach ye hayte and ree, gee and whoe, and which is to which hand' (*Cent. Dict.*, s. v. *whoa*). Cf. 'Hay gee' in i. 296. 12.

P. 262, 911. *and not to be spoken of*] Cf. iii. 90. 11.

929-30. *a hisse for a largesse*] i.e. 'a sss—for a large S.'

P. 268, 931. *Lundgis*] i.e. 'a long, slim, awkward fellow; a lout'; also 'a laggard, a lingerer', *N.E.D.*, which has examples from c. 1560. Collier notes that the word occurs in Baret's *Alveary*, 1580.

932. *charitie waxeth cold*] A phrase that may be regarded as proverbial. I suppose from Matt. xxiv. 12, but B. V. (1584) and G. V. both have 'love'. Cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 222. 7-8, 'the morning, like charity waxing cold . . .'

933-4. *put vp our pipes*] Cf. ii. 222. 11.

945. *Yeomans*] Probably Collier's reading is correct, but 'Yeoman' or 'Yeomans' may possibly be a proper name.

956-7. *the nature of let to draw straw vnto it*] Collier compares Sir T. Browne, *Pseud. Epid.*, b. ii, c. 4. Any number of allusions could of course be found.

P. 264, 968-71. *Mounsieur Mingo . . . Domingo*] In Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, A 4, 'Monsieur Domingo' is a name for a drunkard. Mr. Fleay, in *Biog. Chron.* ii. 145-6, commenting on the fact that at iii. 184. 8 'Domingo Rufus and Sacrapant [red-faced] Herring are made synonymous,' says 'Domingo or Domine Mingo is therefore a herring [cf. *Summer's Last Will*, Monsieur Mingo, and 2 *Henry IV*, V. iii. 79, "Sa[n] Mingo. Is't not so?"]', the great provocative to drink.' (The brackets are Mr. Fleay's.) The commentators on the Shakespearian passage state that Saint Domingo was the patron saint of topers, but I do not know on what evidence. Collier refers to the Shakespearian passage, and adds that 'to do a man right' was a technical expression in the art of drinking. It was the challenge to pledge.

976. *animus in patinis*] Terence, *Eun.* iv. 7. 46; 'his mind is on his dinner' as Bernard translates it.

P. 265, 984, 988. *giue . . . Giue*] i. e. if you give; not, as Hazlitt and Grosart seem to have taken it, an imperative.

991-2. *vinum esse fomitem . . . virtutisque*] See Aulus Gellius, xv. 2. 1, with ‘*incitabulum*’ instead of ‘*incitabilem*’, also, with ‘*ignitabulum*’ for the same word, in Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 8, § 4. See Plato, *Laws*, ii, pp. 666 and 671.

992-3. *Nulla est . . . dementiae*] Aristot. *Problem.* 30 (beginning); cf. Seneca, *De Tranq. An.* 15. 16 ‘sive Aristotelii [credimus] Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit.’ Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 101 (Latin text), where it is quoted as from Aristotle in the words used by Nashe, ‘Nullam magnam esse scientiam absque mixtura dementiae’.

995-6. *Qui bene vult poyein . . . pinyen*] Cf. iii. 321. 30-1. I have not met with the saying elsewhere.

996-7. *Prome, . . . prome*] Apparently a line from some drinking song.

997-8. *Nunc est bibendum . . . pulsanda*] Hor. *Carm.* i. 37. 1-2, *Coll.*

999. *Rendouow*] Grosart, s.v. in Gloss. Ind., says that ‘Rendezvous’, which Collier printed, gives no sense, and that he has therefore ‘printed “Rendez vous”, supposing it addressed to the butler or attendant who brings him the wine=“give it me”’. As a matter of fact, he has printed ‘Rendezvous’ in brackets after the original reading. That the reading which he proposes could not bear the interpretation which he puts upon it, is, of course, no argument that it was not intended to do so, but it seems more probable that the word as here used was connected with some drinking custom.

1003. *Fœcundi calices . . . disertum*] Hor. *Epist.* i. 5. 19.

aut epi, aut abi] I do not understand ‘epi’. The usual form of the saying is ‘Aut bibat, aut abeat’; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 41. 118, and Erasmus, *Adag.*, chil. i, cent. 10. 47. Erasmus also gives the form ἡ πίθη, ἡ ἄπιθη, which he uses in his *Colloquia*, ‘Conviv. Prof.’ (ed. 1676, E 1v). The phrase was inscribed—in what language is not stated—in or upon the Dolphin Inn at Cambridge; see Mercurius Britannicus, *The Discovery of a New World* [1620?], p. 65 margin.

1007. *Vinum quasi venenum*] For a large collection of instances of the bringing together of these words—sometimes in jest, sometimes seriously—see T. Gataker’s *Adversaria Miscellanea*, 1659, pp. 50-1. Among these see especially Isid. *Etymol.* xx. 3.

1009. *Try-lill*] See note on iii. 194. 1.

1009-10. *the hütters hoope*] See i. 205. 7.

1010-11. *Alexander . . . an arrant drunkard*] Cf. Athenaeus, x. 45, Pliny, *H. N.* xiv. 7. Others seem not to regard him as an habitual drunkard, though of course several drinking-bouts are recorded.

1014. *Our vintage was a vintage*] Something must be wrong with the text, but I can propose no emendation.

1014-15. *work vpon the aduantage*] i. e. have a good chance, or take all possible advantages. Cf. i. 348. 21-2.

P. 266, 1020-1. *a good fellow . . . purse*] ‘A line out of a ballad’, Hazlitt. Rather, I think, a modification of some such phrase as ‘a man is a man, though he have but a hose on his head’; cf. i. 307. 10.

1023. *Proselite*] Apparently used in the limited sense of a convert to Judaism.

1026. *A fabis abstinentum*] This is, of course, one of the group of enigmatical precepts supposed to have been given by Pythagoras to his disciples. A long discussion of this and the other 'symbola' will be found in the *Adagia* of Erasmus; see chil. i, cent. I. 2, § 8. Referred to several times by Plutarch (see *De Educ. Puer.* 17); also Diog. Laert. viii. I. 18. 19, Pliny, *H.N.* xviii. 30, Aul. Gell. iv. 11, and by many others.

1031. *built like a round church*] Cf. i. 200. 1. Perhaps we should read 'that belly, built'.

1037. *mycher*] i.e. truant, petty thief—used in various somewhat vague contemptuous senses. Examples in *N.E.D.* from before 1225. Cf. notes on i *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 450.

1038. *stand me*] Possibly 'stand to me'.

1039. *vpsy freese, crosse, ho, super nagulū*] Cf. i. 205. 7-8. I cannot learn whether 'crosse' belongs to 'vpsy freese' or whether it should be regarded as an altogether separate term. Hazlitt explains 'upsy freeze' as Friesland beer, referring to *Pop. Antig.* ii. 259. For 'super nagulum' Collier refers to Jonson's *Case is Altered*, IV. iii; and Hazlitt to his *Proverbs*, 1869, p. 271.

1042. *giue me the disgrace*] By refusing to pledge him; cf. i. 205. 15-16.

1044. *cold beere makes good bloud*] A parody of the current saying 'good wine makes good blood'; cf. note on ii. 308. 12-13.

S. George for Englād] 'The common cry of the English soldiers in attacking an enemy', Collier, who gives instances.

P. 267, 1048. *husty tusty*] This looks like an error for 'hufty-tufty', used by Nashe at iii. 73. 12 and 174. 5.

1049. *flye fine meale in the Element*] I cannot explain the meaning of this.

1051. *Pupillonian*] Grosart notes 'from Latin *pupillo*=one who cries like a peacock'. This seems to require proof.

1052. *cast of martins &c a whiffe*] I do not know what is meant by this. 'Cast' is, of course, a couple—properly of hawks, but used occasionally of other creatures; 'martin' may be a kind of monkey; cf. i. 207. 34.

1053. *Captaine Rinocerotry*] Grosart says 'I presume that W. Summers being a lean man, he calls him so by way of playfully drunken irony. Cf. Arinin's *Nest of Ninnies*, "Capt. Rhinoceros". I cannot find the expression in Armin—nor does Grosart's explanation seem satisfactory.'

1058. *dogs head in the pot*] Mr. Crawford points out that this alludes to the story of Lycurgus and the two dogs told by Plutarch in *De Educ. Puerorum* 4 and *Apophth. Lacon.* Lycurgus 1; see Lyly's *Euphues*, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 263. 35, &c. It was, however, used as a mere term of abuse—for a glutton; cf. *Bonduca*, I. ii (Beaumont & Fletcher, ed. Dyce, v. 18); and, perhaps, *Faustus* ix. 52-3 (ed. Breymann (1604), 1029-30). Was it also an inn-sign? Cf. Erasmus, *Coll. Fam.* Πτωχοπλούσιοι (Franciscani) near beginning, 'In tabula pensili [of a certain inn] videbitis canem os inferentem in ollam', and Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 71. 2-3, 'try it out by the teeth at the signe of the Dogs-head in the pot.'

1068. *Toy*] Collier remarks: 'From the insertion of *Toy* in this

song instead of *Mingo*, as it stands on the entrance of Bacchus and his companions, we are led to infer that the name of the actor who played the part of Will Summer was *Toy*: if not, there is no meaning in the change. Again, at the end of the piece, the Epilogue says in express terms: “The great fool *Toy* hath marr’d the play”, to which Will Summers replies, “Is’t true, Jackanapes? Do you serve me so?” &c. [Cf. also l. 10 where Will Summer seems to jest on the name.] Excepting by supposing that there was an actor of this name, it is not very easy to explain the following expressions by Gabriel Harvey, as applied to Greene, in his *Four Letters and certain Sonnets*, 1592, the year when Nash’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament* was performed: “They wronge him much with their Epitaphs, and other solemne deuises, that entitle him not at the least, The second Toy of London; the Stale of Poules . . .” [G.H., *Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 189].

P. 268, 1074. *damn'd-borne*] Hazlitt’s reading ‘horn drunkenness’ is, I suppose, intended as a nonce-compound made on the analogy of ‘horn madness’. It is ingenious and certainly gives a kind of sense, but I much doubt if the expression is a possible one.

1093. *Nipitaty*] See note on i. 255. 11.

1102. *white wine*] Cf. i. 327. 32-3 and note.

P. 269, 1109. *a snuffe*] Cf. i. 208. 17-18, and note.

1110. *flocks*] Cf. i. 207. 12.

P. 270, 1141. *Non peccat quicunq; . . . negare*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 14. 5 ‘. . . quaecunque . . .’.

1144. *Quos credis . . . eris*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 752.

1146. *Totidem domi . . . seruos*] See Seneca, *Epist.* 47. 3 and Macrob. *Sat.* i. 11. 13, also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 3. 31. Perhaps immediately from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 67 (ed. 1609, V 5^v), where it occurs in exactly the same form as here.

1148. *Seruus necessaria . . . dulcis*] Perhaps from C. Agrippa, u. s. (V 5) ‘Et Democritus inquit: Seruus necessaria possessio, non autem dulcis’.

1150. *had I wist*] Cf. iii. 26. 15.

1152-3. *Except the Cammell . . . on*] I do not know whence Nashe took this.

1154-6. *Tyresias . . . tooke*] See Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 346-8.

1167. *trace*] i.e., apparently, raise; the word is not otherwise known to me.

1168. *as, like*] Hazlitt notes ‘Old copy, *as this, like*’. This is not the reading of any copy of the quarto which I have seen, nor is it Collier’s.

1168-9. *like the Lapwing . . . dung*] Perhaps from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 83, trans. 1569, fol. 145^v, [Physicians] ‘like the lapwinge a filthy birde, doo builde their neste of mannes ordure’. The Latin more correctly has *upupa*, the hoopoe; cf. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* iii. 26; but the two birds seem to have been commonly confused; see a quotation from Ray in *N.E.D.* s. v. hoopoe.

1170-1. *like . . . cries*] See note on iii. 58. 1.

P. 271, 1173. *Dumbe swannes . . . pies*] From *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet 54, ‘Dumb swans, not chattering pies, do lovers prove.’

1174-5.] Probably from Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 395-401.

1181-4.] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 45, trans. 1569,

fol. 58^v, 'and bicause Women be more desirous of secretes and lesse aduisd, and enclined to superstitions and be more easily begiled, [therefore they [i. e. the Devils] sooner appeare to them,—ed. 1575] and do great miracles'. Cf. i. 16. 30 and note.

1200. *every*] Hazlitt's 'envy' is probably right.

1203. *Sinon*] It is hardly necessary to refer to the constant use in Elizabethan literature of the name of Sinon as that of a typical traitor; cf.—among many instances—*Sol. and Pers.* II. i. 95, V. ii. 79, and Lyly's *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 232. 13.

P. 272, 1214. *Seruos fideles liberalitas facit*] From a supplementary scene to Plautus's *Aulularia* (ed. Valpy, 1829, p. 319, ll. 31–3):

‘Sic servitutem ulciscuntur servi mali
Risu iocisque. Sic ergo concludo, quod
Servos fideles liberalitas facit.’

The immediate source is probably C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* (Latin text), cap. 67 (ed. 1609, V 5^v–6).

1219–22] See i. 359. 34, but I cannot learn of the existence of the practice in Ireland. Did Nashe perchance write 'Iceland'?

1223. *wind*] See note on i. 359. 32–3.

P. 273, 1255–7. *When Cerberus . . . Aconitum*] See Pliny, *H.N.* xxvii. 2; but he does not say that ink was made from it.

1260. *secretarie to the Gods*] Cf. iii. 331. 8–9.

P. 274, 1272–91.] There is some general resemblance—thooug of course the tone is quite different—to Puttenham's *Art of Poesy*, i. 4, 'How Poets were the first Philosophers, the first Astronomers and Historiographers', &c.

1282–3.] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 49, trans. 1569, fol. 63^v–4, 'The Poetes firste professed this [i. e. the investigation of nature], of the which they say that *Prometheus*, *Linus*, *Museus*, *Orpheus* and *Homer* were the firste inuentours'. A good deal of this speech, with the two speeches of Winter that follow, may be derived from Agrippa.

1284. *Fama . . . vilum*] Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 174 ' . . . non aliud velocius . . . ', as noted by Collier.

1292. *Pithagoras the silencer*] On admission to the school of Pythagoras novices were compelled to remain silent for a certain time, in order chiefly to train them in self-control (*An. Gel.* i. 9); Iamblichus says for five years (*Pythag. Vit.* 17. 72).

1293–9] Apparently made up from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 50 and cap. 53. See trans. 1569 (fol. 64^v), 'For *Thales Milesius* . . . woulde, that all thinges shoulde be made of water. *Anaximander* . . . that the beginniges of thinges be infinite: *Anaximenes* his scholler affirmed that the ayre was an infinite beginninge of thinges': (fol. 70–70^v) ' *Thales the Milesian* saide that God was a minde, whiche hath made al things of water: *Cleanthes* and *Anaximenes*, saide that the aire was God. . . . *Crotoniates Alcmeon*, saide that the Sunne, Moone, and the other starres were Gods': (fol. 70) ' *Xenocrates* saide that there were eight Gods.' *Crotoniates Alcmeon* was of course a single person, Alcmeon of Crotona, but I have allowed the comma to remain, being doubtful whether Nashe did not regard him as two.

P. 275, 1306–7. *Diogenes . . . Cell*] See ii. 237. 30–5.

1315. *souldiers*] Cf. ii. 155. 34, &c. Collier notes that such soldiers, or pretended soldiers, are frequent characters in our old comedies, and instances Lieutenant Maweworm and Ancient Hautboy in *A Mad World, my Masters*, and Captain Face in *Ram-Alley*.

1332. *lowe gods*] i. e. dii minores—*Hazlitt*.

1338. *buy gape-seede*] i. e. go sight-seeing. Mr. Crawford refers me to the *Entertainment to the Queen at Harefield*, printed in Lyly's *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 491. 14 'Gods my life, what make you heere, gadding and gazinge after this manner? You come to buy gape-seede, doe you?' and to Florio's *Montaigne*, ed. Morley (1886), iii. 9, p. 482 ^a, 'such as gather stubble (as the common saying is) or looke about for gape-seed.' Still in use; cf. W. B. Maxwell, *Vivien* [1905], pp. 87, 9, 131 foot.

P. 276, 1341. *times, cunning*] So punctuated in Q and by modern editions. Perhaps we should read 'times' cunning'. Neither gives a quite satisfactory sense.

1343. *Pedlers French*] i. e. as Collier notes, the cant language used by vagabonds. Examples in *N.E.D.* from 1530.

1351. *farre*] Grosart reads 'faire', and in his glossary, under 'faire ("day after the faire")', has the curious explanation 'Blacke Prince [faire]—qy. named after some London hotel?'

1369. *That will for twelue pence make a doughtie fray*] Cf. the 'little swaggerer, called Blache Davie, who would at sword and buckler fight with any gentleman or other for twelve pence'; *Tarlton's Jests* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 197.

P. 277, 1377. *inkehorne termes*] Collier has a long note on the expression, in which he quotes from *Churchyard's Choice*, E e 1, and from Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, 1553, fol. 86 (ed. 1560, fol. 83), but it is too common to need illustration. The *N.E.D.* has examples from 1543. See also Fulwood's *Enemy of Idleness*, 1568, B 4^v; Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 260 (on Hall's *Chronicle*); Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, D 8; also index to Prof. Gregory Smith's *Eliz. Crit. Essays*.

1380. *Fismenus non nasatus*] Nashe doubtless took this from the *Philotimus* of Brian Melbancke, 1583, a work from which he quoted several passages in the *Anatomy of Absurdity* (i. 15–16), see K 1^v, 'Fismenus non Nasutus, who hauing no smell, was hired for a wager to liue a whole yeare in a paire of Lakes.' Nashe's 'nasatus' is evidently a mere misprint, which I should have altered had I found the source in time. The ultimate authority for the story is unknown to me.

1386. *Hunc os fætidum*] Cf. i. 189. 1. For 'Hunc' a friend suggests 'Huic'.

1397–1416.] Cf. iii. 177. 1–4.

1400. *Cortigiana*] It would be natural to suppose that Pietro's play of this name is meant; yet, especially if we adopt Hazlitt's emendation of 'teacheth', the *Raggionamenti*, particularly pt. 2, day 3, seems to fit the description better. Nanna, the chief speaker in the dialogue, is an old courtesan. Cf. also C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63, trans. 1569, fol. 95, 'I haue newly seene and reade a booke writen in the Italian tongue, intituled *La Cortigiana*, and printed in Venice, a Dialoge of the Arte of Whoores, most dishonest of all others . . .' Agrippa cannot, however, be referring to Pietro's work, as neither of the above-mentioned pieces was in print at the date.

toucheth] I believe Hazlitt's emendation to be correct, but leave the old reading as being possible.

1403. *Platina*] i. e. Bartholomaeus Sacchi, whose work called *Opu-seulum de Obsoniis ac Honesta Voluptate*, and afterwards *De Tuenda Valetudine, Natura Rerum et Popinae Scientia*, was frequently printed from 1475 onwards. He is mentioned by Agrippa, op. cit. fol. 154^v.

1406. *de arte bibendi*] The work of V. Obsopaeus, first published in 1536. Hazlitt notes 'The "Ebrietatis Encomium"'. I do not know to what he refers. Cf. note on iii. 177. 4.

1408. *sloth*] I cannot say what is referred to, unless perhaps the little collection of pithy sayings, &c., entitled *The Lord Marques Idlenes*, published in 1586, by William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester—but of course this was not in praise of sloth. Hazlitt suggests the *Image of Idleness*; see his *Handbook*, pp. 291, 693.

P. 278, 1410. *praise of nothing*] Hazlitt supposed Dyer's work to be meant; cf. note on iii. 177. 19-20. Collier thought the allusion was to a poem of Francisco Coppetta, 'Capitolo nel quale si lodano le Non-covelle.'

1412. *baldnesse*] See note on iii. 176. 29.

1414-15. *Slouenrie . . . Sodomitrie*] See notes on iii. 177. 4, and 2. Della Casa was never actually a Cardinal though he made great efforts to become one.

1415-16. Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63, trans. 1569, fol. 95, 'albeit the greate Aristotle dothe commede it.'

1418. *tales*] Should we not read 'tables'?

1419.] Mr. Crawford, noting that the saying is a commonplace, refers me to 2 *Hen. VI*, III. ii. 45, 'Hide not thy poison with such sugared words.'

1426. *Vox populi, vox Dei*] The saying is older than the eighth century, but its actual source is unknown; see Mr. W. F. H. King's *Class. and For. Quotations*. It is quoted by C. Agrippa in *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 55 (ed. 1609, O 6^v), whence it was perhaps borrowed by Nashe.

1428-9. *Yet Tully saith . . . differentia*] See *Cn. Planc.* 4. 9, with 'diligentia', not 'differentia'. Perhaps taken from C. Agrippa, u. s. (O 8-8^v).

1431-6. *Themistocles . . . learnt*] Cic. *De Orat.* ii. 74. 299 and 86. 351; *De Fin.* 32. 104. Perhaps by way of C. Agrippa, op. cit. cap. 10.

1437-9. *Cicero . . . learning*] See C. Agrippa, op. cit., cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4, 'Valerius saith, that Cicero him selfe, the moste abundant welspringe of Learninge, despised it at length.' Not, I think, in *Val. Max.*

P. 279, 1445-6. *Discite . . . sequi*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 8. 25-6, *Coll. Cf. i. 157* marg.

1448. *sluggards*] The first character is probably a broken ff in Q.

1467. *spanne Counter*] A game in which one player having thrown a counter to a certain distance the other tries to throw his near it, or at least within the distance of a span. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. Cox, p. 304.

1467-8 *Iacke in a boxe*] The name of some gambling game. The only other example of this sense in *N. E. D.* dates from 1664.

1470. *squitter-booke*] Collier quotes from *The Two Ital. Gent.*, and from *This World's Folly*, by I. H., 1615; cf. note on ii. 248. 27.

1476. *In speech*] See note on i. 305. 18.

P. 280, 1490. *He erres alone, in error that persists*] Perhaps based on the saying 'Humanum est peccare, sed perseverare diabolicum'. See St. Augustine in Migne's *Patr. Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 901-2 'Humanum fuit errare, diabolicum est per animositudinem in errore manere'; the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus, in Erasm. *Adag.*, ed. 1574, ii. 415, under 'Errare humanum est', and King's *Class. Quot.* under the same.

1506. *Back-winter*] i. e. a return of winter after the regular time. In *N.E.D.* the earliest example is from *Lenten Stuff*, iii. 165. 29.

1507. *slippery*] The first character is probably a broken ff in Q.

1511. *pinch-back*] *N.E.D.* explains 'one who pinches his own or another's back, by stinting it of proper clothing', the present example being the only one given. But is it not rather a form of, or an error for, 'pinch-beck' or '-beke', a miserly, close-fisted person, of which *N.E.D.* has examples in 1545 and 1552?

P. 281, 1517. *none*] i. e. own, very common earlier, but at this date limited more or less to familiar affectionate phrases such as the present. Cf. *N.E.D.* s. v. own a. 1 e and b.

1518. *like . . . taketh*] i. e., apparently, takes after him.

1523. *goodneere*] Cf. ii. 84. 2, 'goe good and neere to out-shoulder them,' i. e. very near.

1533-41.] This is not from the Biblical account of Nebuchadnezzar, and I have been unable to discover its source. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, however, mentions some analogous legends of the exhumation by Evilmerodach of his father's body, for the purpose of assuring the populace of his death. Perhaps taken by Nashe from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 44, trans. 1569, fol. 56v, 'whose [i. e. Nebuchadnezzar's] body after his death, *Euilmoradath* [Evilmerodach in Lat. ed. 1609] his sonne gaue to the rauens to be deuoured, leste at any time he might rise from death, who of a beaste became eftsoones a man.' Also, from Agrippa, in Scot's *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 102.

1543. *Caualiere*] i. e. a swaggering fellow. Cf. Greene's *Quip, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 217. 18-19, 'certain Italianate Contes, humorous Caualiers, youthful Gentlemen, and *Inamorati gagliardi*.' In common use, both in a good sense (a soldier) and a bad.

good fellow] Collier, commenting on the ironical use of 'good fellow' quotes Lord Brooke's *Caēlica*, sonnet 30, 'Good fellows, whom men commonly doe call, Those that do live at warre with truth and shame', and Heywood's *i Edward IV*, sig. E 4, 'King Ed.: Why, dost thou not love a good fellow? Hobs: No, good fellows be thieves.' Cf. note on i. 204. 29.

P. 282, 1548. *wilde oates*] Examples in *N.E.D.* from 1576.

1567. *Harry Baker*] Collier points out that this must have been the name of the actor who played Vertumnus. Possibly a joke on his name is intended in l. 1716.

1568-9. *in a country*] See note on i. 324. 12.

P. 283, 1590. *ayre*] It is to be hoped that Nashe meant 'ayre', but I cannot help strongly suspecting that the true reading is 'hayre', which gives a more obvious, but far inferior, sense.

P. 284, 1622. *batch*] Collier remarks, somewhat unnecessarily, that the joke consists in the similarity of sound between 'dispatch' and 'batch'.

1629. *pad*] i. e. toad, borrowed from the phrase 'a pad in the straw'; see note on i. 123. 11-12.

P. 285, 1645. *Milo*] See note on i. 43. 37.

1646-7. *Sybarites . . .*] Cf. iii. 189. 21, margin, and note.

1652-3. *a city that was underminde . . . by Mowles*] Cf. Lyly's *Euphues, Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 249. 27-9, 'there was a Towne in Spayne vndermined with Connyses, in Thessalia, with Mowles, with Frogges in Fraunce, in Africa with Flyes.' See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 43, as noted by Mr. Bond.

1654.] Possibly we should read 'bid me a whole faire of beggers to dinner euery day'. If not 'bid me to dinner' must mean 'demand dinner from me'. The passage seems to have been variously interpreted by editors.

1655. *making legges*] Collier considered that the expression was appropriated to the awkward bowing of the lower class. He quotes *The Death of Rob. E. of Hunt.*, III. v (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 284), where one Will Brand, a vulgar assassin, being introduced to the king, the stage direction is 'Make Legs'. The examples in *N.E.D.*, s. v. *leg, sb.*, 4, do not seem to indicate that any special awkwardness was implied.

P. 286, 1678. *sheriffes tub*] Apparently a tub kept for the reception of leavings of food, &c., to be distributed among the poor. Cf. Massinger's *City Madam*, I. i. 115, where 'the sheriff's basket' is mentioned. Cf. the 'wast beere in the almes tub' at 269. 1135.

1688-94.] The list given by Aulus Gellius, vii. 16, from Varro is quoted by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, chap. 89, and perhaps forms the basis of this passage, though the differences are considerable.

1697. *Liberalitas liberalitate perit*] See ii. 274. 6-7 and note.

1697-8. *loue me a little and loue me long*] Hazlitt notes that this occurs in Heywood's *Epigrams*, 1562. It is also in his *Proverbs*, ed. Sherman, p. 98. Mr. Crawford refers me to *The Jew of Malta*, IV. vi. 29.

1698. *feede*] Professor Moore Smith suggests 'fende', which gives a far better sense and is, I think, almost certainly correct.

1702-3. *three halfe-pence*] It is surely unlikely that no price would be given for the first item, and that the price for the second should stand before it. I suppose that Christmas breaks off suddenly without giving the price of the second.

P. 287, 1722. *snudge*] i. e. miser. Collier quotes Wilson's *Art of Rhet.*, 1553, fol. 67 (ed. 1560, fol. 62), 'a snudge or pynche-penny,' and fol. 86 (82^v), 'Some riche snudges, having great wealth, go with their hose out at heelles, their shoes out at toes, and their cotes out at both elbowes . . .'

1731. *breathe*] i. e. let it out into the open air.

P. 288, 1745. *Lēto*] i. e. idle, lazy (*Ital.*), *Collier*.

1752. *What, should*] Hazlitt omitted the comma, perhaps intentionally. Grosart in *Gloss. Index*, s. v. *stand*, says that he retains it as not sure that an equivoque was intended. Possibly Vertumnus speaking the words 'Stand forth' with emphasis, as a crier, and perhaps

also with outstretched hand, Back-winter takes him to say ‘Stand! Forth!’—two contradictory orders. A poor jest, but I can perceive no other.

P. 289, 1781. *O scelus inauditum, O vox damnatorum*] Not found.

1790-1. *Ouid . . . Zoane*] *Tristia*, iii. 10; iii. 13. 11-12, and elsewhere.

1795. *Hippotades*] There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the correct reading, though the misprint is a curious one. Hippotades was a name of Aeolus, as being a descendant of Hippotes. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 663, and elsewhere.

P. 290, 1802] Mr. Crawford points out that, save for two words, this repeats *Edward II*, V. v. 71, ‘I see my tragedy written in thy brows.’

1814-15. *Let there be a fewe rushes laide*] Collier refers for the rushes to *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 36, and says that it is evident that Back-winter makes a resistance before he is forced out, and falls down in the struggle.

1820. *holde the booke well*] Collier refers to the mention of the ‘book-holder’, i. e. prompter, in *Cynthia’s Revels*, Induction.

P. 291, 1836-9] I keep the readings and punctuation of Q in these lines, not seeing any improvement in the emendations proposed.

P. 292, 1881. *The want of Terme*] Collier here notes that this fixes the date when the play was performed ‘viz., during Michaelmas Term, 1593’ when the term was held at St. Alban’s. In the errata in vol. xii he corrected the date, 1593, to 1592. Hazlitt, however, in reprinting Collier’s note, kept 1593. See introductory note on date.

1884. *This lowe built house*] B. Nicholson (Nashe, ed. Grosart, vi. xxix-xxx) quotes a remark of Henry VIII that a certain house (Oxford) ‘standeth low and is rheumatick, like unto Croydon, where I could never be without sickness’. Pictures of the palace are given by Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, i. 385, 331.

What with damp and smoke the whole district of Croydon seems to have been far from pleasant at this date; see Patrick Hannay’s *Songs and Sonnets*, song 8 (*Nightingale*, &c., 1622, R 2v-3).

P. 293, 1894-5. *to get him audacity*] Cf. Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*, ed. Sh. Soc., 1841, p. 28, where, speaking of the acting of plays at Cambridge, he says ‘This it [qy. is] held necessary for the emboldening of their junior schollers to arme them with audacity against they come to bee employed in any publicke exercise. . . . It teacheth audacity to the bashfull grammarian . . .’

1898. *poutch*] ‘Name of some game,’ *N.E.D.*, with no other example.

1901. *Vlisses, a Dwarffe*] Cf. iii. 184. 36, where he is called ‘the prudent dwarfe of Pallas’.

1902-3. *Pigmee . . . Cranes*] It is perhaps hardly necessary to refer to II. iii. 3-6, and Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 2.

1908-9] Possibly we should read ‘by me (the agent) for their imperfections’, but I think the sense is ‘the person who acts on behalf of these bunglers’.

1915. *Sweetings*] i. e. sweet apples as distinguished from crabs.

1916. *Nemo sapit omnibus horis*] Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 41 (King, *Class. Quot.*). See also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 4. 29.

1917. *Nothing can kill an Asse but colde*] Cf. ii. 229. 12-13.

P. 294, 1921-5.] Repeated almost verbally in ii. 107. 2-6; see note there.

1930. *Sis bonus, O, fælixque tuis*] Verg. *Ecl. v. 65. Coll.*

1931-3. *Vulcan . . . hall*] See ii. 342. 32, and note.

1941-4.] Cf. i. 185. 7-8, and ii. 275. 2-3. For the lion being afraid of fire cf. Pliny, *H.N. viii. 19*; Ael. *Nat. Anim. vi. 22*.

P. 295, 1954-5.] Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 10. 37.

LATIN VERSES ON ECCLESIASTICUS 41. 1.

P. 298. In cases where the facsimile differs in punctuation from the printed text the latter is correct.

P. 299. Not much need, or can, be said about the ten scholars of the Lady Margaret foundation whose poems have been preserved with those of Nashe. A few particulars may, however, be gathered from two lists of the graduates and undergraduates resident in Cambridge in the years 1581 (Oct. 29) and 1588, preserved in Lansdowne MSS. 33. 43 and 57. 92. Unfortunately one is too early and the other too late to include all the students, and, as surnames alone are given, the indentification is in some cases doubtful, even though the names are arranged by colleges. The persons mentioned below are of course all members of St. John's.

1. *Joannes Archer*] Undergraduate in 1581, studying Dialectica under Mr. Johnes.

2. *Guilielmus Bailie*] 'Mr. Baily' was under Dr. Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity, in 1588.

3. *Joannes Conierus*] A 'Conyers se.' and 'Conyers iu.' were both studying under Mr. Gould, Professor of Rhetoric, in 1581, as undergraduates. In the *Calendar of State Papers* this name is given as 'Comer', but, I think, wrongly. I can find no student of the name of 'Comer' or 'Comers'.

4. *Lionel Ducket*] A 'Mr. Ducket' was Professor of Dialectics in 1588. He is presumably the Lionel Ducket of Westmorland who was born c. 1565; matr. 1579; scholar on the Lady Margaret's foundation Nov. 5, 1579; performed in Legge's tragedy of *Richard III* in 1579-80; B. A. 1582-3; fellow of Jesus College, 1585; M. A. 1586; died 1603 (Cooper, *Ath. Camb.* ii. 354, 553).

5. *Guilielmus Harris*] A 'Harris' attended the lectures of Mr. Johnes in 1581, and the name occurs also in the list of those under Mr. Gould in the same year. In 1588 a 'Mr. Harris sen.' and a 'Mr. Harris iun.' were both studying under Dr. Whitaker.

6. *Robertus Mills*] I cannot find this name in the lists.

7. *Rodolphus Smithe*] There are two undergraduates and a Master of Arts in the 1581 list and a 'D^o Smith' in that of 1588.

8. *Guilielmus Mottershed*] A 'D^o Metershed' was in 1588 attending philosophy lectures under Mr. Rowly.

9. *Thomas Nashe*] In 1588 he was also attending philosophy lectures.

10. *Guilielmus Orwell*] In 1588 he was attending the same lectures as Mottershed and Nashe.

11. *Thomas Wilsonus*] In 1581 a 'Wilson' and a 'Wilson iu.'

were studying Rhetoric under Mr. Gould. The one here mentioned is presumably the Thomas Wilson who was B.A. of St. John's College in 1583 and M.A. at Trinity Hall in 1587. He translated G. de Montemayor's *Diana* in 1596, and was Keeper of the Records at Whitehall from 1606 until his death in 1629. He was knighted in 1618 (*D.N.B.*)

Heading of verses *Eccle.*] It may be questioned whether the final character of the word should not be transliterated as *us*, 'Ecclus.' being the usual abbreviation; so perhaps the 'Nashe' of the signature should be 'Nashus'; in the word 'Fundatrice', however, the same character evidently stands for a simple *e*. The stop after 'Eccle' is in the original; in the facsimile on p. 298 it has been omitted.

2 rapide] This should read 'rapide', i. e. rapidae.

cruciat] A mark, perhaps meant for a comma, after this word.

7. *Quos*] For Nashe's use of the accusative after 'fauet' cf. i. 158. 21 marg. 'Fortuna fauet fatuos.'

8. *perculit*] As all the other verbs are in the present tense one is tempted to read 'percutit' here, but the MS. certainly has *I.*

Signature *Nashe*] Possibly to be read 'Nashus,' as noted above.

PREFACE TO R. GREENE'S 'MENAPHON'.

Date of Composition.

In his *History of Eng. Dr. Poetry*, 1831, iii. 150, Collier says, 'We may conclude that Greene's *Menaphon*, printed in 1587 . . . appeared early in that year, because in Greene's *Euphues, his Censure to Philautus*, of the same date, it is mentioned as already in print'. Unfortunately he does not quote the passage, nor say where it occurs; nor, so far as I am aware, has any one ever found it. On the other hand, in Greene's Epistle to the Readers before *Menaphon* (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. 7. 13-15), *Euphues his Censure to Philautus* is mentioned as not only published but as having been well received. Until someone identifies the passage referred to by Collier it seems not unreasonable to suppose his statement to be a mere error, and the edition of *Menaphon* published in 1587 to be entirely imaginary. The reference, at 324. 27, to the *Anatomy of Absurdity* (ent. *S. R.* in 1588) as forthcoming need not disturb us, for that work was not published until 1589, most probably not until the end of the year, or even Feb. or March 1589-90 (see p. 1); nor need Grosart's argument (*Greene's Wks.*, i. 104) that 'If *Menaphon* 1589 had been the first edition, it would have had "Utriusque Acad. in Art. Mag."', a statement which is disposed of by a glance at Mr. Fleay's list of titles in *Biog. Chron.* i. 253.

In any case, as I have already said (iii. 306, note 1), there seems no reason whatever for thinking Nashe's *Preface* to have been written in 1587, while there are strong reasons for dating it 1589.

P. 300] I have called the work 'Preface to "Menaphon"', though it is properly an 'Epistle', simply to avoid the ambiguity of the term 'The Epistle to Menaphon'.

P. 311, 14-29.] The sense of these lines I take to be as follows. Our age is now grown so 'learned' that every common workman or ignorant boor tries to speak elegantly and adorns his language with

tags of Latin ; and this not because of the perfection of arts, i. e. not that these men are grown really learned, but because they imitate playwrights (or actors) whose sole care is fine language. But I do not blame these 'mechanical mates' so much as I do the tragedians whom they imitate, for these with their bragging blank verse think themselves superior to all other writers.

20. *Tragedians*] Probably writers of tragedy, but actors may be meant; similarly 'action' in the next line may mean the conduct of the plot, or acting.

23-4. *if they but once get Boreas by the beard and the heauenly Bull by the deaw-lap.*] It was pointed out by Simpson, *School of Sh.*, ii. 356, that this refers (or seems to refer) to *Menaphon* itself (Greene, ed. Grosart, vi. 119; ed. Arber, 74): 'Wee had, answered Doron, an Eaw amongst our Ramms, whose fleece was as white as the haire that grow on father *Boreas* chinne, or as the dangling deawlap of the siluer Bull.' He also remarks that in *The Taming of A Shrew*, Sc. ii, Kate is described as 'whiter than icy hair that grows on Boreas' chin'. See Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* i. 257 and ii. 32-3 for other possible allusions in the same passage of *Menaphon*.

26. *Art-masters*] A good deal turns on the significance of this word. It cannot, I think, here stand for 'Masters of Art', nor indicate that the persons attacked were members of a university. If this had been the meaning Greene himself—whose fondness for the use of his degree did not pass unnoticed—would have been included with those who are attacked. The ordinary sense of the word is one skilled in, or a professed master of, any art (cf. *N. E. D.* s.v. arts-master, and Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, bk. ii. p. 127, where a will of 1624 is quoted, leaving money to place boys 'with a Master or Art-Masters, as Glovers, Pinners, Shoomakers, or any other Occupation or Art'); here, I think, merely the masters who are imitated by the 'mechanical mates'. At 312. 26 it evidently means professed rhetoricians. With this passage compare i. 10. 3-4, 'they that obtrude themselves vnto vs, as the Authors of eloquence and fountains of our finer phrases.'

28. *better pennies*] Not, I think, better playwrights, but better writers generally. Nashe is, I believe, attacking tragedians and play-writing as a whole; cf. 312. 5-7, and especially the verses of 'Thomas Brabine' prefixed to *Menaphon* (Greene, vi. 31), which seem to be most important as explaining the general purport of Nashe's Preface :

'Come foorth you witts that vaunt the pompe of speach,
And striue to thunder from a Stage-mans throate :
View *Menaphon* a note beyond your reach ;
Whose sight will make your drumming descant doate :
Players auant, you know not to delight ;
Welcome sweete Shepheard; worth a Schollers sight.'

Hence I do not think that in the words 'the swelling bumbast of bragging blanke verse' Nashe is attacking particularly writers of blank-verse plays, as opposed to those in riming couplets, but that he is using 'blank verse' for dramatic writing generally. He may perhaps have been allured by the fascination of an alliterative phrase, but it must be remembered that practically the sole use of blank verse was in the drama.

Believing this I must of course abandon the widely received theory that the passage is an attack upon Marlowe. The general relation of Nashe to Marlowe, the affectionate language in which he refers to him, and his statement that he never abused him in his life (iii. 131. 15-16), render it necessary that we should have very strong reasons before assuming Marlowe to have been the object of attack. Two things, at least, we must prove: (1) that the use of blank verse for dramatic purposes was a subject of discussion at the time, and (2) that Marlowe was regarded as representative of the movement in its favour. As to the first of these, I greatly doubt whether blank verse was at first recognized as different in kind to riming verse, for the purposes, at least, of play-writing. If it had been, and had there been any sort of antagonism between the two kinds of verse, we should not have expected to find so many plays in which both are employed, nor perhaps should we have had the occasional rimed couplets or triplets which we find in *Tamburlaine* and other plays almost wholly in blank verse. Secondly, as to Marlowe himself; though we may now recognize the superiority of his blank verse to that of other writers of his day, this is by no means the same thing as showing that he was the leader of the movement. The lines prefixed to *Tamburlaine*, which have so often been quoted as a sort of declaration of war against rime (see, for example, Collier's *Eng. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 116; Dr. Ward's *Eng. Dr. Lit.* i. 326), seem to me to have nothing whatever to do with the matter. They are :

‘From iygging vaines of riming mother wits,
And such conceits as clownage keepes in pay,
Weele lead you to the stately tent of War...’

not, mark it, ‘Weele lead you to a statelier prosody’ or ‘to a better kind of verse’. The opposition is surely between the farcical play, or jig, and the serious drama dealing with heroic themes, and the prologue may well have been intended for a performance of *Tamburlaine* which succeeded an entertainment of a lighter sort, or the phrase may be merely a hit at a rival company of players. The word ‘riming’, though often used in its present sense, had also, more frequently, perhaps, a depreciatory meaning, being indeed simply equivalent to ‘rude or bad verse’; cf. i. 26. 14-15, where ‘riming’ is contrasted with ‘poetry’.

Joseph Hall’s *Virgidemiae*, 1597, i. 4. 1-4, where the ‘rhymeless numbers’ of ‘tragic poesy’ are attacked as ‘too popular,’ affords an interesting parallel to this passage of Nashe, but is too late to throw any light on his meaning.

P. 312, 5. *drumming decasillabon*] Cf. ‘drumming descant’ in ‘T. Brabine’s’ verses quoted above. In ‘drumming’ there is, I think, a side allusion to the drums used to announce theatrical performances.

7-8. *Schoolemen or Grammarians*] I am not sure that the addition of ‘Schoolemen or’ in 1610 (or after 1589) is an improvement. By ‘Grammarian’ is evidently meant one who has not got beyond grammar; cf. i. 25. 1-2, ‘a little Countrey Grammer knowledge.’ The addition of ‘Schoolemen’ makes the jest less apparent.

18. *temperatum dicendi genus*] See Cic. *Orat.* 28. 98; 6. 21. Prof. Gregory Smith compares *De Orat.* ii. 60. The phrase itself looks

like a recollection of *De Offic.* i. 1. 3 'vis enim maior in illis dicendi ; sed hoc quoque colendum est aequabile et temperatum orationis genus'.

22. *pilfries*] i. e. thefts, plagiarisms.

24-6] Alluded to, with ll. 32-3, in Chettle's *Kind-Heart's Dream*, ed. N. S. S. 61. 13-14 ('Robert Greene to Pierce Pennilesse'), 'Once thou commendedst immediate conceit, and gauest no great praise to excellent works of twelue yeres labour.'

32-3. *Maroes twelue yeeres toile*] I can learn of no authority for the twelve years; the pseudo-Donatus says 'Aeneida partim in Sicilia partim in Campania undecim annis conficit', Vergil, ed. Valpy, 1819, i. 12. Can Nashe have been thinking of Statius? Cf. *Theb.* xii. 811-12 'O mihi bissenos multum vigilata per annos Thebai.'

33. *Æneidos*] The use of 'Aeneidos' as if a nominative case was not uncommon; cf. *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, ii. 211. 14-15 (Harington), 'And what worke can serue this turne so fitly as Virgils *Æneados*.' It is presumably due to the 'Aeneidos . . . libri xii' of title-pages. Here, however, it seems not improbable that the word is a misprint for 'Aeneides'.

P. 313, i. *Peter Ramus*] Cf. note on i. 43. 34.

6. *present*] i. e. (?) ready.

16. *Nil dictum quod non dictum prius*] Terence, *Eun.* prol. 41 'Nullum est iam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius'. Cf. the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus in Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 409, for other examples of the use of the phrase, which was 'iactatum per Gallica compita dictum'.

24. *Sus Mineruam*] Cf. note on iii. 89. 14-15.

25. *Astin ad lyram*] Cf. Erasm. *Adag.*, chil. i, cent. 4. 35, and the phrase ὅντε λύπας in Aul. Gel. iii. 16.

29-31. (as *Strabo reporteth*) Strabo, xvi. 4. 19.

P. 314, 7. *sublime dicendi genus*] The expression is Quintilian's in *Inst. Or.* xi. 1. 3.

9. *Gothamists*] Cf. i. 10. 16. Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 124) seems to see in this, as well as in the 'Goates beards' of l. 6, an allusion to Kyd.

15. *Ioane of Brainfords will*] Ioane, or Ihon (1589) is evidently a slip of the pen for Gillian; see note on iii. 235. 78-9.

15-16. *the unlucky frumenty*] There is an imperfect copy of this poem in the same volume of tracts at the Bodleian as *Gillian of Brainford's Will*. At the end is 'Finis, quoth G. Kyttes'. Nothing seems to be known of him.

19-20. *the Glowworme*] See note on i. 260. 25.

24. *their labour for their trauell*] A fairly common saying; cf. *Tr. and Cres.*, I. i. 70, and Heywood's *Tuvakeion*, 1624, p. 306, l. 25. Also 'theire laboure for their paines', as in the *Speeches to the Queen at Sudeley*, Nichols, *Progr.*, iii. 143.

25-9. *the Panther . . . enterprise*] Probably taken by Nashe from the *Parabolae* of Erasmus (in Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, 1574, p. 1229), 'Panthera sic auida est excrementorum hominis, ut si in vase suspendantur altius quam possit attingere, enecat sese defatigati porrectu corporis : Ita nonnullis quod est foedissimum, id dulcissimum est'. From Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 41.

31. by What doe you lacke?] i. e. by merchandise, shop-keeping.

32. quadrant] In *N.E.D.* this quotation is given under quadrant, *sb.¹* 2 c, a contemptuous sense derived from Latin *quadrans*, the fourth part of an as. One might suggest, however, that Nashe is also hinting at 'quadrant' as used for the court of a college. He is contrasting the uneducated merchant class with the pretentious university wit.

crepundios] See *N.E.D.*, s.v. *crepundian*, 'a rattler or empty talker'. From Lat. *crepundia*, a rattle. Cf. i. 370. 17.

33. ergo] Cf. Harvey's supposed fondness for the word, iii. 66. 28, &c.

P. 315, i. dogged] i.e. as usual, envious.

2-3. *Martin or Momus*] The conjunction of the names is of course natural enough, but Nashe had probably read Cooper's *Admonition* (ed. Arber, p. 45), 'Martin with his bitter stile of malicious Momus dipt in the gall of vngodliness'; also p. 56, 'Martin Momus wil say the contrary'.

5. *friplers*] i.e. old-clothes dealers; more usually 'frippers'. For the use of lavender by pawn-brokers, &c., see *N.E.D.* s.v. lavender *sb.²* 2.

10. *expose*] The reading of 89, 'oppose', is probably due rather to confusion than to a misprint; cf. iii. 352. 25; the same fluctuation between the words occurs at 324. 19, where T has 'oppose', and in *King Lear*, IV. vii. 32, where Qq. have 'exposed' and F 'oppos'd' (*N.E.D.*). Cf. also 'oppose' at i. 210. 28.

16-17. *come to correct common-weales*] I doubt if any special work is referred to.

19. *the world turned upside downe*] Nashe seems to mean that this was a common alehouse sign. For 'table' cf. i. 181. 2.

20. *the child beateth his father*] The idea is probably based on Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 1321, &c., 1408, &c. Cf. T. Wilson's *Rule of Reason*, 1551, X 1, where the scene is referred to.

22. *Nimis curiosus in aliena republica*] Cf. Cic. *De Off.* i. 34. 125 'Peregrini autem atque incolae officium est nihil praeter suum negotium agere, . . . minimeque in aliena esse republica curiosum.'

25. *a sort*] i.e. a group, company, gang—not a kind. Prof. Hatcher drew attention to this point in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, June 6. The phrase has, I believe, been generally misunderstood.

26-7. *runne through every Art . . . none*] Cf. 2 *Ret.* from *Parnassus*, II. i. 59 (567), 'Running through euery trade, yet thriue by none'; also V. iv. 21 (2132).

27. *the trade of Nouerint*] i.e. the trade of a scrivener. The passage which follows is probably the best known and most discussed of all Nashe's writings.

29. *neck verse*] See note on ii. 259. 29. The verse seems always to have been printed in Latin (see *N.E.D.*).

30. *English Seneca*] It is uncertain whether Nashe is referring to the collection of translations from Seneca, edited by Thomas Newton in 1581 as *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies, Translated into Englysh*, or whether by 'English Seneca' he means some contemporary writer. The first seems the more natural view, but no one has, I believe, found the phrase 'Blood is a beggar' in that volume. It is, however,

perhaps not intended as a quotation from 'English Seneca', but merely as exemplifying the language used by 'Senecan' writers. The idea is, of course, one of frequent occurrence ; cf., for example, *Gorboduc*, IV, chorus, 17, 'Blood asketh blood', and *Belvedere*, 1600, F 7 foot, 'Blood spilt by wrong, calls vengeance scourge by right.' Several other parallels have been noticed, including *Richard III*, ed. Barron Field, p. 31, 'Blood is a threatener and will have revenge' (quoted by Prof. Schick, *Span. Tr.*, xi).

30-1. *by Candlelight*] I can only suppose the meaning to be that the plays derived from such a pillaging of *Seneca olent lucernam*.

32-3. *in a frostie morning*] A meaningless tag ; cf. iii. 356. 11 ; also Massinger's *Bondman*, II. i. 36. Fairly frequent.

33. *Hamlets*] See note on 316. 4-5.

P. 318, 2-3. *let blood*] i. e. pillaged, alluding, of course, to the mode of Seneca's death.

4-5. *which makes his famished followers to imitate the Kid in Aesop*] It has been pointed out by Prof. Koeppel (*Engl. Stud.* xviii, p. 130) that this story was taken not from Aesop, but from the *Shepherds' Calendar*, where it occupies the second half of the May eclogue (cf. especially l. 276, 'enamored with the newell'). In his 'Glosse' E. K. remarks : 'This tale is much like to that in Aesops fables, but the Catastrophe and end is farre different.' It is perhaps from this statement that Nashe took his idea of the authorship of the fable, though it would indeed have been natural to attribute it to Aesop in any case. I cannot find any similar tale told of a kid in the Aesopic collections of the period.

This is, of course, the passage upon which, taken together with ll. 30-5 of the preceding page, is founded the theory that Thomas Kyd was the writer of a pre-Shakespearian play of *Hamlet* (315. 33) ; see particularly Mr. Boas's edition of Kyd's *Works*, pp. xx-xxix, and Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 124—some other discussions are referred to below. This view, that Nashe is here referring to—and attacking—Kyd as the author of a 'Senecan' tragedy of *Hamlet* seems to have been widely accepted, and since much work has been based upon the assumption of its correctness, it would be pleasant to be able to agree with it, but to me it seems impossible to recognize the validity of the arguments which have been put forward in its favour. It is certainly quite possible that Kyd was one of the 'sort' of dramatists who are attacked, and for anything that we know to the contrary he may have written a Hamlet ; this even seems on general grounds by no means unlikely ; but I cannot see how it is to be deduced from Nashe's words. Let us first consider this particular reference to the Kid in Aesop.

We must remember that this is not the only fable to which Nashe refers in this Preface. Two pages earlier, at 314. 19-20, he speaks of 'the Glow-worme mentioned in *Aesops Fables*'. There happens to have been no writer of the name of 'Glow-worm' (luckily Dr. Sparke was not a dramatist !) and therefore no attempt has been made to give a personal application to the passage. Here, *in a precisely similar way*, he speaks of 'the Kid in *Aesop*' ; is the fact that there happens to have been a person of the name of 'Kyd' any justification whatever for seeing in this case a personal allusion, when it is

acknowledged that there is none in the other? Had the original story been told of a dog or a lamb or some other animal, and had Nashe deliberately altered it (as Prof. Sarrazin thought), and substituted a kid, it would have been an entirely different matter, but this is not the case. Nashe wished to illustrate the way in which the Senecan writers had, in their search for something new, turned, to their own undoing, to translation from Italian; he happened to know one fable (and can any one suggest a better one, or even simply another?) which was suitable, and he used it. What more natural? The interpretation put upon the passage may well remind one of Nashe's own complaint (i. 154. 21-4), 'In one place of my Booke, *Pierce Penilesse* saith but to the Knight of the Post, *I pray how might I call you*, & they say I meant one *Howe*, a Knaue of that trade, that I neuer heard of before.'

But, it will be said, the other indications contained in the passage agree better with what is known of Kyd than with any other writer. He was the son of a scrivener (cf. Mr. Boas's edition, p. xv)—but Nashe elsewhere refers contemptuously to *noverint*-writers as if representative of the lowest class of work connected with the pen; cf. i. 240. 2-3, 'Not a base Inck-dropper, or scuruy plodder at *Noverint*, but . . .,' and i. 341. 30-1, 'some ynskilfull pen-man or Noverint-maker'. I see no reason for supposing any more special allusion in the present case than in these others. Again, it is said that Kyd had shortly before this time produced a translation from Italian, *The Householder's Philosophy*, 1588. The translator's initials alone, T. K., are given, but the attribution may be regarded as, on the whole, probably correct (see Mr. Boas, lxii-iii). This is certainly the strongest of the arguments in favour of Kyd, but it must be remembered that even if he was the translator of *The Householder's Philosophy*, he was by no means the only translator from Italian.

It will be well to discuss here also the three further marks by which are indicated the persons whom Nashe is attacking. (1) They 'thrust *Elisium* into hell' (l. 15). Mr. Boas (p. xxix), following Prof. Schick, sees here an allusion to *Span. Trag.*, I. i. 73, 'where Kyd represents the "faire Elizian greene" as one of the regions in the nether world beyond Acheron, and the abode of Pluto and Proserpine.' I must confess that I cannot see that the passage thrusts Elysium into hell, any more than does the Vergilian description upon which, as Mr. Boas notes, it is based. The topography is certainly somewhat vague, but it seems at least as good as that of *Locrine*, where Albanact says (IV. iv. end), 'Back will I post to hell-mouth Tænarus, And pass Cocythus, to the Elysian fields.' But surely there must have been some other meaning in the phrase than this literal one; cf. *Faustus*, iii. 62-3, 'This word "damnation" terrifies him not, For he confounds hell in Elysium,' where the sense is apparently that Faustus regards the ancient Elysium, the abode of the old philosophers, with whom he wishes his ghost to dwell, as part of the Christian hell.

To pass to (2), they 'haue not learned, so long as they haue liued in the Spheres, the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter' (ll. 15-17). Mr. Boas says that this 'is directed (with a probable pun upon the various senses of "measure") at Kyd's borrowing the details of his picture of the lower world from the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*'

But, I would ask, what has 'the Horizon' to do with 'the lower world', and secondly what reason could Nashe have to object to Kyd's borrowing his description from that vision of Aeneas upon which was modelled, as Professor Conway writes, 'for many centuries, if not for all time, the whole Christian conception of the after-world' (*Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, 1907, p. 31)? Indeed, from what better or what other source could he have taken it?

It is indeed extremely difficult to attach any clear meaning to Nashe's phrase. It has, I believe, been suggested that there is some reference to the attempts to introduce the classical metres into English prosody, but with this I cannot agree. The subject was not in 1589 especially to the fore, nor was Nashe then, so far as we know, the enemy of any of those who practised this kind of verse, while to several, including Greene himself, he was undoubtedly well disposed. Further, the movement was distinctively a 'learned' one, and in no way connected with the class of writers whom he is attacking. Again, it might be questioned whether the point does not lie in the peculiar pronunciation of the word 'horizon' itself—with the penultimate syllable short—which was current, or at least common, at the date, and which to one who professed any classical knowledge might seem objectionable. But this again seems unlikely, for Greene used the pronunciation himself in *Orlando Furioso*, I. 19 (see Prof. Collins' note). That Nashe by 'hexameter' probably means Latin verse is suggested, though by no means proved, by his use of the word as a general term at i. 285. 35, but we must, I think, confess that the correct explanation of this charge—as of the last—is yet to be found.

The last mark by which these writers are to be distinguished is their bodging up a blanke verse with ifs and ands (ll. 17–18). Prof. Sarrazin considers that this alludes to the four lines beginning with 'And' in *Span. Trag.*, II. i. 120–3, and the three with 'If' at III. xiii. 99–101 (*T. Kyd und sein Kreis*, 1892, p. 101), while Mr. Boas with, it seems to me, too much confidence, says 'The reference . . . is to *The Spanish Tragedy*, II. i. 77, where Lorenzo cries to Pedringano "What, Villaine, ifs and ands?"'—an explanation earlier put forward by Prof. Koeppel in *Engl. Stud.* xviii. 131. I can only say that, if this is the passage meant, Nashe's criticism is so obviously unjust as entirely to defeat its own ends. The expression, which is common enough, occurs here with perfect propriety, and there is no question of 'bodging'. Nashe evidently refers to some padding with small unnecessary words, in order to eke out the metre, which was characteristic of the persons attacked, in the same way as was later, according to Jonson (*Sad Shep.* 80–1), the use of 'ah' and 'oh' of writers of pastoral, though Jonson's point is rather the melancholy tone of the compositions than the actual use of the words themselves.

To sum up. Nashe is, I think, speaking not of one writer, but of a group—probably, but not certainly, of dramatists. He did know of a Hamlet play, but the passage throws no light upon its authorship. There is no reason for supposing either Kyd or the *Spanish Tragedy* to be referred to.

Since Malone in discussing this passage (*Var. Sh.*, 1821, ii. 371–2) first suggested Kyd as the author of an early Hamlet play, much has been written about it (see *Hamlet*, ed. Furness, ii. 5–7). I have only

space to refer briefly to some of the more recent work. Mr. Fleay in his *Biographical Chronicle*, 1891, ii. 124, considers Kyd to be certainly alluded to. In *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, 1892, pp. 99, &c., Prof. Sarrazin argues that Kyd is clearly indicated, laying much stress on Nashe's alteration of an Aesopic fable of an ape and a fox in order to introduce the kid. The two stories are, however, by no means identical, and, as already mentioned, Prof. Koeppel in reviewing Sarrazin's work in *Engl. Stud.* xviii (1893), p. 130, showed that Nashe almost certainly borrowed his from Spenser's *Shepherds' Cal.*, May, esp. ll. 274-7. In his edition of the *Spanish Tragedy*, 1898, p. xi, Prof. Schick says 'The "Kydde in Æsop"—this is indeed, I think, calling things by their names; surely Nash points here with his very finger to the person of Kyd'. He, however, says at p. ix, 'At the same time, I am bound to add that it is not absolutely certain that the passage refers to Kyd,' though his discussion makes it perfectly clear that it is his belief that it does. Mr. Boas, in his edition of Kyd's *Works*, takes it as certain that Kyd is the person attacked, pp. xxi, xxviii, &c. In the same year, 1901, in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Prof. M. W. MacCallum maintained that, though the reference is by no means certain, Nashe seems rather to point to Kyd than to any one else; see also Prof. Thorndike's review of Mr. Boas' edition in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xvii. 290. The whole passage was again thoroughly discussed by Prof. A. E. Jack in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xx (New Ser. xiii), No. 4, Dec. 1905, pp. 729-48, 'Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet'. Prof. Jack's conclusion is: '1st, Nash has not Kyd in mind in this paragraph, nor indeed any dramatist at all; 2nd, this paragraph throws no light upon the authorship of the Ur-Hamlet, nor indeed is it perfectly clear that Nash knew of a Hamlet drama.' Prof. Jack's view is controverted by Prof. J. W. Cunliffe in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Am.*, xxi (New Ser. xiv), No. 1, March, 1906, pp. 193-9; he considers that Nashe had a dramatist or dramatists in mind, and knew of a Hamlet drama. He does not make clear whether he considers Kyd to be alluded to. Lastly, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, No. 6, June, 1906, pp. 177-80, Prof. O. L. Hatcher argues that Nashe had not merely a dramatist in view, but a group, 'a sort', Kyd being one among the number. The passage may serve as corroboratory testimony if all other evidence indicates Kyd's authorship of an Ur-Hamlet, but taken alone it proves nothing definite, not even that Nashe knew of a Hamlet drama. He points out that, whether or not the 'Kydde in Æsop' is a direct allusion to Kyd, it has not any necessary connexion with the reference to Hamlet.

6. *forsooke all hopes of life*] Cf. Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, in *Sh. Allusion-books*, N. S. S., p. 24. 3-4 (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 134. 1-2), 'he forsooke all other hopes of life, and fell to be a notorious Pandar.' The expression is fairly frequent.

6-7. *leape into a newe occupation*] This use of 'leap' is common; cf. *Two Ang. Wom. of Abington*, III. ii (ed. Gayley in *Repr. Eng. Com.* viii. 335-8), 'thou . . . wert prentise to a tailor half an age, and . . . leapst from the shop board to a blew coate.'

10-11. *prouenzall men . . . Articles*] I can offer no suggestion as to the meaning of this phrase.

19. *Candle-stuffe]* Cf. 315. 30.

20. *Peripateticall path]* From Dekker's *Westward Ho!* II. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 293, 'I was so stiffe, and so starke, I would ha sworne my Legs had beene wodden pegs: a Constable new chosen kept not such a peripateticall gate,' the phrase would seem to imply stiff or stately walk.

22. *in turning ouer French Dowdie]* The phrase has been variously interpreted. Prof. Schick, in his edition of *Span. Trag.*, p. xiii, thinks that the meaning is 'that the derided author, got up and attired in his best, goes to the City, to one of its noble houses, where French plays are translated; the "Dowdy" may refer to a play with the title "Didon"—Jodelle's, for instance (cf. "Dido a dowdy," *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 43)—or, in Nash's jocose language at least, to Garnier-Kyd's *Cornelie* or *Porcie*, or the Cleopatra of Lady Pembroke's *Antonie*'. Mr. Boas (xxix) says that Nashe 'may be referring to Kyd's imitation in the Lord General's narrative (*Sp. Tr.*, I. ii. 22 ff.) of the Messenger's account in *Cornelie*, Act V, of the battle of Thapsus'. But the imitation does not seem to amount to much, nor is it explained why Garnier should be called 'Dowdie'. By others an entirely different view has been put forward, namely that Nashe is charging the persons attacked with frequenting brothels. Cf. Mr. Fleay's *Biog. Chron.*, ii. 31-2, where he parallels this passage by the reference in the Epistle before Greene's *Perimedes* to 'frequenting the hot house' (cf. note on iii. 177. 7-8). The phrase is, however, so used—Greene professes to be quoting a German proverb—that it is doubtful if it is meant to be taken literally. This view of the meaning of 'French Dowdie' was also taken in a careful and scholarly review of Mr. Boas's edition in the *Athenaeum* of Dec. 14, 1901, and in that by Prof. Thorndike already alluded to (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xvii). So also Prof. M. W. MacCallum in *An Eng. Misc. pres. to Dr. Furnivall*, p. 293, says 'it looks as though some much less respectable lady [than Cornelia] was intended', apparently thinking that some special person is referred to as 'Dowdie'. It seems to me very difficult to decide between the two views. Certainly 'turning over' is an expression which Nashe would naturally have used if he meant a book; cf. iii. 172. 17-18, 'I haue turnd ouer venerable *Bede*', and iii. 70. 4-5, 'your vnsatisfiable ouerturning of Libraries'. It must also be remembered that 'dowdy' was by no means a usual appellation of a mistress or prostitute, though two cases are known to me in which the word has a somewhat similar sense; see Dekker's *Westward Ho!* Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 307. 14, 'the Lob has his Lasse, the Collier his Dowdy, . . . the Seruing-man his Punke,' and N. Breton's *Pasquil's Pass and Passeth not*, 1600, E 1^v, 'When filthy Dowdes will leauue to paint their faces . . . I feare me doomes day will not be farre off.' Mr. W. W. Greg refers me also to Ford's *Lady's Trial*, III. i. 5. Generally speaking the women of this class were, as we know, far from being dowds. It may also be questioned whether there were many French women of loose character in London at this date, though I believe that I have seen one or two allusions to them. But much the strongest evidence against the view that this form of immorality is meant is the reference to 'the inner parts of the Citié'. Though, as Nashe says at ii. 148. 12, uncleanness had in 1593 crept

into the heart of the City, it is unnecessary to remind Elizabethan students that it is the suburbs which are always referred to as the particular haunts of loose women, while the inner parts of the City were far more suggestive of booksellers' shops.

If then, as I think, we cannot take 'French Dowdie' to be a generic term for a harlot, the explanation of the phrase must lie between supposing it to be a name for some particular notorious woman of the day, and concluding that the allusion is of a literary nature. Between these I see no way of deciding, but at any rate the literary explanations hitherto put forward seem far from satisfactory.

32. *Philip Melancthon*] He published translations from Euripides, Lucian, Pindar, and Plutarch, but of course the bulk of his work was theological.

32. *Sadolet*] Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547) was secretary to Popes Leo X and Clement VII, and made a cardinal by Paul III in 1536. His *De liberis recte instituendis*, 1533, and *Phaedrus sive laudes philosophiae*, 1538, were both widely known, and he was held in high esteem as a scholar, but he does not seem to have published any translation.

Plantine] Presumably Nashe means Christoffel Plantin, the printer (1514-89), but it has been questioned whether he was a scholar at all, some even denying to him any knowledge of Latin. Nashe may, however, mean to include him on account of the number of scholarly works which issued from his press.

P. 317, 3. *William Turner*] He was M.A. of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1533, a friend of Ridley and Latimer, and a strong Protestant; Dean of Wells in 1550, during Mary's reign deprived and compelled to live abroad, reinstated in 1560, suspended for nonconformity in 1564, died in 1568. He published translations, chiefly theological, and other works, among the latter being *A Book of the natures ... of the Baths of England*, and *A new Book of the natures ... of all Wines ... used here in England*. He is best known as the author of the first important *Herbal*, 1551. Nashe's apparent objection to him is perhaps based on his extreme Protestant, or Puritan, views.

21-2. *the Vniuersity Orator*] i.e. Ascham, who succeeded Cheke as Public Orator in 1546, holding the office until 1554, though during much of the time he was absent from Cambridge. Nashe appears to be thinking of a passage in the *Schoolmaster* (*Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 280), 'Yea *S. Johnes* did the so florish, as Trinitie college, that Princely house now, at the first erectiō, was but *Colonia deducta* out of *S. Ihones* ...' He perhaps confused this with one in a letter of Ascham to the Duke of Somerset on Nov. 21, 1547 (*Works of Ascham*, ed. Giles, i. 138, letter 76), on behalf of St. John's: 'Primum alimus optima ingenia optimis disciplinis et moribus: deinde, ex nostro coetu profiscuntur, qui reliqua fere singula collegia expletant et ornant.' The phrase '*colonia deducta*' does not seem to be used anywhere in the letters.

24-5. *vno partu in rempublicam prodiere*] There should be no stop after *prodiere*. Source not found.

25-8] This passage seems to have given offence, it being considered that Nashe was not a sufficiently old and tried scholar thus

to appraise the work of others. See R. Harvey's Epistle before his *Lamb of God*, in Appendix B, a 2^v, and i. 195. 27-30.

25-6. *sir John Cheeke*] He became a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1529; was Professor of Greek at Cambridge 1540-51, and Public Orator 1544. The most famous Greek scholar of his time in England.

26. *man of men*] Cf. note on ii. 370. 301.

27. *sir John Mason*] Presumably the Sir John Mason (1503-66) who was Chancellor of Oxford from 1552 to 1556 and 1559 to 1564. He was, however, more of a diplomat than a scholar, and I cannot learn that he was in any way connected with Cambridge.

Doctor Watson] Thomas Watson (1513-84), Fellow of St. John's College 1535, Master 1553-4, Bishop of Lincoln 1557-9. The author of the Latin tragedy of *Absalon*.

Redman] John Redman (1499-1551). After studying for a time at Oxford and Paris he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, becoming B.A. 1525-6 and M.A. 1530. Public Orator 1537; Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity 1538. From 1542-6 Master of King's Hall, and from 1546 to his death the first Master of Trinity College.

28. *Grindall*] i. e., I suppose, William Grindal (d. 1548), tutor to Queen Elizabeth. He became a Fellow of St. John's in 1543. Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have had no especial connexion with St. John's.

Leuer] Presumably Thomas Lever (1521-77). He was B.A. of St. John's 1541-2, M.A. 1545, Fellow 1548, and Master 1551-3. He supported Queen Jane, and was therefore obliged to go into exile during Mary's reign. In 1563 he was made Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham, and a year later canon of the cathedral. A brother of his, Ralph Lever, author of *The Art of Reason*, 1573, was also a Fellow of St. John's.

Pilkinton] It seems doubtful whether James Pilkington or his brother Leonard is referred to. Both were persons of note. The former (1520 ?-1576) was elected Fellow of St. John's College in 1539, was Master 1559-61, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1559, and Bishop of Durham 1561-76. Leonard Pilkington (1527 ?-1599), B.A. of St. John's College 1544, was elected Fellow 1546, ejected as a Protestant in 1553, but subsequently re-elected Master of the college 1561-4.

P. 318, 1-2] Cf. the simile at i. 46. 35-6.

2-3.] i. e. 'their studies ouer-fraught with trifling compendiaries'; a curious inversion, for which compare i. 262. 25-6. Complaints of the growing use of epitomes or analyses, instead of the study of the original authors, are frequently met with; see, for example, Ascham, *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 259 foot.

13. *manuarie*] i. e. manual. Examples in *N. E. D.* from 1576.

14-15. *Pater noster . . . in the compasse of a pennie*] Peter Bales, the famous writing-master, wrote 'within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords praier, the creed, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the queene, his posie, his name, the daie of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the queene'. This he set in a ring and presented to her majesty on August 17, 1576, with 'an excellent spectacle by him devised for the easier reading thereof'. See Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 330, and Stow's *Annals*, ed.

1615, p. 680. The 'penny' was of course of silver—some nine sixteenths of an inch in diameter.

16-17. *No penny, no pater noster*] Examples of the phrase in *N.E.D.* from 1546; cf. W. Turner, *The Old Learning and the New*, 1548, E 7, 'Where do we reade in the Gospel, of hyred prayers, which ye wyll let a man haue for money? & if he geue no penye, he shall haue no Pater noster.' Among many instances cf. Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 67, and Lodge's *Longbeard*, 1593, F 3; also a different explanation of the phrase in W. Smythe's *Brief Descr. of London* in *Brit. Bibl.* i. 543.

18-22. *the Scythians . . . their stomacks*] Aulus Gellius, xvi. 3, on the authority of Erasistratus.

P. 319, 12. *Greca cum Latinis*] Qy. cf. Cic. *Fin.* i, beginning. See Quintil. *Inst. Or.* x. 5. 2.

13-14. *though . . . the necessitie of rime*] i.e., I suppose, his rime caused him, in Campion's phrase, 'to abiure his matter'.

15-16. *aged Arthur Golding*] If the dates of his life generally given (1536?–1605?) are correct, he was only about fifty-three, but his translation of the *Metamorphoses* had been published as long ago as 1565-7.

17-18. *other exquisite editions of diuinicie*] He executed a great number of translations, especially from Calvin, Marlorat, and Beza.

19. *M. Phaer*] Thomas Phaer (1510?–1560). His translation of the *Aeneid*, of which he finished books i-ix and part of x (1555-60), was completed by Thomas Twyne.

20-1. *had it not beeene blemished by his hautie thoughts*] Possibly Nashe refers to the liberties taken by Phaer in his translation; he is hardly likely to have objected to the rapidity of execution, of which Phaer made so much boast, stating at the end of every book the number of days (from 7 to 30) spent upon it.

22. *insulted in*] i.e. boasted of, vaunted.

29. *varietie*] Nashe seems to be using the word for rhythm or music, but I can find no other example of such a meaning.

P. 320, 1-4. *Then . . . bouncing*] The lines are made up of scraps taken from the 'Other Poetical Devices' at the end of Stanyhurst's translation of *Aen.* i-iv:

'A clapping fyrbolt (such as oft, with rounce robel hobble,
Ioue toe the ground clattreth)' (ed. Arber, p. 137).

'now grislye reboundings

Of ruffe raffe roaring, mens herts with terror agrysing,
With peale meale ramping, with thwick thwack sturdelye thundring'
(p. 138).

Stanyhurst's hexameters were of course constantly derided; cf. *Old Wives' Tale*, ll. 607-14, and Hall, *Virgidemiae*, i. 6. Massinger, in his *Virgin Martyr*, IV. ii (before entry of Dorothea), has 'I'll come upon her with rounce, robble-hobble, and thwick-thwack-thirlery bouncing', which looks like a reminiscence of the present passage.

8. *tribulare*] i.e. worthless, from Lat. *homo trioboli*. Cf. Harvey, 4 *Let.* D 2, G. H. i. 190. 5, 'a Triuiall, and triobular Autor.'

8-9. *Thrasonical huffe snuffe*] Cf. Stanyhurst, *Aen.* i-iv, ed. Arber, p. 143, 'Linckt was in wedlock a loftye Thrasonical huf snuffe.'

12. *Maister France*] The translation was published under the

title of *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phyllis* in 1587, and republished, 'somewhat altered', to serve as a sequel to an English hexametrical version of Tasso's *Aminta*, in *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivy-church*, 1591 (W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry*, III).

23-4. *march in equipage*] Cf. W. Browne, *Britannia's Pastors*, i. 2. 711-12, 'his work not seeming fit To walk in equipage with better wit', and Mr. G. Goodwin's note, where he quotes Marston's verses 'in praise of his Pigmalion' (1598) and Shakespeare, *Sonnet 32. 12.*

25. *Haddon*] i.e. Walter Haddon (1516-72). Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, 1551, Master of Trinity Hall, 1552. His Latin poems were published under the editorship of T. Hatcher in 1567 and 1576.

27. *Car*] i.e. Nicholas Carr (1524-68). An original Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1546, and Regius Professor of Greek, 1547. Practised as a physician.

28. *Thomas Newton with his Leiland*] The list of English Latin poets given by Meres, which includes all those mentioned by Nashe, refers in the same words to 'Thomas Newton with his *Leyland*' (*Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, ii. 315). Newton in 1589 issued a collection of Latin poems by Leland, entitled *Principium, ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia virorum, Encomia, &c.*, adding to it as an appendix some *Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia* of his own.

30. *position Poets*] Nashe apparently means writers of short poems on fixed subjects, epigrams, sonnets, &c., as opposed to long epics; I have not met with the expression elsewhere. In the *N.E.D.* it is explained as '? a poet who composes short pieces containing definite statements (as in commendation of a person)'—no other example.

P. 321, i. *efficient*] i.e. cause; cf. i. 5. 25.

2-3. *account . . . poetry impiety*] Cf. i. 27. 6-7.

11-13. *that beast . . . sacrificed to . . . Epaphus . . . skin*] Epaphus is Apis, but there seems to be some confusion. It was the sacred bull Apis itself which was spotted; cf. Lyly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond ii. 19. 4; 24. 22 and notes.

19. *undermeale*] Cf. note on i. 209. 21.

22. *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*] Cf. i. 169. 5-6.

23. *fecundi calices*] Hor. *Epist.* i. 5. 19.

26. *his moist nose-cloth*] I cannot parallel the expression. Nashe seems to mean a drink.

30-1. *qui bene vult poiein . . . pinein*] cf. iii. 265. 995-6.

P. 322, i. *Pernassus*] Cf. i. 192. 31.

8. *Theonino dente*] Hor. *Epist.* i. 18. 82.

11. *equality*] i.e. (?) mediocrity; but no such sense is recognized in *N.E.D.* As there are 'many Gentlemen' Nashe can hardly mean 'from being equalled'.

16-17. *Si nihil attuleris . . . foras*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 279.

20. *Petrarch*] The spelling of 1589, 'Petrache,' may possibly have been regarded as allowable. 'Petrach' occurs in Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (*Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, p. 304, note on 290, l. 13 from foot; it is corrected by the editor).

21. *Celiano*] Prof. Gregory Smith compares Meres, in *Eliz. Crit.*

Essays, ii. 319. 3, where Livio Celiano is mentioned with Dante, Boccacio, Petrarch, Tasso and Ariosto; but his *Rime*, published in 1587, are almost forgotten now.

27. *vaunted*] A common use of the word; cf. 323. 33, i. 299. 4, and Marlowe's *Faustus*, Prologue I. 6, 'Intends our Muse to vaunt his heavenly verse.'

30-1. *otherwhile vacations*] i. e. I suppose this to mean 'recreations at odd times'.

P. 323, 12. *the onely swallow of our Summer*] Referring, of course, to the ancient proverb, 'one swallow does not make a summer'. See Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* i. 7 [6]. 16 μία γάρ χελιδών ἔαρ οὐ ποτέ (W. F. H. King, *Class. Quot.*) and Erasm. *Adag.* chil. i, cent. 7. 94 'Una hirundo non facit ver'. Fairly common in English; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 121; Pettie's *Petite Palace*, ed. n.d. [? 1586], I 3^v; Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ix. 191. 22-3.

18. *Mathew Roydon*] Little is known of his life. His 'Elegie, or friends passion for his Astrophill' was first printed in the *Phoenix Nest*, 1593, and again in Spenser's *Colin Clout*, 1595.

Thomas Achlow] Nothing seems to be known of his life, but he evidently enjoyed a considerable reputation as a poet. At least a dozen extracts from his poems are included in *England's Parnassus*. From the preface to *Belvedere* we learn that he was dead in 1600. Prof. Gregory Smith in *Eliz. Crit. Essays* notes the reference to him in Dekker's *Knight's Conjuring*, 1607, as 'ingenious Atchlow'.

P. 324, 1. *taffaty fooles*] Nashe is, of course, referring to actors, for whom the 'sweete Gentlemen' have written plays.

2. *peecte*] i.e. apparently tricked out; see *N.E.D.* s.v. pick v.¹ 4.

4-5. *the King of Fairies . . . Delfrigus*] Cf. Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, in *Shakspeare Allusion-books*, N.S.S. p. 23, Greene's *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 131, where the player whom Roberto meets says 'why, I am as famous for Delphrigus, and the king of Fairies, as euer was any of my time'. Apparently the titles of two plays, but nothing is known about them. Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 292) explains the second as 'Del Phrygio', which does not seem to help us much.

5. *please porridge ordinary*] The 'pottage ordinary' is mentioned in Fletcher's *Wit Without Money*, IV. i. 20. It was evidently one of the cheapest class. See note on i. 170. 9.

6. *Tolossa . . . sacked*] This looks like a proverb, but I have not met with it elsewhere. The sack alluded to is presumably that of B.C. 106, by Q. Servilius Caepio, which gave rise to the saying 'aurum Tolosanum' for ill-gotten gain which brings misfortune to its possessor. None of the later sieges, of which there were several, approached this in celebrity.

7-8. *foot-back*] A humorous analogue to 'horseback'; it occurs in the same passage of the *Groatsworth of Wit* as the reference to Delphrigus quoted above (ed. N.S.S. 23. 22, and ed. Grosart, 131. 17), 'I was faine to carrie my playing Fardle a footebacker.'

14. *blankes*] i. e. blank verse.

17. *Albions*] The title of the poem is, of course, *Albion's England*. Nashe's name for it is perhaps modelled on the 'Aeneids' of Virgil.

20. *In speech*] See note on i. 305. 18.

27. *my Anatomie of Absurdities*] As to the date of this see p. 1.

30. *blankes*] Nashe is joking on the small French copper coin so called, and on blank verse.

P. 325, 1. *like the eloquent apprentice of Plutarch*] I have been unable to discover the story referred to.

7-8. *like Apocrypha from your Bibles*] See note on i. 95. 24.

PREFACE TO SIDNEY'S 'ASTROPHEL AND STELLA'.

Date of Composition and Publication.

The only thing that it seems possible to say concerning the date of this preface is that it must have appeared fairly early in 1591, for Newman had time to issue another altogether different edition of *Astrophel and Stella* in the same year. For the relationship between the two see the editions of that work by Mr. A. W. Pollard, 1888, pp. xxxv-vi, 230-2, and Dr. Ewald Flügel, 1889, pp. lxxiv-viii. The undated reprint of *Astrophel and Stella* by M. Lownes does not contain Nashe's preface.

P. 329, 3. *Tempus . . . venit*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 2. 44.

3-12] Prof. Gregory Smith, in his notes on this piece (*Eliz. Crit. Essays*, ii), says that there is here probably some reference to a recent play, and suggests Lyly's *Midas*. He suggests also that 332. 12-13 may perhaps allude to (a) the Euphuistic vocabulary generally, and (b) to *Midas*, especially Act i. Sc. 1. The friendly relations of Nashe and Lyly seem, however, to render this unlikely.

15. *frame*] Was this a term for some part of the stage?

21. *linguis animisque fauete*] Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 2. 43; cf. *Metam.* xv. 677, *Fasti*, i. 71.

29. *Esops Cock*] Cf. i. 31. 13-14.

P. 330, 5. *Quid petitur . . .*] Ovid, *Ars Am.* iii. 403.

6. *casks*] Collier (*P. Penniless*, Sh. Soc. xxiii) reads 'cask[et]s', but unnecessarily; cf. 2 *Hen. VI*, III. ii. 409.

7. *president booke*s] i. e.? note books, collections kept by would-be poets for imitation.

31-2. *to the Chaundlers*] Cf. i. 192. 22-3.

32-3. *broke your legs*] I have not met with the phrase elsewhere in this sense.

P. 331, 9. *sole prolocutor to the Gods*] Mr. Crawford compares 1 *Tamb.* I. ii. 209, 'Not Hermes, prolocutor to the gods'. Cf. also iii. 273. 1260.

23-4. *as the Patronesse of their inuention*] Most of the numerous works dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke are of later date. See, however, Fraunce's *Countess of Pembroke's Ivy-church*, 1591, Spenser's *Ruins of Time* (in *Complaints*, 1591). Other works such as Breton's *Pilgrimage to Paradise* and Daniel's *Delia*, published in 1592, may have been already presented to her. There is also a sonnet to her before the *Faery Queen*.

28-9. *emptie handed Homer*] Cf. iii. 322. 16-17.

34. *O Ioue digna viro . . .*] Ovid, *Heroid.* 17. 272.

P. 332, 3-4. *oh my loue . . . gone*] Presumably a snatch from some song or ballad, but I cannot identify it.

6. *Almond leape verse*] Prof. Gregory Smith notes that Almond

=Almain, i. e. German, and compares Cotgrave, s. v. *Saut*, ‘*Trois pas & un saut*, The Almonde Leape,’ also Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, I. i. 104. I do not understand whether he identifies it with the dance known as the Almain, which is generally said to have been a slow and stately measure.

16. *retaile the cinders of Troy*] Cf. i. 319 2-4, ‘Do I . . . rake vp any new-found poetry from vnder the wals of *Troy*?’ Apparently alluding to some play or poem of Troy which Nashe considered old-fashioned. Collier in his edition of *Pierce Penilesse* for the Sh. Soc., p. xxvi, thought this a pretty obvious hit at Peele and his *Tale of Troy*, 1589; but cf. the eulogistic reference to him at iii. 323. 18-31.

17. *broken truncheons*] Alluding apparently to literature of the type of the metrical romances, which dealt chiefly with fighting; cf. iii. 99. 2.

21. *Mens cuiusque is est quisque*] Cic. *Rep.* vi. 24. 26 (W. F. H. King, *Class. Quot.*).

23. *Cornish diamonds*] See note on iii. 168. 13.

24. *stateman*] The word is divided at the end of a line and perhaps ‘state man’ was intended, as at i. 79. 22. It is, I think, unusual to find it as one word without the medial *s*.

25-6. *vpseuant muffle*] ‘Muffle’ would seem from this passage to be equivalent to ‘Muscovite’, but the only other example of the word known to me is in 2 *Tamb.* I. i. 32 where ‘Slauonians, Almans, Rutters, Muffes, and Danes’ are mentioned. The first part of *vpseuant* is, I suppose, *op zijn*, as in ‘upsee-Dutch’, ‘upsee-English,’ &c., in the Dutch (English) fashion; see *Cent. Dict.* under these words. What ‘-uant’ means I cannot say. Prof. Gregory Smith interprets the phrase differently, taking ‘muffle’ to be the Russian or Polish cap called ‘Yermolka’, which resembles a muff in appearance.

31-2. *as Sextus Empiricus affirmeth*] A rough summing up of the philosophy of the Sceptics. I do not think the statement, in so many words, will be found in Sextus.

33. *translated into English*] See note on iii. 254. 670, &c.

P. 333, 2-3. *wits waxe karnell*] Apparently an allusion to some book, but I cannot identify it. Cf. Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus*, I. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 88-9. ‘I am full of nothing, but waxing kernels, my tongue speakes no language but an Almond for Parrat and cracke me this Nut.’

12-13. *Aesops Glow-worme*] See note on i. 260. 25.

18. *talking . . . in an other mans doore*] This looks like a proverbial phrase, but I can quote no other example.

AN ALMOND FOR A PARRAT.

I. Date of Composition and Publication.

Though we cannot fix the date of this pamphlet with great exactitude it is evident that it was written in the winter (343. 11; 356. 26) of 1589-90.

From 347. 20-3 we learn that it followed *Pappe with a Hatchet* by ‘not mony moneths’. Now *Pappe* was partly written after the appearance of Martin’s *Protestation* (cf. Lyly’s *Works*, ed. Bond, iii. 410. 20-9), and the *Protestation* appeared just about the time of the completion

of *The Return of Pasquil* (cf. i. 101. 23), which is dated October 20, 1589. *Pappe*, therefore, as Mr. Bond says, cannot have appeared before the second or third week in October (third, at least, I think), while it must have been issued before November 5, the date of Harvey's *Advertisement* (Harvey's *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 221; Llyl., ed. Bond, iii. 392).

Assuming then that *Pappe* appeared towards the end of October, 1589, we have to consider what 'not many moneths' after can mean. Hardly, I think, less than three, which gives the end of January, 1590, as the earliest possible date for the *Almond*. The fact that it nowhere mentions Penry's *Treatise of Reformation*, published probably about the end of May, 1590 (replied to on July 2, in Pasquil's *Apology*), makes it almost certain that it appeared before this work. All things considered, perhaps February—March, 1590, is the most likely date.

2. Authorship.

See the Introduction, on the Martin Marprelate Controversy, also notes on 369, 38 and 372. 1.

3. Source.

There is, of course, no definite source for the work, but it may be remarked that it is in general style very similar to *Pappe*, and that no doubt its publication was to some extent induced by that work.

P. 339, 1. An Almond for a Parrat] A frequent proverbial expression; cf. Skelton, *Wks.*, ed. Dyce, ii. 4, Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 89, ii. 83, and examples in *N.E.D.* s.v. parrot, sb. 1. It seems to mean an answer for a fool.

11. *Rimarum sum plenus*] Terence, *Eun.* i. 2. 25.

13. *hickey*] i.e. hiccup.

15. *Assignes*] The last letter but one is clearly *e* in the original.

P. 341, 4-5. Ghost of Dicke Tarlton] He died in 1588.

13. *curtaine of your countenance*] Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 126) says, 'This, I now think, indicates that Kempe, and therefore L. Strange's men, were in 1590 acting at the Curtain'.

15-16. *haue thankes . . . for their paines*] A common complaint of the period, frequently brought forward by Nashe; cf. i. 241. 15, &c., iii. 147. 20, &c.

26. *Rablays*] Similarly disyllabic in Hall's *Virgidemiae*, ii. 1. 57.

26-7. *dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Nauarre*] The third book of *Pantagruel*, published in 1546, is dedicated 'à l'esprit de la Royne de Navarre'. Queen Margaret did not, however, die until Dec. 1549; cf. note in W. F. Smith's translation, i. 369.

31-342, 1. *Midas habet aures asininas*] Mr. R. W. Bond takes this and 367. 19-21 as allusions to Llyl.'s *Midas* (cf. also Mr. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* ii. 126). They may be, but I hardly see the necessity for it. The phrase was proverbially suspect; cf. Suetonius (?), *Vita Persii*.

P. 342, 6-7. as Scipio was called Africanus . . . Africa] I do not know whence this is taken.

16. *Francatrip' Harlicken*] The first word is evidently *It.* franca-tripe, an idle person, sluggard; cf. Harington *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, 68, 'a bon drole or francatripe'. 'Harlicken' is 'harlequin'. On the reference here to Bergamo *N.E.D.* notes that 'the arlecchino

is said, in Italian Dictionaries, to have originally represented the simple and facetious Bergamese man-servant. Cf. the stage Irishman.' At this date the name was specially applied to the famous comedian Tristano Martinelli (1556–1631), a native of Mantua. As, however, the earliest recorded reference to him as 'Arlecchino' seems only to date from 1588 (*L'Epistolario d'Arlecchino*, Jarro, Firenze, 1896, p. 6), it is perhaps too soon for him to have been thus known in England.

19. *representations*] i. e. *rappresentazioni*, the usual word for plays.

20. *Parabolano*] i. e. ceaseless talker, prattler. A character in Pietro Aretino's *Cortigiana* is thus named.

21. *Chiarlatano*] i. e. *ciarlatano*, a mountebank.

28. *Rhodes*] Captured by Solyman II in 1522, and still in the possession of the Turks.

P. 344, 2. *from the dead*] In allusion to the publication early in October, 1589, of Martin's *Protestation*. He had been supposed dead; cf. note on i. 59. 6–7.

5. *grout-headed*] Cf. grouthead, i. e. blockheads, at iii. 193. 2.

9. *Dame Law.*] i. e. Lawson. See note on i. 83. 13.

12–13. *Cliffe, the ecclesiasticall cobler*] He is referred to in *Hay any Work*, ed. Petheram, 64, as 'an honest and a godly cobler, dwelling at Battell bridg' and a story is told of his reproaching the Archbishop of Canterbury with the words of a Jesuit at Newgate who had declared that, should Popery come again, the Archbishop would be made a Cardinal.

14. *brotherly loue-meeting*] The hyphen should perhaps be deleted; cf. 374. 15–16.

16. *backe side of a bulke*] I am not quite clear what is meant; a 'bulk' was usually a framework projecting from the front of a shop, or a stall.

20. *tanguam culeolo insutus*] The second word should be 'culeo', but it hardly looks like a misprint; possibly the author may have meant 'a little bag' on the model of 'gladiolus'. There is a word 'culiola', the rind or shell of some sort of nut, but this is too rare to be easily confused with 'culeus'. The allusion is to the punishment of parricides; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 4. cent 9. 18 'Culleo dignus: aut, Non uno culleo dignus', Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 25. 70, and note on ii. 277. 17.

P. 345, 1–2. *cum priuilegio . . .*] Of course parodying the 'cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum' on copyright books.

2–16. *And in deede . . . Ahab*] In the quarto there are no stops except commas in this amazing sentence. I have omitted some of these and added some semicolons, but the sentence defies punctuation. The meaning is, however, fairly clear.

8. *ministers angells*] i. e.? ministering angels.

16. *Zidkiah*] i. e. Zedekiah; 2 Chron. 18. 23.

18–19. *as the Northren mans mile, and a waybitte*] The comma should be omitted; the author alludes to the northern use of the expression 'a mile and a waybit', i. e. a mile and a bit over, in giving distances of which the speaker is uncertain. Cf. Howell's *Letters*, iv. 28, 'Ours [i. e. our miles] have but eight [furlongs], unless it be in Wales, where they are allowed better Measure, or in the North Parts,

where there is a Wea-bit to every Mile' (*Cent. Dict.*). All who know Scotland know how long the 'bit over' is apt to be. The Scotch mile was itself longer than the English (see *N.E.D.* s.v. mile), but that is not the point here.

24. *one periode of uniformity in T. C.*] See the *Admonition*, ed. Arber, perhaps p. 13, but there is much to the same effect.

37. *double-fact hood*] Cf. i. 74. 22-3; 278. 12-13.

P. 346, i. *il*] In b, but not in a, the *l* of 'il' somewhat resembles a broken *f*, but Petheram's reading is impossible.

3-4. *Chro. 2 and tenth Chap.*] 2 Chron. 18. 10 seems to be meant; cf. also 1 Kings, 22. 11.

4. *with Achitophell*] See 2 Sam. 17. 23.

7-8. *Calabrian wonders of 88.*] Cf. note on i. 23. 24-5.

10. *Simei*] See 1 Kings, 2. 8.

17. *Herostratus desire to be famous*] Cf. ii. 109. 2 and note.

him] i.e. the devil.

20. *to an end*] The omission of 'come' or a similar word in such phrases is not uncommon; cf. ii. 223. 4.

21. *more*] i.e. rather, too; cf. 365. 37.

22-4. *Luther ... earth*] See Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, iv. 319-20.

29. *peuishly*] i.e. spitefully.

30. *vnuenidall*] This can, I think, only be an error for 'vnueniall'.

31. *Battle bridge*] A bridge over a small stream falling into the Thames from the south side a short distance below London Bridge; there is still a Battle Bridge Lane. It was presumably a haunt of Puritans; cf. note on 344. 12-13, and perhaps 351. 10-13.

38. *trenchour Aristippus*] i.e. one who flatters a patron for a dinner. Cf. i. 7. 22 note.

P. 347, 4. *wicked by comparison*] See the *Protestation*, A 2 (p. 3), 'were I as wicked as our Bb are'.

5. *as thou protests*] See the *Protestation*, A 2 (p. 3), 'These events [i.e. the seizing of his press, &c.] I confes doe strike me, and giue me iuste cause to enter more narrowly into my selfe, to see whethere I bee at peace with god or no.'

9-10. *the painted ... devotion*] 'In such a phrase as [this] we have the very Nash', Mr. R. W. Bond in Llyl, i. 56 n.

17. *his last challenge*] The *Protestation*. On the title-page Martin challenges the adherents of the bishops to appear and dispute publicly against him; see also B 1^v.

18. *limping*] Paget was lame. Cf. note on i. 83. 19.

21. *Pasquin and Marphoreus*] It is a little doubtful what is referred to. Probably, I think, Pasquil's *Countercuff* and *Return* and the *Martin's Month's Mind* of Marphorius. Possibly, however, Pasquil's *Return* alone, which has for running-title 'Pasquill and Marforius'. The use of the form 'Pasquin' is somewhat strange, especially as he is called 'Pasquill' at 374. 24, but the writer may have recalled the dedication of *Martin's Month's Mind* where the form in *n* is used.

22-3. *the pleasant author of Pap with a hatchet*] Probably Llyl; see Mr. Bond's edition iii. 390-2.

24. *from his dounghill*] Again at 369. 18.

27-8. *those runagate Printers*] The three printers arrested at Manchester in August, 1589, while printing *More Work for Cooper*; cf. 355. 17, and Appendix C.

30. *a whole Textor of tyrannie*] Alluding presumably to Martin's attack on the tyranny of the bishops (*Prot. A 4-B 1^v*), and to the well known *Epitheta* of Ravisius Textor; cf. iii. 14. 31.

31-3. *wicked Priests . . . Inquisitours*] See the *Protestation*, pp. 3, 18, 17, 19 (but 'arrant', not 'arrogant'); 4, 5, 15, 22; cf. 4.

33. *Lamhethical*] Martin (*Prot. p. 15*) has 'Lambethetical', but as Lambeth was also spelt Lambehithe (*Hay any Work*, ed. Peth. 19 mid.), Lambeth and Lambhithe, I have allowed this form to stand. Probably, however, it is a misprint for 'Lambethical'.

36. *burlibond*] Nashe has the word at i. 177. 26. It also occurs in Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, V 2^v foot, where 'burlie boned boüers' are said to be more stupid than little men.

P. 348, 1-2. *bounsing Priests . . . Maisters*] See *Epistle*, ed. Arber, i. 22, *Hay any Work* title, foot; *Epist. 2. 1-2, 8-9*, *Epitome*, title, *Hay*, ed. Peth., 7. 5; cf. *Epist. 2. 10*.

2. *proud and pontificall*] Cf. 'popelike and pontificall' *Epit.*, ed. Peth. 53 foot.

2-3. *Patriopolitians*] A mistake for 'Paltripolitans'; see *Epit. 53. 18*, *Epist. 2. 3, 25. 2*; cf. 24. 3. 'An opprobrious perversion of *metropolitan*; associating it with *paltry*', *N.E.D.*

4-5. *meete them in your dish*] Fairly common; cf. Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, Sh. Soc., p. 27 foot, 'You heare . . . how he is markt: if ye meeete him in your pottage-dish, yet know him.'

7. *gun-pouder papers*] Cf. Martin's *Month's Mind*, A 2^v-3 (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 146-7), 'their purpose is to make some hot worke with vs, . . . that haue chosen a *Salt peter* man for their foreman, and a gunne powder house (an hell on earth) for their printing shop. [marg. Martin makes gun powder.] But I hope they shall not want Matches to sindge them with their owne fire, and to blowe vp their powder and all about their eares.' Cf. 355. 17-18. The writer is referring to the discovery of the secret press at Manchester, evidently in a gunpowder house.

10. *supplication in behalfe of his seruants*] Cf. *Protestation*, A 2^v (p. 4).

13-14. *Meg Law . . . foode*] I cannot explain the allusion.

17. *Maister Cooper . . . Paules chaine*] Cf. note on i. 90. 7.

20. *plackarde*] i.e. placket, here used for pocket in a skirt.

21. *hodie-peles*] Given in *N.E.D.* under *hoddypoll*—i.e. simpleton, a rare word used by Skelton in *Why come ye nat to courte?* 669-73, 'I wonder, How such a hoddy poule So boldely dare controule, And so malapertly withstande The kynges owne hand.' Nevertheless it seems equally likely that the word may be a misprint for the much commoner 'hoddy peke'; cf. i. 17. 24 and ii. 263. 28.

24-5. *which a . . . brother of yours denide*] I know nothing of this.

26. *as*] Against my suggested reading 'an' it should be noted that the usual spelling until 1600 was 'and', though 'an' is occasionally found.

27. *true-pennie*] i.e. honest fellow; see notes of commentators on *Hamlet*, I. v. 150.

31. *worming and launcing*] The allusion is to some scene in one of the plays in which Martin was ridiculed ; cf. *Martin's Month's Mind*, E 3^v (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 175), where occurs the statement that Martin was 'first drie beaten, & therby his bones broken, then whipt that made him winse, then wormd and launced, that he tooke verie grieuouslie, to be made a *Maygame* vpon the *Stage*'. To this there are side-notes 'T. C. [i. e. the *Admonition*]. A whip for an Ape. The Theater'.

Buls] See note on i. 319. 35.

34. *cha*] Used apparently for 'he', but properly a dialect form of 'I have'; cf. *Gam. Gurt. Needle*, I. iii. 4, V. ii. 302.

35. *he*] i.e. man, not uncommon ; cf. *N.E.D.*, and 3 *Hen. VI*, II. ii. 97.

P. 349, 1-2. *Butchers and Horseleeches*] Cf. 347. 32, note.

6. *quoth Martin*] See the *Protestation*, A 3 (p. 5).

11-12. *quest of faces*] Cf. 2 *Ret. from Parnassus*, II. vi. 65-7 (ed. Macray, ll. 1000-1), 'you should haue seene him . . . run through a iury of faces'. Similarly 'alphabet of faces' at i. 167. 34-5.

21. *Dic Ecclesiae*] The allusion is to the words 'And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church : but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican', Matt. 18. 17, which words of Christ according to the Puritans implied his recognition of a certain fixed form of Church government. As Bancroft said in his celebrated Paul's cross sermon of Feb. 8. 1588/9 Many 'do affirme that when Christ used these words, *Dic ecclesiae*, he ment thereby to establish in the church for ever the same plat and forme of ecclesiastical government, to be erected in everie parish, which Moses by *Iethroes* counsell appointed in mount Sinaie : and which afterward the Lewes did imitate in their particular synagogs.

'They had (saie these men) in their synagogs their priests, we must have in every parish our pastors : they their Levites, we our doctors : they their rulers of their synagogs, we our elders : they their leviticall treasurers, we our deacons' (B.4^v-5 ; quoted by Maskell, *M.M. Controversy*, p. 219).

25-6. *simple T.C.*] Both Cooper and Cartwright having the initials T. C., Martin says that in order to distinguish them he will call the former 'profane T. C.' and the latter 'simple T. C.' He of course means that he will use the initials T. C. alone, without any adjective, as in fact he does. See *Hay any work*, ed. Peth., 62. 4-8.

26-7. *soaking Demonstrationer*] From the mention of 'discipline' below it is evident that Udall and his *Demonstration of Discipline* are referred to. By 'soaking' perhaps 'boozing' is meant, but I doubt if the use was so early. Cf. 'soaker' at i. 302. 7.

P. 350, 3-4. *a whole hoast of Pasquils*] The only tract under the name of Pasquil which followed this was the *Apology*. The controversy was fast drawing to an end.

7. *Mar-Martine*] The writer probably means 'Mar-Martin Junior'; cf. 349. 24. 'Mar-Martin' was the author of *Pappe*, i.e. probably Lylly. See Introduction.

8. *prouide them to God-warde*] i.e., I suppose, make their peace with God ; but compare the curious phrase 'to God-ward of their prouant' at ii. 225. 29-30.

12. *dudgen*] i.e. spiteful, or here, perhaps, captious.

13. *Wig.*] i.e. Giles Wigginton; see note on i. 83. 17.

Pag.] i.e. Eusebius Pagit or Paget; see note on i. 83. 19.

16. *Sir Peter nor Sir Paul*] See note on i. 57. 7.

P. 351, 3. *Cli.*] i.e. Cliffe; see note on 344. 12.

New.] i.e. Humfrey Newman, a cobbler who was a chief agent in the distribution of the Marprelate books. Cf. Arber, *Introduct. Sketch* 131, and Sharpe's Deposition there reprinted, pp. 94-104, §§ 1, p, t, w, aa, &c.; also note on 363. 30.

7. *Preacher in Ipswich*] I cannot identify him.

11. *Batter*] There seems to be no such place, while Battle Bridge was apparently a haunt of Puritans; see 346. 31. I do not know who is the 'reuerent Pastour' referred to.

16. *olde dogge*] See note on iii. 7. 7.

30-1. *little Down.*] i.e. Little Dunham. The rector was at this time one Thomas Repkin, of whom I can learn nothing.

32-3. *tenne shillings Sermons*] I do not know what is meant.

P. 352, 4. *apes of all their extremities*] i.e. imitators of all that they were compelled by misfortune to do.

25. *oppose*] Cf. iii. 315. 10 and note.

32. *the Booke-binder, and his accomplishes at Burie*] I can learn nothing of these.

P. 353, 1. *Obsignatos testes*] The writer seems to mean irrefutable witnesses. He may be thinking of the 'obsignatae tabellae' of Cic. *Tusc.* v. 11. 32; cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 162. 438.

3-5. *in thy fyrste booke . . . gouernement*] I cannot find precisely this in the *Epistle*, though something of the kind might be deduced from several passages. See *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth., 24.

7. *in an other place*] *Hay any Work*, 25 mid.

23-33. *The humours . . . thee*] Though it would be unsafe to build any argument upon it, there is, I think, a distinct resemblance in style between this passage and parts of *Christ's Tears*, especially the oration of Christ at ii. 21, &c.

P. 354, 8-9. *Sic morior . . .*] The source, if any, is unknown to me.

15. *We must not reason from the successe*] *Protestation*, A 3^v, 'Resone not frome the successe of thinges vntoe the goodnesse of the causse.'

21. *Will Tony*] I can give no information about this person. One may safely infer that he was notorious for the scurrility of his language.

24. *King & colier*] The phrase is unknown to me.

24-5] Cf. 'Sohow | brother Bridges' *Epistle*, ed. Arber, II. 14: 'Wohohow | brother London', *Ep.* 33. 12; Aylmer is frequently referred to by Martin as 'Iohn of London': 'Ha | ha | D. Copcot' *Ep.* 5. 1.

29. *make the comparison*] See the *Protestation*, A 3^v.

P. 355, 10-11. *perswaded that the Lord hath some speciall purpose*] *Protestation*, A 3^v, 'the Lord him selfe hath a specyall hand to trye it maye be who theye are, that with a double face, and who with a siuile [Qy. single or simple] hart doe affecte the cause.'

17-18. *saltpeiermen*] According to M. Sutcliffe's answer to Job Throkmorton printed in Prof. Arber's *Introductory Sketch*, p. 177, Hodgkin was a saltpeierman, and, as he adds, 'a good printer for such saltpeier and gunpowder works.'

18. *Hodgkins, Tomlins, and Sims*] The three printers hired by Penry after the defection of Waldgrave in April, 1589; see Appendix C.

21. *Accidences*] Hodgkins seems earlier to have planned to cover his proceedings by printing Accidences; cf. Arber, *Intr. Sketch*, 101. 26-7.

22. *my L. of Darbies men*] See Arber, *Intro. Sketch*, 112. The Earl of Derby was Henry Stanley (1531-93) who had been Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire since 1572. Since 1585 his son Ferdinando had acted as his deputy, but arrests would still presumably be made in his name.

31. *goodman Spe.*] I can learn nothing of him.

38. *vitia naturæ nō sunt reprehendenda*] Cf. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 5 (7). 16 τῶν δὴ περὶ τὸ σῶμα κακῶν αἱ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτιμῶνται, αἱ δὲ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ.

P. 356, 2. *Masse Martin*] Apparently an intentional misspelling of Mas. in order to connect it with the Roman mass.

3. *ruffians hal*] Cf. i. 187. 16 note.

6. *crabtree stile*] Joking on a crabtree cudgel; cf. iii. 48. 35.

9. *Bumfeging*] i.e. beating. Alluding to Martin's threat: 'ise so bumfeg the Cooper, as he had bin better to haue hooped halfe the tubbes in Winchester, then write against my worships pistles', *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth. 24. No earlier example has been found.

11. *in a frosty morning*] Cf. iii. 315. 32-3.

16-19. *age of Martinisme . . . last yeare of Lambethisme*] *Protestation*, A 3^v-4 'Let them be well assured it [i.e. Martin's campaign] was not vndertaken to be intermitted at everye blast of euill successe. Naye let them knowe that by the grace of god the last yeare of martinisme, that is, of the discryng and displaying of L Bb shall not be, till full 2 year after the last year of Lambethisme . . .'

23-5. *If they will needs . . . exploite &c*] *Protestation*, A 4.

31. *with a witnesse*] Cf. note on i. 321. 28.

aged champion of Warwicke] i.e. presumably Thomas Cartwright, who about 1586 had been appointed master of a hospital founded by the Earl of Leicester at Warwick. He was some 54 years old.

33. *Phil. Stu.*] i.e. Philip Stubbes.

36. *Egertons Sermons*] The Puritan divine Stephen Egerton (1555?-1621?) must be meant. He was one of those suspended in 1584 for refusing to subscribe Whitgift's articles.

Trauerses] See note on Travers at i. 81. 1.

39. *speakē against dice*] *Anat.*, ed. Furnivall for N. S. S. i. 173-7, but Stubbes allows moderate playing, not for money, 'after some oppression of studie, to drive away fantasies and suche like'.

P. 357, 7. *for ames ase and the dise*] I do not understand the phrase, which probably refers to some particular game. It evidently means for the highest stake.

9. *calleth them minstrels*] Referring, perhaps, to *Anat.* 172, where Stubbes says 'it weare better (in respecte of acceptation) to be a Pyper, or bawdye minstrell, then a diuine, for the one is looued for his ryaldrarie, the other hated for his grauitie, wisdom, and sobrietie.'

10-11 *the Reader in Cheshire*] Nothing seems to be known about this readership in Cheshire.

16. *Clarke*] I can learn nothing of him.

38. *a dreaming deuine of Cambridge*] Mr. Crawford refers me to

Bacon's *Apophthegms* (No. 56 in Montague's collection and 106 in the Bohn Lib., *Works*): 'Mr. Marbury the preacher would say, "That God was fain to do with wicked men, as men do with frisking jades in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them at a gate. So wicked men will not be taken up till the hour of death." There are two Marburys in Hennessy's *Nov. Rep.*, but I can learn little about them. The parallel is interesting, but the idea might, I think, easily be suggested by the 'untamed horse' of Eccl. 30. 8.'

P. 358, 3. *Sunt oculos . . . tanquam*] An old riddle, which will be found in the *Carminum Proverbialium . . . loci communes* of S. A. I. (ed. 1579, p. 10), under 'Aenigmata', as:

‘C. O. Q. C. S. T. S.

Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam:
Dico grammaticum, versum qui construit istum’.

The letters of the heading give the order in which the words should be placed in order to obtain sense, namely, 'Cernis oculos qui clari sunt tanquam sydera'.

Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 126) says, 'The Cambridge M.A. who challenged the degrees he never took for making *clari* a passive at Wolf's printing-house, is, of course, Gabriel Harvey.' This seems to me extremely doubtful.

4. *put to your trumpe*s] i.e. in a difficulty, obliged to play your best card. The phrase was fairly common. *Cent. Dict.* quotes Peele's *Ed. I.*, iv, 'Ay, there's a card that puts us to our trump'. Cf. also Lyly's *Campaspe*, III. iv. 59–60, and Greene, *Ciceronis Amor*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vii. 131. 15.

17. *threatens to place in every parish*] See *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 37. 11–12.

24–5. *Innobedientiae morbus . . .*] From the *De Claustro Anima*e of Hugo de Folieto (printed by Migne in an appendix to the works of Hugo de S. Victore), bk. ii, chapters 11–23 of which have for subject 'Quod duodecim sunt abusiones claustrorum'. Of these the second 'De discipulo inobediente' begins 'Inobedientiae morbus ex superbiae tumore procedens, sicut sanies ex vulnere, sic ex ulcere contemptus emanat.' Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 176 (Hug. de S. Vic. 2), col. 1061. The marginal reference suggests confusion with an altogether different work, the *De duodecim abusionibus saeculi*, which has been ascribed both to Cyprian and to Augustine.

26. *madnesse*] Note the mistranslation of *sanie*. It should of course be 'pus'. But the confusion of 'sanies' and 'insania' looks more like carelessness than ignorance.

27–30. *Dum plus exquirunt . . .*] Though in the *Moralia*, both in book viii and elsewhere, there is much to the same effect (cf. especially xx. 8), I have been unable to discover this passage.

35. *Stans puer ad mensam*] A short Latin poem on table manners, said to be by J. Sulpitius Verulanus, or the English translation of the same attributed to Lydgate. See Dr. Furnivall's *Babees Book*, E. E. T. S., 1868, ii. 30, for the Latin, and i. 26, 27, for the English. Cf. also Rhodes' *Book of Nurture* in the same collection, which includes an expanded version of the poem.

36. *Qui mihi discipulus*] See note on iii. 13. 24–5.

P. 359, 1. saith *Cassiodorus*] I cannot discover the passage in his educational works.

5. *Littleton*] Sir Thomas Littleton (1402-81), author of a treatise on 'Tenures', which was the standard work on English real property law.

13. *Ieroboams hil altars*] Cf. 1 Kings 13. 1-3.

15-16. to compasse the office of the Vice-chauncelour-ship] I cannot find evidence of any such attempt or desire on Cartwright's part; but during the great dispute in 1570, which ended in his being deprived of his Lady Margaret professorship, he was supported by so strong a party at the university that his election to that office must at one time have seemed quite possible (cf. Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 207-27, especially 221).

P. 360, 6. *idoll of Warwicke*] Cf. 356. 31.

9-10. *perit omne . . .*] I have been unable to find this in S. Gregory; cf., however, *Moralia*, xxxiv, § 51; Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 76 (Gregory 2), col. 747 'soli ergo ruinae crescit quod aedificant, qui ante molem fabricae humilitatis fundamina non procurant.'

15-17. *Quæ maior . . .*] S. Bernard, *Sermones in Tempore Resurrectionis*, iii (ii), Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 183 (S. Bern. 2), col. 290 foot. With the corrections made in the text the quotation is accurate.

21. *Nichanor*] See 2 Maccabees 15.

Antiochus] See 2 Maccabees 5. 17; 14. 2.

27. *M. sauce malapert*] 'Sir Sauce' or Jack Sauce' was a very common term for an impudent fellow, and Greene similarly uses 'Mounsieur malapert', *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 225. 3. Possibly the term here used was suggested by Cooper's *Admonition*, ed. Arber, 37, where Martin's 'saucie and malapert behauisour towarde the Arch-bishopp' is spoken of.

35. *in discordia nemo benedit Dominum*] Source not found.

P. 361, 1-2. *Nullus est modus inimicitis . . .*] I cannot find this in St. Augustine.

3-5. *Sicut nihil est deformius . . .*] Not found.

7. *him*] i. e. I suppose Cartwright, while 'his learninge' in the next line must be Whitgiff's.

13-15. *nil tam facile est . . .*] Not found.

17-20. *Mens prava . . .*] Slightly varied from *Moralia*, xii. 34 (commentary on Job 15. 21); Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 75 (Gregory 1), col. 1007.

31. *idem per idem*] The phrase is used by Nashe at i. 282. 32.

34. *Dunce or Dorbel*] See note on i. 198. 13.

P. 362, 2. *geering*] i. e. jeering.

5. *Howlyglasse*] Cf. note on i. 23. 1.

10-11. *none of the straightest*] Cf. note on i. 83. 19, also ll. 25-6 below.

18. *groape*] i. e. 'to handle (poultry) in order to find whether they have eggs', *N.E.D.*

27. *Houns*.] Not, I think, a person's name, but Hounslow, where according to the *Just Censure*, D 2, Pagit was then living; 'his maide' must be Pagit's own.

29. *deprive*] See note on i. 83. 19.

38. *Ragdale*] I can learn nothing of this person.

P. 363, 2. *Giles Wig.*] See note on Wiggenton at i. 83. 17.

3. *Sedgwickes pack-prickes*] I cannot explain the meaning.

11. *the Earle of Huntington*] i.e. Henry Hastings (1535-95). He was, according to Camden, 'a zealous Puritan', and 'much wasted his estate by a lavish support of those hot-headed preachers' (from *D.N.B.*).

19. *no barrell better herring*] Cf. iii. 222. 9.

22. *Glib. of Hawstead*] The allusion is to a tale told of 'an honest priest', one 'Gliberie of Hawsteade in Essex' in *Hay any Work*, ed. Petheram, p. 20-1. It would seem that while Gliberie was preaching, his eye happened to light on a boy with a red cap among the congregation. The sight of this unfamiliar object so confused him that he forgot what he intended to say, and could utter nothing but 'Take away red cap there, take away red cappe there'. The tale of John a Borhead at 364. 8-19 is, as is indicated, intended as a set-off against this.

25-6. *in spite of midsümer moone*] Cf. *Epit.*, ed. Peth., 14. 13-14. 'Midsummer moon' is explained in *N.E.D.* as '?the lunar month in which Midsummer Day comes; sometimes alluded to as a time when lunacy is supposed to be prevalent'. In the *Epitome* 'you may demand, whether it be midsommer Moone with him or no', clearly means you may ask whether he is not off his head. The present phrase seems equivalent to—in spite of the likelihood of driving Wiggenton mad. Cf. iii. 38. 7-8.

28. *land of little Wittam*] 'Small Witam' and 'little Brainford' are mentioned in *Martin's Month's Mind*, G 2^v-3 (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 192), as 'in the possession of Pag. and Wig.' I cannot identify 'little Wittam.'

29. *Hicke, Hob, and John*] Taken as typical names.

30. *Cutbert C., the Cobler,*] I suppose Cliffe is meant; cf. note on 344. 12-13.

New.] Perhaps Newman, a Puritan who took an important part in the distribution of Martin's pamphlets, but he too was a cobbler, or 'souter'; cf. 351. 3 and note, also *Martin's Month's Mind*, H 1 (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 197. 3).

30-1. *cum multis aliis que nunc prescribere longum est*] From W. Lily's *Grammar* (*Short Introduction of Grammar*, 1577, E 6), where a list of 'foeminina non crescentia' ends 'cum multis alijs, quæ nunc perscribere longum est'. The phrase is often quoted; cf. Greene's *Notable Discovery of Cosenage*, 1592, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 38, where the verb is 'præscribere', as here; it occurs with 'perscribere' in Harington's *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, p. 10. Also 'cum multis aliis' alone in Chettle's *Kind-heart's Dream*, in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N.S.S., 50. 9.

P. 364, 8. *John a Borhead*] He seems to be otherwise unknown, as does Clayham's wife mentioned in l. 13.

26. *Vd. of Kingston*] i.e. John Udall. He had been incumbent of Kingston-on-Thames from before 1584 to 1588, when he was deprived of his benefice for his antiepiscopal views. At this time he seems to have been at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

28. *Pancredge*] See note on iii. 214. 24, and cf. iii. 392. 24-5.

34. *as you gave out in the pulpyt*] I can find no other reference to this.

P. 365, 1. *emblazoned in Martins booke*] See *Epist.*, ed. Arber, 32.
13-14. *Hone, Cottington, or Chatfield*] The three are attacked by Martin in *Epist.*, ed. Arber, 32, in connexion with the deprivation of Udall. Hone is called 'Cottingtons iourniman a popish D. of the bandy court'. James Cottington was Archdeacon of Surrey, and Stephen Chatfield was Vicar of Kingston-on-Thames (see *Epist.*, ed. Arber, xiv. and *Intro. Sketch*, 91-2).

21-2. *net where he daunceth*] The phrase 'to dance in a net' is frequent in the sense of to aim at or pretend concealment while actually visible.

23. *Cælum te contegit . . .*] Probably adapted from Lucan vii. 819 'coelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam' (reference from Prof. Schick's note to *Span. Trag.*, III. xiii. 19, 'Heav'n cov'reth him that hath no burial').

26. *the Protestationer*] i. e. author of the *Protestation of Martin Marprelate*.

Demonstrationer] Curryknaue seems here to identify Penry with the author of [Udall's] *Demonstration of Discipline*.

Supplicationer] As author of the *Viewe of . . . publicke wants & disorders . . . in the seruice of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales*, 1589, which has for running title 'A Supplication to the Parliament'.

Appellationer] Alluding to 'Th' Appellation of John Penri, unto the Highe court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. . . .' 1589. See Arber, *Intro. Sketch*, p. 68, and as to the date of the pamphlet, which has been wrongly assigned to 1590, see an article by Mr. J. D. Wilson in the *Library*, Oct., 1907, pp. 337-59.

27. *the father*] i. e. Martin Marprelate.

the sonne] i. e. Martin Senior, the pseudonym of the author of the *Just Censure*.

Martin Iunior] Cf. note on i. 57. 2.

28. *Martin Martinus*] So far as I am aware, nothing was issued under this name.

28-9. *the scholler of Oxford . . . Cambridge*] i. e. *M. Some laid open in his colers . . . Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge*, [1588?].

29. *totum in toto . . .*] Cf. *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, l. 1437, the same editor's *Fraunce's Victoria*, l. 1953, and the illustrative quotations given in the notes. A formula of scholastic philosophy regarding universals, it seems at this time to have been often used to express the non-limitation of the soul to any particular part of the body. Cf. *Masque before the Queen*, 1592, in Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, ii. 205, 'the harte of a woman is lyke a soule in a bodie: *Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte.*' So that, although you had as manie louers as you haue fingers and toes, you might be one among them all, and yett wholy euerie ones'. Also 2 *Hen. IV.*, V. v. 30-1, "Tis 'semper idem', for 'obsque hoc nihil est: 'tis all in every part', and the parallels quoted by Malone and Ritson.

30-1. *that house . . . was maister*] i. e. Peterhouse, Cambridge. Perne died on April 26, 1589, while on a visit to Whitgift at Lambeth.

37. *more*] i. e. too, very; cf. 346. 21.

monster of Cracovia] I can learn nothing of any monsters in Cracovia, though there were plenty in Northern Russia.

P. 366, 12-13. *Crine ruber, niger ore, breuis pede, lumine lustus]* Cf. Martial, *Epig.* xii. 54. 1. The last word appears in modern texts as 'laesus'.

15. *Puerilis]* This school-book is mentioned in *Pappe with a Hatchet*, Llyl, ed. Bond, iii. 404. 22; see the editor's note. It seems uncertain to which of several works the name properly belonged. The *Sententiae Pueriles*, a collection of Latin phrases, mostly proverbial, may be meant.

16. *Aue Marie English]* I can find no other example of the phrase. Presumably the writer means to suggest that Penry was brought up a Romanist; cf. ll. 20-4 and 367. 29.

18. *subsistership]* Probably an intentional substitution for 'subsizarship'. A 'subsister' seems to mean a poor prisoner; cf. 'And now sir, to you that was wont like a Subsister in a gowne of rugge rent on the left shoulder, to sit singing the Counter-tenor by the Cage in Southwarke.' Chettle, *Kind-heart's Dream*, in *Sh. Allusion-books*, N. S. S., 70. 17-19. Penry does not appear ever to have been a subsizar.

20. *I. a P.]* The *a* is doubtless intended for the Welsh *ap*. The name 'Penry' was originally 'ap-Henry' (*D. N. B.*).

21. *run a false gallop]* Cf. i. 275. 7.

25-7. *be-baited his betters, . . . superstition]* See the *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 44.

28. *carrie a ring in his mouth]* The late W. J. Craig referred me to Fenton's *Bandello*, ed. Henley, 'Tudor Translations,' 1890, i. 151, 'The he bawd of London carryth a ring in his mouth, the she bawd, a basket'. Also *All's Well that Ends Well*, III. v. 95, 'And your courtesy, for a ring-carrier'.

P. 367, 3-4. *kild Anacharsis . . . Grecians]* See Herodotus iv. 76.

5. *the Epidaurians]* Not the Epidaurians, but the Epidamnians; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 29. This may have been taken from the Latin text of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 72, where the same mistake occurs in relating the story. The English translation, 1569, fol. 118^v, substitutes 'Slauonians' for the Latin 'Illyrici'.

29. *intus & in cute]* Pers. iii. 30 'ego te intus et in cute novi'. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 9. 89 'Intus & in cute notus, est modis omnibus cognitus'.

29-30. *first for a papist, then for a Brownist, next for an Anabaptist]* The statement appears to be quite unsupported by evidence.

37. *Setons modalibus]* Cf. *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, 1494-6 'Vos habetis formalitates istas phrasium, sed non estis materiati, neque gustastis unquam de *Modalibus*'. The work referred to must be J. Seton's *Dialectica*, which, first published in 1572, ran through a number of editions and was for a considerable time a popular school book. It was in use in manuscript at St. John's College, Cambridge, some years before its publication (Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 52). It is not at all clear why the book should be referred to as 'modalibus'. There is, as usual, a section 'De Modalibus' (ed. 1584, I 2, &c.), but no special prominence is given to it. Seton explains: 'Dialectici vocant propositionem modalem, quum haec vocabula adduntur, necesse,

impossibile, contingens, possibile: vt, necesse est, quae ortum habent, et finem habere. Impossible est omne metallum liquefcere,' &c.

P. 368, 2. *Aristotle . . . Ramus*] See note on i. 43. 33-4.

8. *for his new statutes*] Presumably the new statutes of the University, which received the royal sanction in September, 1570, are referred to. They were drawn up by Whitgift, with the advice of Perne and other heads of colleges, and encountered strong opposition, not only among the Puritans, but also among the younger members of the University (see Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 222-3, 231, &c.). Penry did not matriculate at Peterhouse until 1580, but the feeling against the new statutes continued for some years. Perne was also concerned in the drawing up of new statutes for St. John's College in 1576, but though these may have been to some extent distasteful to the Puritans, they do not seem to have been much discussed outside the college.

20-2. *Puritane preachers . . . Northfolke*] Cf. the Puritan localities mentioned at i. 60. 26-35.

26. *combes to choake bees*] I am doubtful what is meant. Under 'coom' = coal dust, *N.E.D.* gives a word which is explained by the following quotation from C. Butler's *Feminine Monarchy*, vi. (1623) O. ij, 'This kinde of honey . . . after a while it corrupteth and . . . becometh the sowrest, and the most unsauory of all things . . . which, then they commonly call stopping or Coome'. (The words 'or Coome' are not in the edition of 1609, G 5.) Butler states that this decayed honey is so noxious to the bees that they forsake the hive, and possibly something of the sort is referred to here. The word is, I think, erroneously connected with 'coom': Butler's statement a few lines later that people regard and speak of this kind of honey as wax, seems to render it probable that his 'Coome' is merely 'comb'.

30. *confutation of the Remish Testament*] 'On the appearance of the Rheinish version of the New Testament in 1582 Cartwright was persuaded by the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others (at the pressing instance, it is said, of Beza and some of the leading scholars at Cambridge) to prepare a criticism of the work' (*D.N.B.*). The undertaking was, however, not favoured by Whitgift, and the book was not printed until after Cartwright's death. This was, I suppose, 'Master Cartwright's Testament against the Jesuits', which Waldegrave intended to print in Devonshire in 1589; see Arber, *Introd. Sketch*, 99. 38-9. Martin laid down the permission for this to be printed as one of the 'Conditions of Peace' with the bishops, *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 35.

31. *Saint Laurence his Monastery*] The writer probably means Emmanuel College, founded in 1584, which was always strongly Puritan, the allusion being to the well-known Laurence Chaderton, its first Master. Cartwright left England in 1573, and was still abroad at the time of the foundation, but returned to England early in 1585. The site of Emmanuel was formerly occupied by a house of Dominican friars.

36. *Lycosthenes*] i.e. Conrad Wolffhart, whose collection of *Apophthegmata* (1555) was well known.

P. 369, 1. *bugs*] See note on i. 134. 23.

7. *Ille ego qui quondam*] Part of the first of four probably spurious lines prefixed to the first book of the *Aeneid*.

9. *straine curtesie*] Cf. i. 163. 15.

10. *Northren figures*] Apparently alluding to the intentional rudeness of Martin's style.

12. *Archilochus*] Cf. i. 285. 3-8, and for 'armour of Iambicks', Horace, *A. P.* 79 'Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo'.

18. *Danus*] This must certainly, I think, be 'Daius'. The name was of course commonly used for a plain or ignorant fellow, in allusion to *Andria*, i. 2. 23 'Davus sum, non Oedipus'.

26-7. *hath subscribed our magistrats infants*] Not, apparently, in the *Protestation*.

29. *the pouerty of their fines*] Can the phrase mean the poverty caused by fines paid for non-compliance with ecclesiastical law? But those who were proceeded against for their Puritan views seem generally to have been imprisoned.

32. *disputation*] See note on 347. 17.

36. *Crepundio*] Cf. iii. 314. 32.

38. *our Vniuersity schooles at Oxford*] Note this indication that the writer is an Oxford man. At the same time it must be confessed that in other passages he seems to show more knowledge of Cambridge; cf., for example, 368. 12-16.

P. 370, i. *puluere Philosophico*] Nashe uses the phrase at i. 278. 22-3.

6. *about Bury*] In *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth., 75, Martin speaks of having a register—apparently of his followers—at Bury, as if it was a centre of Puritanism.

11-12. *father of the act*] i. e. the person who presided at a disputation.

20-3. *Some . . . orderly*] The sentence may, and probably should, be read as a question. Q has a full stop.

21. *Scar. of Warwiche shire*] I can learn nothing of him or of Criar in i. 23.

26. *buttond bookes*] Presumably books fastened with a button and loop instead of the more usual clasp are meant, but I do not understand the special point of the allusion.

27. *Giles*] i. e. Wiggenton; see note on i. 83. 17.

28. *like Zeno*] Cf. iii. 185. 16-17.

37. *virtus laudata crescit*] Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 2. 35-6 'laudataque virtus Crescit.'

P. 371, 10. *to compare themselus with Jerome or Austen*] On the small esteem in which Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine were held by the Cambridge Puritans see Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 299.

18. *a learned ministry*] The same Puritan demand for a learned ministry is discussed in Pasquil's *Apology*, i. 119. 37, &c. See note on i. 120. 4-5.

35. *two and fiftie thousand Parish churches*] Perhaps taken from Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars*, 1531, as given in Foxe's *Acts and Mon.* (ed. Townsend, iv. 659), 'There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches'. Foxe in a note denies that the parishes were in his time so numerous. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 324, gives the number of parish churches in Edward IV's time as 45,120, but appears not to know the number in his own days (p. 326), though supposing it was much less. Harvey, in *Pierce's Supererogation*,

L 3, Q 2, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 143, 195, also gives 'about 52,000' as the number. (Grosart's '5200' on p. 143 is an error.)

P. 372, 1. *Our Beadles*] Again showing that the writer was an Oxford man.

3-4. *three thousand : in Cambridge ... not so many by a thousand*] In 1569 the number of residents at Cambridge was 1630, and by the end of the century nearly 2,000; cf. Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 214. He states that the number proceeding B.A. at Oxford was throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century fully a third less than at Cambridge.

8-9. *because there is no more . . . Vniuersities*] Because so few of those who can preach agree with your doctrines.

13. *the cobler of Norwich*] I can learn nothing of him. St. Andrew's is one of the parish churches of Norwich.

32. *the Pewteres pageant*] I cannot identify this pageant. Possibly the reference may be merely to some motto or device on a banner borne by the company at the preceding Lord Mayor's Show or other civic festival, which may have excited amusement at the time.

38. *wilie gilies*] See note on iii. 107. 14.

P. 373, 1. *concerne*] It seems impossible to understand this word here. Perhaps 'conceive' or 'conceite' was intended.

9. *hors-holy*] The only example of the word in *N.E.D.*, which compares the proverb 'as holy as a horse' (one instance alone, in 1530).

16. *he of Yarmouth*] Not identified. The wearing of a veil by women who came to be churched was strongly objected to by Puritans. See Whitgift's discussion of the matter in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, p. 537.

34-5. *preaching brother in Bury*] Not identified. Trinity Hall was of course identified with the study of the Civil Law.

P. 374, 12. *Bull*] See note on i. 319. 35.

18. *Maw*] A game at cards, here of course used with an equivoque.

19. *by Primero*] i.e. with playing primero. The person was William Chaderton, Bishop of Westchester (i.e. Chester), 1579-95. See *Hay any Work*, ed. Petheram, p. 11.

20. *Noddy*] i.e. a game of cards—also a fool, simpleton.

21. *the ninth set*] Curryknave appears to mean that Martin's last book—presumably the *Protestation*—is the ninth which has been refuted. The number is perhaps arrived at by adding to the seven works distinctively Martinist (*Epistle*, *Epitome*, *Mineral Conclusions*, *Hay any Work*, *Theses*, *Just Censure*, and *Protestation*), the *Supplication to the Parliament*, and *M. Some laid open in his colours*, which in 365. 26-8 he classes with the others. But there the *Demonstration of Discipline* and the *Appellation* seem also to be included.

23. *for calling him Iudas*] Martin Senior's *Just Censure . . . of Martin Junior*, where there is a reign'd 'Oration of Iohn Canturburie to the pursuavants, when he directed his warrants vnto them to post after Martin'. After telling them that her Majesty's Privy Council is well set up with such a company of messengers as they are, he continues (A 2v), 'Or, haue you diligently soght mee out Walde-graue the Printer, Newman the Cobler, Sharpe the bookebinder of Northampton, and that seditious Welch man Penry, who you shall see will prooue the Author of all these libelles? I thanke you Maister Munday, you are

a good Gentleman of your worde. Ah thou Iudas, thou that hast alreadie betrayed the Papistes, I thinke meanest to betray vs also. Diddest thou not assure me, without all doubt, that thou wouldest bring mee in, Penry, Newman, Walde-graue, presse, letters, and all, before Saint Andrewes day last. And nowe thou seest we are as farre to seeke for them, as euer we were.'

false carding] i.e. false play.

24-5. *Pasquill . . . legends*] Cf. i. 61. 1 and note.

P. 375, 13. *Dawy of Canterbury*] Nothing seems to be known of him.

21. *I leualted*] The 'I' is presumably a misprint and should be omitted.

31. *Cowdresser*] i.e. cowherd.

32. *Jane of Ipswich*] I can find no other reference to her.

P. 376, 2-3. *for my brother . . . Repentance*] i.e. Arthur Dent (d. 1607), M.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1579, rector of South Shoebury, Essex, 1580-1607. In 1583 he published *A Sermon of Repentance . . . preached at Lee in Essex*, which was several times reprinted. In 1584 a petition was presented to the Lords of the Council by Dent and a number of others against the persecution which had followed their refusal to sign Whitgift's articles of 1583, asserting the validity of everything contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*. See B. Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, ii. 111-12 and 274-5. I do not know if there is any special allusion in 'O sweet Margery', &c., in l. 5.

11. *hold him tugge*] i.e. oppose him, answer him.

12. *blacke booke*] Apparently the author planned a work of the same kind as Greene; cf. i. 155. 5, note.

24. *bon nute*] i.e. bonne nuit; perhaps to be counted as a misprint.

A WONDERFVLL STRANGE AND MIRACVLOVS ASTROLOGICALL PROGNOSTICATION.

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

This is to be inferred from the title-page, where the Prognostication is said to be 'for this yeer of our Lord God. 1591'. Cf. also 381. 6 'this yeere', 382. 2-3, &c. It was presumably intended to appear early in 1591.

2. Source.

While there is, of course, no particular source for this humorous prognostication, there was on the other hand no particular originality in the idea. One may mention the *Prognostication Pantagrueline* of Rabelais, which in its turn 'is freely adapted from two similar ones in Latin in the appendix to the *Facetiae* of Heinrich Bebel (? 1470-1518) . . . One of these was borrowed by Bebel from the Italian, and the other translated from an anonymous German writer by Bebel's pupil, Heinrichmann of Sindelfingen' (Mr. W. F. Smith's note in his translation of Rabelais).

The book is one of a group of three published about the same time in real or pretended rivalry. The existence of the first is to be inferred from an entry in the Stationers' Register on Feb. 25, 1590-1, to W. Wright of 'A booke entituled ffauncis fayre weather', taken

together with the passage of Florio quoted below. So far as I am aware no copy of it is at present in existence. The second is the *Wonderful Prognostication* here reprinted, while the third is Simon Smell-Knave's *Fearful and lamentable effects of two . . . Comets, which shall appear in the year . . . 1591, the 25 of March.* That this followed Adam Fowleweather's production is shown by a reference to that work with which it opens. Some joking on the days of the week, in which Monday is said to be the best of all, perhaps suggests that Anthony Munday was the author (D2v).

The three pamphlets are referred to together in John Florio's dedication to Nicholas Saundar of his *Second Fruits*, 1591, A 2, where he mentions those that 'pronosticate of faire, of foule, and of smelling weather'. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 300, speaks of Perne as 'a fayre Prognostication of fowle weather', a phrase which may possibly have been suggested by a recollection of 'Adam Fowleweather', but even if it be so the allusion is entirely without significance.

3. Authorship.

See Introduction.

P. 381, 16. *prickes*] Cf. iii. 184. 7, note.

27-8. *Sapiens dominabitur astris*] Cf. iii. 124. 19-20.

P. 382, 19-20. *cheefe gouernour of flouds*] Mr. Crawford compares *Mids. N. Dr.*, II. i. 103, 'the moon, the governess of floods'.

25. *Theames water*] Cf. i. 173. 31 and note.

P. 383, 12. *whose faces being combust*] The usual *fieri facias* joke; cf. ii. 230. 30.

21. *Lemmans*] For the leman-lemon joke cf. iii. 197. 17-18.

33. *check mate*] i. e. on friendly terms. Cf. i. 173. 23.

35. *pennylesse benche*] Explained in *N.E.D.* as 'the name of a covered bench which formerly stood beside Carfax Church, Oxford, and apparently of similar open-air seats elsewhere, probably as being the resort of destitute wayfarers'. The allusive use was very common at this date.

P. 384, 7. *by digits*] i. e. partially; a digit was a term for the twelfth part of the diameter of the sun or moon.

10. *of the one accord*] i. e. of their own accord; cf. *N.E.D.*, s. v. *own a.*, 2 b.

15. *Spanish buttons*] Apparently syphilitic buboes.

27-8. *to stiffe Tennice balles*] Cf. ii. 229. 17-18 and note.

29. *Peticote lane*] The locality seems to have had no particularly bad reputation and the allusion to be merely a jest.

33. *Shordich*] Cf. i. 216. 6-7; 217. 5.

36. *short heeld*] i. e. wanton; Mr. Farmer in *Slang Dict.* quotes Chapman, *Blind Beggar*, *Wks.*, ed. Shepherd (1874), 15, and *May-day*, IV. iv. See also Lylly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, iii. 137. 18 and note. Cf. 'light-heeled' and *Impatient Poverty*, 662, where of a 'propre wenche' it is said that 'Her hele were not so brode as an ynche'.

37. *while*] i. e. till.

P. 385, 6-7. *in the parish of S. Brides*] Joking, of course, on Bridewell.

16. *fiue and a reache*] Cf. Lodge, *Wit's Misery*, 1596, G 1, 'This

Deuill [i. e. Dicing] . . . ere he wil want mony for Come-on-five [a card game], he will haue it by fие and a reach, or hang for it.'

18. *from poste to piller*] Cf. *Liberality and Prodigality*, II. iv (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 349), 'euery minute tost, Like to a tennis-ball, from pillar to post'—a quotation which indicates the probable origin of this common expression.

19. *beggars bush*] 'a tree notoriously known, on the left hand of the London road from Huntington to Caxton'. Ray's *Proverbs*, p. 244, ed. 1768, Dyce's note to Fletcher and Massinger's play of the name, I. iii. 151 (from Mr. P. A. Daniel's ed., who give reference to Ray also as p. 206, ed. Bohn).

24. *rough cast eloquence*] Cf. the somewhat different use of the phrase at iii. 154. 9.

25. *holydaiy woords*] Cf. Lodge and Greene's *Looking-Glass*, 591-4, 'she [i. e. my wife] will call me Rascall, Rogue, Runnagate, Varlet, Vagabond, Slaue, Knaue. Why alasse sir, and these be but holi-day tearmes, but if you heard her working-day words, in faith, sir, they be ratlers like thunder, sir.'

34. *clause*] i. e. conclusion, as Lat. *clausula*.

P. 386, 20-1. *the Danes . . . giuen to drincke*] Cf. i. 180. 16.

22. *Hoffes*] Cf. 'houghs', ii. 247. 19.

24. *Spruce Beere*] Cf. ii. 248. 35.

29. *for drinking*] i. e. 'against drinking'. Cf. ii. 308. 27.

P. 387, 18. *Squinancie*] i. e. quinsy.

24. *Person*] i. e. parson. *N.E.D.* gives the *e*-form as in use till the eighteenth century.

Horne-Church] Near Romford.

28-9. *hee that wypes his Nose . . . face*] Cf. i. 181. 28, margin.

36. *Pisces . . . gouernes the feete*] Cf. *Kalender of Shepherdes*, ed. Sommer, ii. sig. g 7^v (picture) and g 8—or almost any almanac of the time.

P. 388, 1. *they slandered Ram alley*] I do not understand the allusion. For 'Ram Alley' cf. i. 299. 33.

12. *whatsoeuer Ptolomie sayes*] It seems possible that this may allude to the odd phrase 'and also Ptholomeus sayth the same' on the title-page of the well-known almanac of 'Erra Pater'; see note on iii. 216. 32.

34. *with a Bason*] Cf. note on i. 72. 9, end.

P. 389, 5. *go woolward*] Cf. Love's *Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 717, and Lodge, *Wil's Misery*, 1596, I 4, top, 'his common course is to go alwaies vntrust, except when his shirt is a washing, & then he goes woolward.' (Paraphrased in Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, E 4^v.)

6. *till*] i. e. while; cf. 393. 4, and Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 53. 3 and xi. 99. 5 (*Defence of Conycatching*). Used, I believe, only once by Nashe in this sense—at iii. 264. 974.

7. *the olde Swanne*] Presumably an inn or an early play-house on the Bank-side; the well-known theatre of the name was not projected until 1594.

14. *Iacke a lent*] A figure used for throwing at, an Aunt Sally. Earlier than examples in *N.E.D.* Curry-knave seems to be using it for 'popery', of which, indeed, the figure was evidently symbolical.

Cf. in Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*, ed. Townsend, vi. 35, 39, the references to a ballad current in 1547 called *Jack of Lent's English Testament*. Cf. iii. 94. 10 and note.

14-15. *as a signe of popish religion*] Cf. note on ii. 107. 19-21.

25. *heart at grasse*] i. e. 'heart of grace,' courage. Cf. Lyly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 212. 12.

26. *lambeake*] i. e. thrash.

32. *poutes*] A name applied to several kinds of fish, such as the bib, or whiting-pout; here of course with a pun.

P. 390, 10. *Cephalagies*] Of course a mistake—or possibly misprint—for cephalalgia.

34-5. *laugh & weepe . . . winde*] Mr. Crawford compares *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 413-14, 'For I haue heard it is a life in death, That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath'; also l. 1142.

P. 391, 5. *craftie knaves shall neede no Brokers*] The saying was very common; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 62, 'Two false knaves neede no broker'.

11. *March Beere*] Cf. note on iii. 175. 23.

14. *deuises*] Qy. 'deuisers'.

16. *sir T. Tiburne*] I can offer no explanation of the *T.*

17. *dunstable*] i. e. simple, downright. Cf. Fuller, *Worthies*, Bedfordshire, "As plain as Dunstable road." It is applied to things plain and simple, without welt or guard to adorn them, as also to matters easie and obvious to be found' (*Cent. Dict.*). At ii. 263. 20 it seems to be used for the opposite of ceremonious, i. e. rude, rather than simple.

21. *recognances*] It seems doubtful whether this should be considered as a misprint or as a mistaken form.

23-4] The writer perhaps means as many masterless men and cut-purses as there are terms in ten years (i. e. 40), or else merely that there will always be a sufficient supply.

31. *rub their teth with tallow*] This practice, which is frequently alluded to, is described by Dekker in *Lanthorn and Candle-light*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 299. The hostler steals down at night and removes all the hay . . . 'The poore Horses looked very rufuly vpon him for this, but hee rubbing their teeth onely with the end of a *Candle* (in stead of a Corrall) tolde them, that for their Iadish trickes it was now time to weane them' . . . and goes back to bed. In the morning early he comes again to the stable, 'giuing to euery lade a bottle of hay for his breake-fast; but al of them being troubled w^t the greazy tooth-ach could eate none.'

34-5. *hop a harlot*] i. e. wrap (or hap) a rascal; from 'hopharlot', some kind of coarse covering for a bed; cf. Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.*, N. S. S., i. 240. 8 (Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 317), 'our fathers . . . haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, . . . vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes)'. (Partly from *Cent. Dict.*, which compares 'wrap-rascal').

P. 392, 9. *change . . . a groate*] Cf. iii. 242. 291.

24. *the wormes of Saint Pancrudge Church*] The use of 'wormes' is curious. The writer is apparently referring to loose women. St. Pancras was a disreputable locality; cf. iii. 214. 24, and at this time the church was in a ruinous condition; see Norden's *Speculum Britanniae*, 1593, p. 38. Cf. Barnes' *Devil's Charter*, ll. 1532-3.

25. *Colman hedge*] Wherever this was, it is evident that it was a resort of prostitutes ; see the passage from *Cock Lorel's Boat* quoted by Steevens in his note to *Tr. and Cres.*, V. x (xi). 55, 'galled goose of Winchester'. He adds 'Hence the old proverbial simile—"As common as *Coleman Hedge* :" now *Coleman Street*.' References to Coleman Hedge are fairly numerous ; the late W. J. Craig pointed out to me a curious instance in North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, Temple ed., i. 197, where $\tauῶν πρὸς τὰς συνοικίας ἀκολάστων$ (*Lycurgus*, 19. 3) is given as 'incontinent men which are too busy with every rag and colman hedge' ; cf. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 110, 112 ; Barnes, *Devil's Charter*, l. 1535, and probably 'The Hedge (Rogues hall)', in S. Rowlands' *Doctor Merry-man*, 1609, A 2^v, but none known to me says where it was. There was a Coleman Street ward in the City, north of Chepe ward—the one referred to by Steevens—and also, in Aldgate ward, a parish of St. Katherine Coleman, but I do not think that either of these can be meant. By Barnes, and in the present passage, it is connected with St. Pancras Church, while Harvey's two allusions link it with Primrose Hill.

30. *yearne*] i.e. earn. *Cent. Dict.* quotes Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. 7. 15 ; see also vi. 1. 40. It occurs four times in Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*.

P. 393, 2. *Coppersmiths hal*] A jocose name for the hall of the imaginary corporation of ale-knights, from their copper noses. Cf. Prof. Collins's note on *Friar Bacon*, l. 537.

4. *til*] Cf. 389, 6.

13-14. *Duke Humfrye*] Cf. note on i. 163. 23-4.

19. *adust*] The word was apparently supposed by the writer to be an astrological term, like 'combust' (in apparent proximity to the sun), but there seems no justification for such a use. It ordinarily means dry or fiery, but Libra was not a 'fiery' sign.

29-30. *the Tailer and the louse*] Alluding of course to 'prick-louse', the slang designation of a tailor.

33. *wardroppe*] i.e. wardrobe. The form with *p* was, I think, not uncommon. Cf. Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 8. 34 (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 106. 9).

P. 394, 3. *plurisies*] Prof. Moore Smith points out that the word is here falsely associated with *plus*, *pluris*, as in *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 118-19 and elsewhere ; cf. *N. E. D.* s. v. 2.

34. *Bull*] See note on i. 319-35.

P. 395, 5. *Cataphalusie*] I cannot suggest any derivation for this word.

VERSES FROM 'ASTROPHEL AND STELLA'.

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

As to the former nothing can be said. For the latter see the Introductory Note to Nashe's Preface to *Astrophel and Stella*, p. 459.

2. Authorship.

See Introduction.

P. 396, 2. *smokes of sighs*] Mr. Bond compares *Love's Metamorphosis*, IV. i. 11-12, 'my sighes couer thy Temple with a darke smoake.'

It is, however, I think, more likely that the original is to be found, if anywhere, in Pettie's *Petite Palace of Pleasure*, [1576], T 3-3^v, 'For if plaintes may proue my paine, I haue still continued in carefull cries : if sighes may shewe my sorrow, the smoake of them hath reached to the skies : if teares may trie my truth, the water hath flowered as a floud from my eyes.' That Lylly borrowed from Pettie is more certain than that Nashe did, though it can hardly be supposed that he was ignorant of a work which seems to have been so popular.

THE CHOISE OF VALENTINES

Authorship. See Introduction—Doubtful Works.

P. 404, 4. valentines] For the use of the word for 'sweetheart' see the notes of the commentators on *Hamlet* IV. v. 51.

7. *As Ale's]* Read, I think, 'At Ale's.'

12. *Bachelrie of Maningtree*] The plays at Manningtree, Essex, are mentioned in Manningham's *Diary*, Feb. 8, 1602, and Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, Shakes. Soc., p. 61 (E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 384), and by Dekker, *Seven Deadly Sins*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 73, 'Crueltie hath yet another part to play, it is acted (like the old Morralls at *Maningtree*) by Trades-men.'

13. *flock-meale*] i.e. in great numbers; cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, E. 86.

20. *upper-ground*] An evident allusion to the street in Southwark so called. It ran parallel to the river, between the manor of Paris Garden and the Bankside, and from its proximity to the notorious 'Holland's Leaguer' may be supposed not to have enjoyed a very good reputation.

P. 405, 29. *foggie*] i. e. fat, gross.

36. *Gods-pennie*] i.e. earnest-penny. Cf. *Scornful Lady*, II. iii.

127. Frequent.

45. *by cranked wayes*] Possibly a reminiscence of Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 161 'variarum ambage viarum'—of the labyrinth, where its windings are compared with Maeander.

48. *bounzing*] i.e. bouncing.

P. 406, 56. *Francis*] Possibly a typical name for women of the class; cf. S. Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, B 5^v, 'Francke in name, and Francke by nature, Frauncis is a most kinde creature,' and the same author's *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, E 2, where a similar person is called 'Franke' and 'Mistris Francis'.

70. *gobbs*] i.e. lumps (of anything).

P. 407, 81. *Tomalin*] A form of 'Thomas'; cf. *Witch of Edmonton*, V. i. 6.

99. *lynning*] A friend suggests that the reading of D 'limmem' stands for 'leman'.

P. 408, 111. *bare out*] Cf. ii. 261. 9.

120. *Ierusalem*] It has been suggested that the saying has its origin in the well-known story of the death of Henry IV; see 2 *Hen. IV*, IV. v. 235-41. I doubt, however, if we need seek any particular allusion.

124. *with Ouids cursed hemlock charm'd*] *Amores*, iii. 7. 13.
There are several borrowings from the same elegy in the poem.

P. 409, 143. *wood*] i.e. mad.

144. *thack*] i.e. strike.

149. *with a gird*] i.e. suddenly; cf. *Marriage of Wit and Science*, I (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 331), 'great matters compass'd be Even at a gird, in very little time or none we see.' The phrase is common.

P. 410, 171, footnote. *verry mappe*] This use of 'map' is frequent; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 76, 'the assured map of manhood,' and *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, 1608, p. 28 (sig. D 4^v), l. 15, 'the very image of discontent, the mappe of woe, and the onely mirror of sorrow.'

172. *surquedrie*] i.e. pride. Very common earlier, but, I think, going out of use at this date. It occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, II. ii. 64; Greene, ed. Grosart, vii. 281; *Selimus*, ed. Grosart (1898), l. 739; Chettle, *Kind-Heart's Dream*, in *Sh. Allusion-books*, N. S. S., 51. 25.

P. 411, 186] For my suggested reading cf. Ovid, *Ars. Am.* ii. 727-8, quoted at iii. 110. 26-7.

193] It has been pointed out that this is probably a reminiscence of Terence, *Eun.* III. vi (v). 36-7, lines which seem to have been well known, for they are quoted or alluded to in *Pedantius* 739 and Fraunce's *Victoria* 945-6.

P. 412, 228. *ouer-beare's the streame with ice*] Cf. iii. 280. 1504, 'He ouer-bars the christall streames with yce.'

P. 413, 245. *Saint Runnion*] Presumably the 'ronyon', i.e. mangy wretch, of *Merry Wives*, IV. ii. 195, and *Macbeth*, I. iii. 6.

251. *betwixt the barke and tree*] The proverb, to put one's hand between the bark and tree, is fairly common; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 98, and Lyly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, ii. 46. 30-1.

P. 414, 293. *whipt with nettles . . . geare*] Cf. Lyly's *Sapho and Phao*, V. ii. 73-6, 'you shalbe stript from toppe to toe, and whipt with nettles, not roses . . . I will handle you for this geare.'

294. *Cicelie*] I do not understand the allusion, but compare the 'poore shee captiuied *Cicely*' at ii. 263. 27.

P. 415, 301-4] Perhaps a confused recollection of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63 (ed. 1609, R 7) 'Sed maius illo est, quod poetae narrant de Hercule, illum quinquaginta virgines una nocte omnes mulieres reddidisse. Narrat etiam Theophrastus, gravis auctor, herbulam quandam Indicam tantae virtutis, ut quidam, ea comesta, ad septuagesimum coitum processerit'. The latter part also in cap. 64 (S 8).

309. *scott and lott*] Cf. note on iii. 56. 2.

315. foot-note. *eue'rie each one*] Possibly the author, who uses some antiquated words, wrote 'everichone'.

317. *Claudito*] Should of course be 'Claudite'; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3. 111 'Claudite iam rivos, pueri: sat prata biberunt', but in any case the line as altered does not scan.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON i. 15-19.

After the notes on the *Anatomy of Absurdity* had been put into pages, and when it was therefore too late to make any considerable additions, I discovered that certain passages were borrowed from Stephen Gosson's *Ephemerides of Phialo*, 1579, reprinted in 1586, and from Brian Melbancke's Euphuistic romance of *Philotimus*, 1583. The borrowings are of some interest as illustrating Nashe's habit of almost literal—but unacknowledged—quotation, and as the two works are rare, and neither has been reprinted in modern times, it would have been useless simply to give references. I have therefore thought it best to add these few notes. I quote from the 1586 edition of Gosson's work.

P. 15, 26-9. *who also gave thanks . . . woman*] From the *Ephemerides of Phialo*, 1586, A 8v, 'I remember Phialo, that Plato giueth hartie thanks to Nature, for making him rather a reasonable creature, then a brute beast, a man, then a woman, an Athenien, then a Theban.'

29-33. *that of Aristotle . . . women*] Cf. *Philotimus*, 1583, E 3, 'too timely mariage saith Aristo, in his Pol: filles the common wealth full of dwarfes, and women.'

33-5. *Homer. . . Jupiter*] Also *Philotimus*, E 3, 'Homer scares me from these matches, who brings in *Jupiter* and *Juno* euer brawling.'

36-16, 3. *In some Countries . . . pleasure*] *Eph. of Phialo*, K 1, 'In some countries the bride is crowned by y^e Matrōs w^t a garland of prickles, & so deliuered vnto her husband, that hee might know he hath tied himself to a thorny pleasure.'

P. 16, 3-5. *The Massagets . . . night*] *Philotimus*, E 3, 'the Massagets tould Pompey they lay with their wiues but once a weeke, bycause they would not heare their scowldinges in the daye, nor their pulinges in the night.'

26-7. *Minerua . . . Adders*] *Philotimus*, S 2, 'Minerua turned the haires of Medusa whō she hated into adders.'

32. *Thebane Tyresias*] The story is referred to both in *Philotimus*, B 3^v-4, and in *The Ephemerides of Phialo*, B 8. It may be remarked that Melbancke was evidently familiar with Gosson's work.

P. 17, 3-10. *Sabina . . . hayre*] *Eph. of Phialo*, I 5^v-6, 'what is become of Sabina, which . . . vsually bathed her selfe in the milk of fife hundred Asses, to preserue her beautie? How is Galeriaes sight dazled with the pomp of this world, which scorned the golden palace of Nero, as not curios enough, to shrowde her carkase? Beware you seeke not so much to prank vp your selfe, that you forget God. Cleopatra was thought of some writers not to be slaine with venomous snakes [margin:—*Xiphilinus*], but with the same bodkin y^t curled her haire.'

37-18, 4. *In the same place . . . place*] *Eph. of Phialo*, I 6, 'the Damselles of Beotia that day they were married, had y^e Axeltree of their coaches burnt at their doores, that wanting the meane to carry them out, they mighte learne by the same to abyde at home.'

P. 10, 13-14. *Menelaus . . . adulterie*] Perhaps suggested by *Philotimus*, O 1^v, where the story is mentioned in connexion with the abuse of hospitality.

15-17. *Well woorthy are the Essenians . . . siluer*] *Philotimus*, E 3, Among all sorts of conceyted fellowes, I reuerence the *Essenians*, as most cōtinent in pleasures, & contented w^t nifles, for they abhor y^e company of women, & detest y^e possession of gold & siluer.'

ERRATA NOTICED IN VOLS. I-III

- i. 27. 8 *for werebetter* read were better.
- i. 131. 34 *for thelike* read the like.
- i. 144. 25 *for indicate* read indicates.
- i. 158. 30 *for heir* read their.
- i. 174. marg. *for a mans* ed. 92^a reads mans.
- i. 241. 20 *for vponhim* read vpon him.
- i. 248. 18 *for Hosier-Lane* read Hosier-Lane.
- i. 355. 15 *for have* read haue.
- ii. 4. 12 *for 1592* read 1593.
- ii. 132. 18 *Dele* kept.
- 19 *for in, then* read kept in, then.
- 26 *for aftertruth* read after truth.
- ii. 150. 6 *for getgold* read get gold.
- ii. 184. 5 *for mustbee* read must bee.
- ii. 367. 197 *for danger* read daunger.
- ii. 370. 294 footnote. *for] ye* read ye].
- ii. 374. 2 *for cleare* read cleere.
- ii. 376. 37 *for gloomy* read gloomie.
- ii. 389. 82 footnote. ‘*Exit.*’ is not in *Hurst*.
- ii. 391. 160 footnote. *Dele Hurst.*
- iii. 59. 24 *for ctu* read actu.
- iii. 133. 9 *for the* read the.
- iii. 171. 15 *for sand swill* read sands will.
- iii. 252. marg. *for Imberbi* read *Imberbis*.

∴ For notice of errata in *Dido* I am indebted to Mr. C. F. Tucker Brooke.

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